TTW
MMB-file

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

January 3, 1962

Dear Les:

That was a good letter you wrote about the research project. It should carry weight. Many thanks.

I hope to see you at the Interagency meeting in Washington next week.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

March 7, 1962

Mr. Hale Chamberlain
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Chamberlain:

Paul Anthony has asked me to answer your letter of February 26 inquiring about our lists. We do not have anything nearly as detailed as your examples, however, I can indicate to you the breakdown of our mailing list. It is as follows:

1. Chamber of Commerce
2. School Superintendents
3. Interagency
4. Board of Directors
5. Labor
6. State Groups
7. Contact - Research List
8. Contact - All Purpose List
9. Mass Media
10. Government Agencies and Congressmen
11. Education Associations
12. Libraries
13. Dunbar's list
14. Student Newspapers (Southern Colleges)
15. Student Council Presidents (Southern Colleges).

With the exception of New South subscription list, that's it.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

February 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NE, Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are interested in what lists of names you have, or know can be obtained. (Examples would be "Members of State Library Association" or "Trustees of all state-supported colleges" and the like.) There is no immediate need for them but we wish to know what is available.

If you have lists which are protected or restricted perhaps you can give us the steps necessary to release them.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Hale Chamberlain

Hale Chamberlain
Assistant to the Director

BP. Bernice or Jan can give you the what-have-you "J" lists, Please send to —

LD✓

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN

M. A. Wright

to

Board of Trustees

of

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Annual Meeting

Frogmore, S. C.

March 24, 1962

Every year since I have been Chairman there has been an item on the agenda entitled "Presidential Address", "Remarks by the Chairman", or some such deceptive language. I have not responded to this suggestion of extended remarks, so no such item appears on the agenda for this meeting. The omission probably serves me right, but I shall cross up the program makers by doing this year without suggestion what I have heretofore failed to do with suggestion.

Indeed, I shall not limit myself to the events of the past year but will cure my omissions in former years by taking a fairly long look backward and, if you are still with me, a brief look forward. I have no fixed starting point but think that the events of the past ten years are worthy of our consideration. This will be no speech or address in the rhetorical sense but something in the nature of a report by a chairman to a board of directors.

It always seems to be diplomatic to present first the pleasant and agreeable and then to edge one's way into anything bordering upon the unfavorable. I will follow that ancient formula.

The Favorable

1. The most obvious favorable factor in our situation is the truly remarkable development of our grounds and renovation of our buildings. Those of us who have been on the Board long enough will recall the delapidated condition into which we had

permitted the buildings to deteriorate. The Board is under a heavy debt of gratitude to George Aull who, as Chairman of the Property Committee, drew something of a master plan for converting these ancient buildings into facilities adequate for a community and conference center. We are equally indebted to the Siceloffs and Leroy Browne for having moved steadily forward in the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

This truly phenomenal development was interrupted by a hurricane which might well have daunted weaker spirits, but hardly slowed the established pace.

2. The past few years have seen the Board become relieved of a pension situation which consumed a disproportionate part of its revenues. The lessening of this burden was dictated by necessity and represented no failure to appreciate the valued services rendered by loyal employees in past years. Their graceful acquiescence in the inevitable decision was merely further proof of their loyalty and devotion. They agreed with the view of the Board that all of our resources were required for the development of a moving and expanding program.

3. An event of some significance has been the transfer to Beaufort of a larger share of our banking, accounting and insurance business. I think the wisdom of this shift will become more and more obvious. It has brought our Director into more active contact with the business community and has given him certain leverage in his dealing with local interests. It is all a part

of identifying our institution with the community and removing from it the inevitable blight of absentee control. The prompt and sympathetic handling of insurance settlements of our hurricane losses may have been a result.

4. One matter in which we may all feel a justified pride is the development of our library. You will recall that the establishment of a library was one of the projects recommended by the committee headed by Dr. Ira Reid. At the outset Penn supplied not merely the building but all of the revenue for the library. Happily, we still supply the building but the county or state has taken over all the rest of the financial burden. Our function seems to have been to demonstrate the value of library services to this community, so ably supplied all these years by Mrs. Bailey, and thus to afford the spur for governmental action.

5. Almost in the same category with the library is the nursery, also a recommendation in the Reid report. Here, again, at the outset we furnished the building, equipment and all financial backing. As the value of the nursery under Mrs. Browne's skillful direction has become evident, community appreciation has risen and, with the appreciation, a larger participation by the community. At this meeting we will conclude a lease of the grounds, building and equipment to the community by which complete responsibility for operation of this significant service will pass from our hands.

But, as to the library and the nursery, this Board will continue always to maintain a benevolent interest. At the same time it takes pride in the spirit of the community which recognizes its obligation to provide direction and control.

6. The planting of 100 acres of pine seedlings was certainly an important accomplishment of recent years. The project is a valuable demonstration to the community and, it is believed, in future years will provide a substantial revenue for Penn. I cannot fail to say that this idea, like so many fine and practical ideas, originated with George Aull. In the capable hands of Norman Richards, the idea was fully developed.

7. I hope members of the Board will agree that the quality of our publicity has improved in recent years. The Siceloffs have diplomatically enlisted the services of friends such as John Constable of the SRC and Elsie Richards in preparing newsletters and leaflets. The most recent newsletter, prepared by Hale Chamberlain, seems to me to have set a pattern which may properly be followed in the future.

8. Of course, the most important development of the decade was the emergence of Penn as a conference center. You will recall the misgivings with which we made the decision. Fortunately, due largely to the diplomacy of the Siceloffs, our fears proved groundless. The facilities are increasingly used by significant groups whose conferences are having beneficial impact throughout the South. These conferences are acquiring status and bringing

into their membership persons who have weight and authority.

9. I am sure that at this meeting you will hear in some detail of the Beaufort County Pilot Project, ably directed by Tom Barnwell. I need hardly remind you that this project, which will extend for a period of three years, is made possible by a generous grant from the Field Foundation. In three year's time there is reason to believe that the life of the community will be invigorated by activities generated by the project.

10. I am happy to report that there has been notable improvement in the success of our approach to the philanthropic foundations. Two or three years ago, after a period of trial and error with other methods, the Board concluded that the matter of appeals to foundations should be concentrated in the hands of the Chairman and Director, who would be priviledged to utilize the services of other Board members and outsiders in their discretion. The simplicity of this procedure has the advantage that responsibility is concentrated and that decisions may be reached without the delay inherent on securing the agreement of many minds. I believe it may stated that our experience, as well as the experience of other similar organizations, has demonstrated the wisdom of the Board's decision.

Since this responsibility was thus placed upon the Chairman and Director, the following results have been achieved:

a. A grant of $3,000.00 was secured from the New World Foundation, one of $1,000.00 from Marshall Field Foundation, and one of $1,000.00 from Industrial Union Department, AFL - CIO,

making a total of $5,000.00 with which the Consultants' study was financed.

b. A grant of $34,500.00 covering a three year period, was secured from the Field Foundation with which to finance the Beaufort County Pilot Project.

c. A grant of $25,000.00 extending over a period of five years was secured from the Taconic Foundation to be used in meeting general operating expenses.

d. One of $2,000.00 from Friends Freedman's Association and one of $500.00 from the Lee and Jean Camp Fund, both for general operating expenses.

e. One of $1,000.00 from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation for general operating expenses.

A feature of the project grants, which will prove most helpful, is that they permit use of a percentage of the grants to meet operating costs.

Prior to the Board action above referred to and through the intervention of Harold Evans and other loyal friends, grants have been secured from Friends Freedman's Association, Emil Schwartzhaupt Foundation and Ann and Elizabeth Chace Fund.

Pending at this time before foundations are appeals for grants to support the statewide research project recommended by the consultants, and the projected folk-drama in which Dr. Paul Green will be an important figure.

11. Among the favorable factors which must not be omitted from consideration is the present composition of our Board and Advisory Board. The personnel of these two groups represents a wise geographic distribution, occupational variation, differing backgrounds and varying shades of opinion. All members of both boards, however, have in common a firm commitment to labor for improvement of the human lot and zeal in carving out a role for Penn in that endeavor.

It is only fair to state that the character and quality of present Board membership is largely due to the careful and intelligent service of Connie Wood as Chairman and his fellow members on the Nominating Committee.

Such are among the favorable developments in the life of Penn during the last decade. That decade will become a part of our record. All of us are grateful that Mrs. James Dabbs is now bringing to completion a history of this organization in which the past decade will be only one-tenth of the story.

The Unfavorable

It is a little awkward to proceed from such happy reflections to a consideration of areas in which our success has not been conspicuous. We should, in any event, face up to our failures in order to correct them.

1. We have signally failed in making proper use of the Advisory Board. The theory behind the creation of this board is eminently sound; that is, that a group of knowledgeable persons

should consider and filter existing and projected programs which should then come before the Board with the well considered opinions of Advisory Board members.

We have succeeded in convening only one meeting of the Advisory Board. The effort to secure expressions of opinion by correspondence -- admittedly less desirable then consultation -- has been equally unsuccessful. My feeling is that the fault -- if it be a fault -- has been on our part in not communicating to the Advisory Board a proper sense of the value and importance of its function.

My recommendation is that, for the present, the Advisory Board be retained at its present personnel and renewed effort be made by the Chairman and Director to create more activity on the part of such board.

2. We have not developed a statisfactory employment policy. The reasons have been largely financial. As the financial picture improves, a new policy should be instituted.

Penn has been exceedingly fortunate in the many fine people who have been employed at minimum compensation for relatively short periods. Their presence, enthusiasm and commitment have been a tonic and an inspiration to us all. But ill-paid staff, serving upon a temporary basis, cannot be expected to supply the expert quality which comes from long tenure and experience with adequate compensation. I feel that we are now reaching the point

where the staff may be set up somewhat along the following line:

a. A Director who will be Penn's official representative and spokesman, in full charge of public relations, responsible for contacts with groups using our services and for development of programs and inspiring appropriate use of our facilities. Those duties at present devolve upon him and in their performance our present Director has notably succeeded. He would be greatly aided by three assistants:

b. The first assistant should be charged primarily with duties in the fields of fund raising and publicity. The raising of funds, particularly where foundations are concerned, is a highly specialized activity. There must be some study of the areas of interest of foundations, some cultivation of their personnel and careful preparation of appeals and proposals to be presented to such foundations.

There is an accumulated mass of literature on techniques in dealing with foundations. Some capable person must absorb this material and make intelligent use of it if a successful result is to be expected.

At a recent Board meeting of another organization decision was reached that one staff member should be assigned to this important task. I think that Penn would be well advised to arrive at that same conclusion.

c. There should be an Assistant to the Director who would be in charge of all of the physical details of meetings and

conferences here on our campus. The task of feeding, housing, transporting and making guests happy and comfortable is an important responsibility. Goodwill for Penn will follow from the favorable impression created by handling of guests on our campus. At present our Director is immersed in these multitudinous and distracting details.

His primary concern should be to bring conferences to us; someone else should take over upon their arrival.

d. The up-keep of buildings continues to require constant attention. Presumably, as buildings are renovated these duties may be less burdensome. The grounds, always lovely, will require constant attention if they are to continue to present their best possible appearance. It would seem that, in addition to Leroy Browne's present duties, he might appropriately be given also the task of developing the grounds in accordance with the landscape plan which Miss A. W. Christensen devised for us some years ago. If Leroy feels that he lacks proper training for such responsibility, the Board may wisely contribute to his education by giving him a short course in some accredited institution.

e. The stenographic and secretarial work constantly enlarges. In one sense it is a measure of our increased activity. The office force should be kept up to required strength in order that the necessary correspondence and paper work may not lag.

The salaries for all of these positions should be competitive with salaries paid by private employment for similar services.

3. While all of us are properly gratified at the expanding use made of our facilities by existing organizations and groups, we have not been notably successful in assembling here people not already organized. You will recall that some years ago Tartt Bell advanced the idea, with which we were all in accord, that Penn's role should be much more than that of innkeeper. He felt, and it was the sense of the Board, that a more creative task was to decide upon questions of large concern and to bring to our campus informed persons who would seriously consider such topics. Such persons would not already be organized and their organization would not be the primary object of such meetings. The purpose would be to have them ponder topics now neglected and not the object of organized concern. There are many un-met social needs in the area served by Penn. Our function would be to point these up and bring here responsible persons capable of devising programs to meet such needs.

This objective should be kept constantly before us.

4. Tied in with all of our conferences is the matter of the quality of our accommodations here. We certainly do not seek to provide plush conditions. But there has been some elevation of public taste in what is necessary for comfort. Per capita income has increased so that demand for quality has risen. We should properly begin giving serious consideration to making our living conditions here a little less austere, slightly more appealing to a discriminating clientele.

The Future

Now, as to the future.

Already in the works and waiting only financial backing are the statewide research project recommended by our consultants and the contemplated folk-drama. If these objectives are achieved, they will represent new departures for Penn and be events of significance for the entire Southern region.

If the drama idea should come to fruition, it could conceivably be a starting point for the development of native arts and crafts. I hope that some of you may be familiar with the Cone Estate native art center, located at Blowing Rock, N. C., and served by the Blue Ridge Parkway. At that center, painters, sculptors and craftsmen of the Appalachian region are provided with accommodations and opportunity for display of the products of their skills. The center has been a boon to unknown artists and craftsmen who would otherwise not be brought to public notice. We may well keep within our consciousness the possibility that Penn may perform a similar useful function for such individuals of this area.

We operate in an area in which a large proportion of the population is for the first time entering upon the duty and responsibility of full citizenship. Regrettably, due to long neglect, there has been but little training for the performance of the delicate and exacting duties of citizenship. It is dangerous to rely upon mere intuition to guide aright the new voter,

the new juror, the new public official. Certainly, training in the rudiments of citizenship, long postponed, now becomes the urgent task of the hour.

We may well give serious consideration to an intensive series of lectures and institutes at which the responsibilities, as well as the boons, of full citizenship would be intelligently discussed.

By way of pin-pointing the necessity for such a procedure, it may be pointed out that Beaufort County recently held an election on the question of modernizing its county government. Impartial study submitted by outside and disinterested authority had recommended certain reforms. In the judgment of most persons familiar with the matters at issue, these reforms seemed wise. But, except in one particular, they were rejected by the voters. If, over a period of years there had been public and intelligent discussion of these matters and education of the voters, the outcome might have been different. As it was, the usual demagogic appeals were made and proved effective. We may well draw a lesson from the event and so shape our activities that further elections may be participated in by an informed electorate.

The problem of proper treatment of the juvenile offender has been met with gross neglect. Certainly in this area there has been no scientific or philosophic approach to the problem. Penn may have a role to perform in that area.

I would like to see us give serious thought to assuming a grave responsibility. The incorrigible or problem child, headed

for involvement with the law, or already involved, deserves wise and sympathetic handling. I raise, without attempting to answer, the question of whether or not something in the nature of Boys Town might be here created at which a number of these young people may be received and given the wisest possible counsel and training. Unless this responsibility is met by some agency, the remorseless procession of reform school, chain gang and prison lie ahead. It may be that arrangement could be worked out with the state by which Penn might be recognized as an agency to perform this generous and noble service.

Corollary to this idea is the possibility that persons discharged and parolees from penal institutions might be sent here as a kind of half-way house between jail and the waiting and cynical community. Skills and trades might be taught and attitudes created which would make the transition less of a wrench.

The problem of care of the senior citizens cries for solution. What the solution is I do not know. Elsewhere, however, consideration is being given to establishment of small model communities in which reasonable comforts and programs of activity are provided. Government funds are now being employed for that purpose. We might begin to think seriously of creation of such a community on some parts of our property.

Taking a long look into the future we may well anticipate the time when our function as a meeting place for bi-racial groups will have served its day. Such groups come here now

largely because there are no other places where they can meet. That situation is rapidly changing. College campuses, churches, hotels and the like will at some time in the future be open to any persons who care to use their facilities. When full equality shall have been achieved the uniqueness of Penn's situation will have evaporated. Such meetings will probably go to larger and more centrally located communities.

But the problems of creation of an intelligent citizenship, of prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, of rehabilitation of the legally condemned and of care of the senior citizen will be with us for a long time to come. We should begin to chart our course and set our sails to move into these unexplored waters.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR

ANNUAL MEETING, BOARD OF TRUSTEES

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island

Frogmore, South Carolina

March 24, 1962

Our meeting today is a little overshadowed by the centennial of this organization. The activities commemorating this event can evoke only partially the record of struggle and achievement that produced this institution. The foundation of our present program is laid solidly on those teachers who taught and those students who attended Penn, as well as on the supporting community. Whatever effectiveness the present program has is due in large part to the support, understanding, and cooperation of St. Helena and the surrounding sea islands that make up Beaufort County.

Centennial Celebrations

Thanks are due the Centennial Committee for its work over a number of months in making plans for the commemorative events. We were all delighted when Carol Brice, with her accompanist-brother Jonathan Brice, agreed to come for the concerts of this weekend. Miss Brice had to turn down a leading role in a forthcoming New York production of "Porgy and Bess" in order to come at this time. Her appearance here represents a significant contribution to Penn and one for which we are all grateful.

Mr. J. P. King has assembled a chorus of fifty voices from St. Helena to participate in the two concerts, and this group has been rehearsing for some weeks now. Dr. Stephen Wright, president of Fisk University, has made the generous loan of the Winold Reiss paintings. A number of the portraits are of St. Helena residents and were used to illustrate Rossa Cooley's book School Acres.

Arrangements have been made for the transfer of Penn's historical documents to the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, subject to final approval by the Board today.

Additional events are being planned for midsummer, when the Penn School Alumni will gather for special celebrations. A play by Paul Green will culminate the centennial year in the spring of 1963.

Activities on Campus.

The year 1962 has seen the signing of a lease with the Community Activities Committee for the operation of the nursery school. This has been the culmination of a plan for increased community participation in the nursery school's operation over a period of years. The library has become a branch of the newly organized Beaufort County Library. The operation of the branch has been changed very little, except for an increase in operating funds. The packing house for cucumbers and tomatoes has been reopened, as there is an increasing need for an outlet for the small farmer. The Rossa Cooley Clinic, operated by the County Health Department, and the women's homemaking class, taught by the assistant home demonstration agent, continue to offer their services regularly. Short-term projects have included art and swimming classes, and an exhibition of paintings by the Guild of South Carolina Artists.

Pilot Project

You have before you the quarterly report of Mr. Barnwell and a presentation by several persons with whom he works. His untiring efforts in keeping in close touch with all parts of the county have resulted in the launching of new and vital community projects. No less important have been the workshops and institutes which he and other county residents have attended within the region and state. Penn is fortunate to have such an able and personable field director.

Conferences

In addition to several groups which use our facilities regularly, there have been a variety of new organizations here during the past year. Among these are a college choir, a regional Negro women's association, a workshop on non-violence and South Carolina student groups. A list is attached to this report. Two groups could not be accommodated due to the lack of a heating plant in the largest dormitory — where, unfortunately, a number of you are presently residing. I hope that the Trustees will make provision for installation of a furnace, which will make our facilities more usable and comfortable in the winter months.

Maintenance

The list would be too long to enumerate all the maintenance jobs undertaken by Mr. Browne and his assistant, Mr. James. However, to cite a few: cafeteria extension built; Butler Building upper floor renovated for apartment; major repair and/or painting of four buildings; insulation of furnace ducts of Arnett dormitory; refinishing approximately thirty pieces of furniture -- in addition to a myriad of repairs to the buildings.

A major loss this year was the burning of the guest house, the first such loss in half a century. Scarcely a week passes without overnight guests coming to Penn. As groups have found the campus conducive to their fellowship and deliberations, so individuals and families seek such re-creation. Although it had been in use as a guest house for only a few months, we had already found Palmetto Cottage extremely useful in accommodating guests - a number of whom have offered advantages to the community through lectures, personal contact and advice. Messrs. DeCosta and Clement of Charleston have generously drawn plans for a vacation-type cottage, to be built on the attractive waterfront site from funds derived from the insurance.

In his two years of service at Penn, Norman Richards transformed our campus with his landscaping plans and planting. We were very pleased that he was able to return with his family for several months this winter to complete the job. He has had a full-time volunteer, James Hazelton from Paraguay, to assist him in this work. The results of their labor can be seen as you walk about the campus.

Public Relations

1962 might be called, among other things, the year of the mimeo - or Gestetner, as our new machine is called. Two newsletters, in addition to the annual appeal, were sent out. Three thousand copies of the newsletter were duplicated and mailed out from our office. An active Public Relations Committee has suggested new approaches to building up financial support for the Penn program. New names were sought from the Trustees. Six Trustees sent in 81 names, and contributions from these totaled $285. In addition, reminders to regular contributors are now being sent from this office — a service that Miss Isabella Curtis performed for many years.

The Chairman will report on foundation approaches. While Penn has considerably increased its income over the past several years, the program — and its concurrent increase in cost — has likewise expanded, and a large gap still exists between the income and expense. This problem requires immediate attention.

* * * *

It is perhaps too easy for a Board of Trustees to concern itself primarily with the keeping of financial records and the condition of bricks and mortar, occasionally losing sight of the purposes of these material things. It is equally tempting for the director of the program to enumerate events of the past as sufficient justification of continuing the present work at the present pace. Yet it behooves us to look at those missed opportunities, the blurred vision, the misguided action — those "sins of omission" — to gain truer insight, clearer judgment, a new sensitivity, to chart the new century that may measure up to the one coming to a close.

Courtney Siceloff

CONFERENCES AT PENN CENTER

March 1, 1961 - February 28, 1962

Group	Duration	Number	Geographical Distribution	Composition
Guilford College A Cappella Choir	2 days	40	North Carolina	White
Student Religious Ass'n. Cornell University, (N.Y.)	6 days	28	New York	Biracial
Work Camp International Voluntary Service	9 days	14	7 states and Kenya	Biracial
National Council of Negro Women	3 days	37	2 states	Biracial
S. C. Student Council on Human Relations	2 days	44	Statewide	Biracial
Workshop on Non-violence S. C. Council Human . Human Relations	3 days	52	Statewide	Biracial
Midwife Institute #1 S.C. State Board of Health	11 days	50	Statewide	Negro
Midwife Institute #2 S. C. State Board of Health	11 days	77	Statewide	Negro
Presbyterian Junior High Camp	7 days	39	Statewide	Negro
Southeastern Bahai Summer School	7 days	75	12 states	Biracial
Regional Youth Conference NAACP	10 days	84	5 states	Negro
Leadership Conference Palmetto Education Ass'n.	3 days	140	Statewide	Negro
Workshop -Voter Registration NAACP	3 days		Statewide	Negro
Young Bahai Conference	4 days		5 states	Biracial

Other Conferences Scheduled:

Work Camp, International Voluntary Service
S. C. Student Council of Human Relations
Retreat Augusta (Ga.) Meeting of Friends
Southeastern Bahai Conference
Leadership Conference, Palmetto Education Ass'n.
Retreat Augusta (Ga.) Unitarian Fellowship
Conference S.C.Student Councils
2 midwife institutes
Presbyterian Jr. High Camp

QUARTERLY REPORT

March 1962 Number 3

PILOT PROJECT OF PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. C.

Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.
Field Worker
Pilot Project

Courtney P. Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services

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PROJECTS ON ST. HELENA

The Coffins Point community is on the move toward progress. One family has begun the construction of a sanitary pit privy. The work is being done largely by the family with occasional help from neighbors.

MARY JENKINS COMMUNITY (St. Helena Island)

This community is fortunate to have many community minded men behind the center project. There have been several fund raising campaigns to help with the cost of materials. The foundation has been laid and some materials have been purchased.

OTHER ACTIVITIES IN PILOT PROJECT

One family in the Bluffton community constructed a sanitary pit privy. The work was done by the family after constant visits and discussion of the need.

Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell Hahn, of the Field Foundation, visited Penn Center and Beaufort County. Mr. Hahn visited the Coffins Point, Mary Jenkins, Burton and Bluffton communities where he observed the projects and talked with community people.

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director of Southern Regional Council, lectured on the power of voting and its effectiveness in Ridgeland, S. C. at the Human Relations Council meeting.

CIVIL SERVICE

There is a current posting of Civil Service jobs on the community bulletin board, St. Helena Island, S. C. Three persons from the county have applied for Civil Service jobs.

RURAL FARM HOME LOAN

A great deal of effort has been made to acquaint rural persons with the Rural Loan or Conventional Home program.

RURAL AREA DEVELOPMENT

A plan was drawn up with the leaders of the Mary Jenkins, Dale, and Sheldon communities for the community centers. This plan was submitted to the local rural area development board.

CONFERENCES

We were fortunate to have three persons from Dale, St. Helena, and Hilton Head to attend the seventy-first annual Farm Home Week at Tuskogee Institute, Alabama. The conference was geared to farmers and rural ministers. There were discussions on farm financing, canning, and freezing, control of animal disease and planning for our rural youth. The key speakers were Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Dr. Frank J. Welch, and Editor of Farm Journal, Mr. W. McMillan.

The Field Director took part in a workshop on the Adult Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, at Dorchester Community Center, Dorchester, Georgia. The purpose of this program is to help people throughout the South to acquire their registration certificates and to take the responsibility of full citizenship. There were persons attending from Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

During this quarter more time has been spent with the two communities on St. Helena Island than in other communities. After nearly nine months there is a lot of work to be done in many areas. Information seems to be the major lack, from financing to registration.

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Data Concerning Operation of Project

Trips out of county	4
Meetings attended	19
Persons individually contacted	609

Mileage	
In Beaufort County	5,132
Outside County	954
Total	6,086

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

1962 - 1963 Proposed Budget

GENERAL OPERATIONS

EXPENSES:			
Salaries		21,800	
Social Security		390	
Medical Insurance		650	
Travel		1,500	
Entertainment		350	
Guest House			
Utilities	350		
Food	200		
Insurance	35	585	
Trustee Expense		1,500	
Recording		50	
Office and Bookkeeping			
Telephone & Telegraph	550		
Postage	250		
Office Supplies	450		
Treasurer's Expense	820		
Audit	600		
Publicity	900		
Fund Raising	1,000		
Utilities	150		
Miscellaneous	65	4,785	
Maintenance			
General	1,500		
Rental	700		
Roads & Grounds	100		
Insurance	1,400		
Fire Fighting Equipment	50	3,750	
Capital Expenditure Fund		900	
Centennial Commemoration		300	
Pensions		2,400	
Miscellaneous		100	39,060
INCOME FORECAST			
Income Invested Funds		12,000	
Contributions - General			
Individuals		7,000	
Foundations			
Taconic	5,000		
Field (overhead projects)	1,000		
Arthur Griggs Fund	700	6,700	
Rent		2,000	
Income from conferences		750	
Special Donations		120	
Miscellaneous		50	28,620
BALANCE TO BE RAISED			10,440

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

1962 - 1963 Proposed Budget

SPECIAL PROJECTS

A. PROGRAM DIRECTED BY PENN

1. FIELD WORKER

INCOME		
Anticipated balance		21,667
EXPENSE		11,500
BALANCE		10,167

2. COFERENCES & INSTITUTES

INCOME		
Organization Sponsored	9,000	
Foundation Sponsored	1,300	10,300
EXPENSE		
Operations	9,000	
Capital Purchases	300	
Margin for general operation	1,000	10,300

3. ADULT EDUCATION

INCOME	
Anticipated Balance	800
EXPENSE	400
BALANCE	400

4. FORESTRY

INCOME	
Anticipated Balance	800
EXPENSE	
Fire lanes, hardwood control	250
BALANCE	550

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

1962 - 1963 Proposed Budget

SPECIAL PROJECTS

B. COMMUNITY DIRECTED PROGRAM - ON PENN CAMPUS

1. NURSERY SCHOOL

INCOME		
Student fees	1,825	
Community Activities Committee	135	
Penn Community Services	350	
Fund Raising	100	2,410
EXPENSES		
Personnel	1,460	
Meals	650	
Utilities	135	
Misc.	100	2,345
BALANCE		65

2. LAURA M. TOWNE LIBRARY (now a branch of Beaufort County Library)

INCOME		
Beaufort County Library	2,650	
Penn Community Services Rent and Maintenance	284	2,934
EXPENSE		
Personnel	1,044	
Books	1,000	
Rent and Maintenance	284	
Misc.	600	2,928
BALANCE		6

3. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES COUNCIL

INCOME		
Anticipated Balance	250	
Income, Sales House	240	
Income, Community Sings	230	720
EXPENSE		
Nursery School	135	
Other Community Projects	150	285
BALANCE		435

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

1962 - 1963 Proposed Budget

SPECIAL PROJECTS

4. SALES HOUSE

INCOME		
Sale of Clothing		325
EXPENSE		
Personnel and Purchases	120	
Turnover Community Activities Committee	205	

C. RESTRICTED FUNDS

1. FRISSELL COMMUNITY HOUSE

INCOME		800
EXPENSE		
Maintenance	300	
Maint. Supt. salary	200	500
BALANCE		300

2. DARRAH HALL

INCOME		
Anticipated Balance		110
EXPENSE		110

3. SCHOLARSHIP FUND

INCOME		
Anticipated Balance		700
EXPENSE		400
BALANCE		300

4. WELFARE OF GIRLS

INCOME		
Anticipated balance		400
EXPENSE		
Nursery	350	
Crafts	50	400

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

1962 - 1963 Proposed Budget

SPECIAL PROJECTS

D. CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

1. GUEST HOUSE

INCOME		
Insurance from Palmetto Cottage	2,875	
Capital Expenditure Fund	1,800	4,675
EXPENSE		
Building and Equipment		4,675

2. FURNACE AND DUCTS, BENEZET BUILDING 2,700

3. FURNACE (REPLACEMENT) ARNETT BUILDING 900

3,600

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Executive & Finance Committees - Joint Meeting

March 23, 1962
Frogmore, S. C.

Present: Wright, Siceloff, Evans, Clement, Abrahamson (sitting in for Floyd Moore, Chairman of Public Relations Committee, who arrived before session ended)

In the absence of Cornelius Wood, Julia Abrahamson was asked to serve as acting secretary.

MINUTES of meeting of October 20, 1961 were approved as mailed.

CURRENT FINANCIAL POSITION compared to budget was presented by the Treasurer and discussed at considerable length. (See Treasurer's Report, Minutes of Trustees' Meeting, for summary.) It was pointed out that the Field Foundation grant which had been put in the general operating fund, was earmarked for the Pilot Project and protected by unrestricted funds in the capital account. To avoid confusion, it was agreed that future financial statements show the total funds received for the Pilot Project, the total funds expended on it to date, the amount kept in the two savings accounts, the total balance, and the total covered by unrestricted funds.

INVESTMENTS. A letter from the Finance Committee chairman with information on securities was reviewed.

SPECIAL FINANCE MEETING. At the suggestion of the Treasurer, it was agreed that the Chairman of the Finance Committee should be asked to call together Harold Evans and the members of the Finance Committee at a time when the Chairman of the Board, the Director and the Treasurer could join them in Philadelphia, for the purpose of reviewing the various capital funds, the amounts available for unrestricted use, and to plan for future audits.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION. The auditor's report for the year ending April 30, 1961 was received, but there had not yet been time to study it.

Status of Scholarship Fund. No written report on this had yet been received, but the lawyer reported over the telephone that one action taken in the local court could free the scholarship funds for general purposes.

Budget: 1962-63. See below

The PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE reported on the Newsletter, the projected visit of Alex Morissey to prepare publicity materials, and the results of the special appeal letter. A suggestion that a mimeographed list of present contributors by geographical location be made available to Trustees to help them in making up their own lists of potential contributors was referred to the Public Relations Committee.

MOTION of appreciation to Mrs. Dabbs for her work on Penn's history carried.

NURSERY SCHOOL LEASE. MOTION carried authorizing Marion A Wright and Courtney Siceloff to execute lease on behalf of Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA RESEARCH PROJECT. The status of this project, being considered by the Stern Foundation, was reviewed. The Foundation's trustees are expected to take action in May.

PENN DOCUMENTS. MOTION carried to recommend to Trustees that Penn's collection of records and documents be turned over, on indefinite loan, to the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina on condition that they be made available for study by anyone having a legitimate interest in them without regard to race.

If the Trustees approve the above motion, the Chairman was asked to write to the director of the University of South Carolina Collection, which had been offered the Penn documents first with the same stipulation about non-discrimination in access to them, expressing regret that University authorities had felt unable to accept them on these terms and reporting that the materials were being transferred to the University of North Carolina on indefinite loan but that Penn Trustees would be glad to review the matter in the future if at any time the University of South Carolina changes its policy.

BUDGET: 1962-63. The Salaries budget, it was pointed out, had been increased to provide for an administrative assistant on a more permanent basis at $4800 (in place of the $2400 presently allowed) and an increase of $200 in the Director's salary. The latter had been proposed by the Chairman over the objection of the Director. The increase was felt to be inadequate but was an indication of appreciation for the Director's fine work. The Executive Committee hoped that circumstances would permit the Board to be more generous in the future.

Respectfully submitted,

Julia Abrahamson
Acting Secretary

REPORT OF

Public Relations Committee

Penn Board of Trustees

March 24, 1962

The committee considered, reviewed, and made the following reports and suggestions:

1. The Newsletter is of real value for interpretation. It is suggested that better quality of paper be used to improve the photographs.

2. The work of Mrs. James M. Dabbs on the centennial history was welcomed. We hope that short pamphlets, brochures, and condensed historical material will be available soon, and that exploration will be made with Mrs. Dabbs for eventual publication of the entire history, when it is ready.

3. Direct letter appeals and personal correspondence are now used by the center. The committee encourages the continued use and expansion of all possible personal contacts in this way.

4. Personal visits are made by the director and board chairman to foundations and interested persons. We encourage them and others familiar with Penn to make personal calls to interpret Penn. We hope the director will meet with groups of Penn alumni and friends, wherever possible, as in New York and Philadelphia, for first-hand interpretation.

5. It is suggested that major newspapers in the Southeast be invited to send reporters and photographers to visit Penn during the year and to prepare feature stories.

6. It is suggested that Penn send out regular news releases concerning its activities, more or less monthly, to a list of leading, representative papers in the Southeast, and to appropriate magazines.

7. The director is asked to investigate the possibility of articles in national magazines, such as LIFE, EBONY, etc.; and that he take such an invitation to the LIFE representative in Atlanta on his next visit.

8. The director is asked to give appropriate releases to the news agencies, such as Associated Press, on all centennial, and any other appropriate events.

9. The search is being continued for funds to finance a centennial drama to be written by Paul Green.

10. The efforts of trustees in writing letters and soliciting gifts werecommended and they are invited to continue to write these letters, both for the sake of interpretation and for fund-raising.

11. The annual fall appeal should be made the first week in September. Special centennial appeals should then be sent out the first week of December (omitting the names of previous donors), either for immediate gifts or $100 centennial pledges. It was suggested that all Penn alumni and interested constituency be urged to make at least small annual sustaining gifts.

12. It was suggested that the U. S. State department be encouraged to send more international visitors to Penn through the program of cultural visitation, as in the recent cases of persons from Ethiopia, Pakistan, and Sweden.

13. It is suggested that Alex Morisey, of the AFSC public relations office in Philadelphia, be asked during his proposed visit to help in the preparation of a new brochure which we need, and that his advice be sought on our entire public relations program.

14. The staff is urged to prepare all possible materials for helpful interpretation, especially colorslides, for use in the immediate area and for extended visits.

15. Board members are urged to send lists of names and addresses of potential donors to the director from their various contacts.

16. It was suggested that Penn send out from time to time as it becomes available, any educational materials which will help to further Penn's service to the larger community, and that the director be authorized to solicit special funds for this purpose.

17. Trustees are urged to do everything they can to help the public to understand and support Penn's services to its constituency, and to submit any additional suggestions to the committee.

J. Floyd Moore,
Chairman

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Board of Trustees

Annual Meeting - March 24, 1962
Frogmore, South Carolina

M I N U T E S

The Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services, Inc., held its Annual Meeting on March 24, 1962, at 10:00 A.M. in Butler Building, Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina.

Present: Trustees - Chairman Wright, Treasurer Clement; Mesdames Abrahamson, Sanders, and Spearman; Messrs. Barrington, Bell, Dabbs, Evans, Gardner, Hardy, Mooney, Moore, Secrest, and Sharpe.

Guests: Messrs. Clement, Dabbs, and Evans; Mr. Harry Abrahamson. Also Mrs. Alma Wade, Durham, N. C.
Staff: Courtney Siceloff, Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., Mrs. Y. W. Bailey, Mrs. B. B. Barnwell, Mr. and Mrs. Leroy E. Browne, Jimmy Hazelton, and Miss Annie E. McGleughlin.
Community representatives: Mrs. Mabel P. Washington, Miss Harriet Watson, Mrs. H. B. Young, Mrs. Evelyn Smalls, Mr. Lewis Holmes, and Miss Agnes Major.

Regrets: Trustees Cadbury, Campbell, House, McConaughy, Curtis and Wood; Program Advisory Committee members Aull, Cope, Hamilton, Johnson, Mays, Reuben and Rilling.

MINUTES.
The minutes of the October 21, 1961 meeting were accepted as mailed.

ACTING SECRETARY.
In the absence of Cornelius Wood, Julia Abrahamson was asked to serve as acting secretary.

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT.
Chairman Wright read the attached report. MOTION adopted approving each and all of the acts of the Chairman in carrying out and promoting the purposes, objects and interests of this Corporation since the last meeting of the Board of Trustees as reported to this meeting, and referring the Chairman's recommendations to the Advisory Board for its consideration and judgment, to report at a future meeting of the Board of Trustees.

Another idea suggested to the Advisory Board for exploration was the possibility that Penn might help in analyzing the problems of South Carolina's depressed rural counties and give leadership in their redevelopment.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

Director Siceloff introduced members of the staff and volunteer workers and summarized his written report (attached).

PILOT PROJECT.

Field Director Barnwell's report on the Pilot Project (attached) was supplemented by representatives from communities sharing in the project. The discussion which followed pointed up growing participation in the program, the overcoming of some of the initial resistance to it, the emergence of local leadership, and the extent of self-help in work projects and in financing. The Trustees expressed appreciation to Tom Barnwell and his community associates.

TREASURER'S REPORT. Treasurer Clement expressed pleasure at Miss McGleughlin's presence and appreciation for her years of service as bookkeeper.

He stated that the auditor's statement for the fiscal year 1960-61 had been received the day before and there had not been time to study it.

In the Treasurer's report and the discussion which followed, these points were made:

The budget adopted for 1961-62 had called for receipts of $36,237, including $7500 from general contributions (the previous year $7000 had been received from this source) and $5812 in new money. For the nine-month period ending January 31, only $3417 had come in from individuals, and expenses had exceeded income by approximately $8,000. There were still three months to go during which expected income of $7000 from two foundations will help to reduce this deficit.

The total amount of the Field Foundation grant for the Pilot Project had been received. While this was in the General account, it was protected by unrestricted capital funds which could be transferred to the General Account.

The rate at which Penn has been using up its unrestricted capital is cause for concern.

Income from general contributions must be increased, and toward this end the help of the Trustees is needed. The falling off of income from the New England area must be

compensated for by increased interest on the part of individuals in the southern areas. Appeals might also be made to northern industries which have moved south.

MOTION to accept the Treasurer's Report was adopted.

EXECUTIVE AND FINANCE COMMITTEE Meeting.

The Acting Secretary reported on the joint meeting of the Executive and Finance Committees, held March 23. (See attached summary of minutes). The resolutions recommended by the Executive Committee for Board action appear under the following subject headings: Nursery School Lease, Records of Penn, Appreciation to Mrs. Dabbs, Budget - 1962-63.

The Trustees encouraged the early meeting of the Finance Committee with Messrs. Evans, Wright, Clement, and Siceloff to review the matters outlined by the Executive Committee.

FINANCE COMMITTEE - - INVESTMENTS.

The Acting Secretary read a letter from Finance Chairman Brown and summarized the information contained in the list of investments enclosed with it. Market value of Penn's stocks and bonds as of March 7 was $391,064 and estimated income $14,221.

MOTION adopted that the report be received as information and the actions of the Finance Committee approved. The Trustees expressed appreciation for Paul Brown's service as Finance Chairman and for his care and attention to Penn's investments. It was felt that the excellent position of these investments was a tribute to him and to the Finance Committee.

NURSERY SCHOOL LEASE.

The Chairman reviewed Penn's role in relation to the Nursery School and the Board's authorization that a lease be prepared in accordance with terms approved at the Trustees' meeting of April 8, 1961. The lease has now been signed by the Community Activities Committee for the Nursery School. MOTION that Courtney Siceloff and M. A. Wright be authorized to sign the lease on behalf of Penn Community Services, Inc., adopted.

PROPERTY COMMITTEE REPORT.

Maintenance Superintendent Browne reported on improvements to buildings (summarized in Director's Report), the condition of Penn's woodlands, and landscape development under the direction of Norman Richards. Of the 570 acres of forest land owned by Penn, 115 acres have been planted to pines which are growing well; 200 acres consist of natural stands of pines being steadily improved; 75 acres of pine and hardwoods now have access roads to

permit improvement cuttings when favorable markets are found; and 180 acres are brush and low-grade hardwood where improvement work is not presently considered practical. Landscape development of the 30-acre Penn campus has been largely completed, with the exception of the waterfront site for the new guest house; the final road system has been laid out and all major plantings have been completed.

MOTION that the report be accepted with appreciation for the fine work of Mr. Browne and Mr. Richards. Adopted.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT.

Floyd Moore, chairman, gave the Committee's report. A copy is attached.

The report was accepted with thanks.

MOTION that a special invitation to visit Penn be extended to Chester Davis of the Winston-Salem Journal Sentinel adopted. It was suggested that the Director write to newspaper people from ten to twelve other southern papers inviting them to come. Also that the possibility of using Penn as a showcase for United Nations visitors or culturalexchange of the State Department be explored.

MOTION adopted that the Chairman and Director be authorized to seek special funds for mailings of educational materials, as outlined by the Publicity Committee.

RECORDS OF PENN

MOTION adopted that the records, papers and documents of Penn Community Services, Inc., which have heretofore been the subject of discussion between the Corporation's Director, Courtney Siceloff, and Mr. James Patton, as representing the Southern Historical Collection situated at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, be and they are hereby transferred and assigned to said Collection upon the conditions that (1) They shall be made available for study or examination by scholars or other persons having a legitimate interest in them without regard to race; (2) Such records shall be considered as being upon indefinite loan, rather than as a gift, with the right reserved to Penn Community Services, Inc. to recall or repossess them at its pleasure.

The Chairman introduced Mr. James Patton who stated that the resolution was satisfactory, that the first condition was unnecessary since the University did not discriminate, that the papers would receive the same care as those given outright, and that it was understood that they might be recalled at any time. The records, he said, would make a valuable addition to the Southern Historical

Collection which had a tremendous amount of material relating to slavery but very little on the Negro since the Civil War.

APPRECIATION TO MRS. DABBS.

The Trustees expressed their deep appreciation to Mrs. James Dabbs for her generous service in preparing a history of this Corporation from its genesis in 1862, thus filling a need long felt by the Board and all friends of the institution.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BY-LAWS After consideration of the reasons for and against the proposed amendment, which would increase Board membership from 24 to 35 MOTION adopted that action be postponed and further consideration be given to the matter at the next Board meeting.

BUDGET: 1962-63.

The Treasurer presented the budget (attached) as recommended by the Executive-Finance Committee. Attention was called to the fact that, to meet projected expenses for general operations, it would be necessary not only to receive $7,000 from general contributions but to raise an additional $10,440. MOTION that the budget for 1962-63 be adopted, that the Chairman and Director be requested to direct the raising of the budget, and that items 1 and 2 in the Capital Expenditures budget (the construction of a new guest house and the installation of a furnace in Benezet Building) are approved, with the understanding that securities be sold if possible to care for these capital expenditures only if it is impossible to secure the necessary funds from other sources. Adopted.

The Director reported the possibility tha t an old parish house might be taken down and asked permission to buy some of its fine timber for the guest house should it become available in advance of securing special funds. The Trustees suggested instead an option on the timbers, purchase to be contingent on the approval of the Executive Committee.

GUEST HOUSE PLANS.

Messrs. Herbert DeCosta and W. J. Clement, builder and architect respectively, were introduced and presented plans for a two-bedroom guest house of 1182 square feet with screened porch, oil furnace, kitchen unit and ceramic tile floors. The cost, exclusive of carpentry work which would be done by Penn staff, would be between $8800 and 9000. Messrs. DeCosta and Clement were asked to provide information on how costs could be cut to between 5,000 and $6,000. The Trustees felt it would be better to postpone building until Penn could afford a house suited to the site and to Penn's needs.

VISIT TO PUERTO RICO.

MOTION adopted that Courtney Siceloff and Tom Barnwell visit the community development work being done in Puerto Rico under the direction of Fred Wale (which is similar to the work getting under way at Penn). Such a visit could be cared for within the present budget.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT, presented by James Dabbs, Acting Chairman.

1. The Nominating Committee, with reluctance and regret, recommends the acceptance of the resignation from the Board of Alice Spearman.

2. Of those trustees whose terms expire in 1962, the Committee recommends the re-election of Cadbury, Clement, Gardner, House, and Sharpe. It omits Reid, who is to be out of the country and who could be reconsidered in 1963; and Evans, who has reminded us that he accepted his election to the term just expiring upon condition that he be released upon the completion of this term.

3. The Committee nominates as new members of the Board of Trustees Dr. C. G. Gomillion, of Tuskegee Institute, and Mr. Charles Washington, of Beaufort and Orangeburg.

4. The Committee recommends the re-election of the following members of the Program Advisory Committee: Dr. George Aull, Mrs. Y. W. Bailey, Mr. George Buchanan, Mr. Francis Cope, Jr., Miss Wil Lou Gray, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Rev. M. D. McCollom, Dr. O. R. Reuban, Dr. Guy Johnson, Mr. Paul Rilling, and Mrs. William W. Smith II; and the election of Mr. deRosset Myers, of Charleston, Mrs. John Potts, of Denmark, S. C., and Mr. Harold Evans.

5. As officers, the Committee nominates the incumbents with the exception of Cornelius Wood, who has resigned. In his stead, the Committee nominates Julia Abrahamson. This makes the list read: Marion Wright, Chairman; William Cadbury, Vice-Chairman; Julia Abrahamson, Secretary; William Clement, Treasurer.

6. As Executive Director, the Committee recommends the election of Courtney Siceloff.

7. For the Finance Committee, the Nominating Committee recommends Paul Brown, Chairman, and William Cadbury; the three other members serve ex officio and would be, if these persons are elected to the respective offices of chairman, secretary, and treasurer: Wright, Abrahamson, and Clement.

8. For the Nominating Committee, the committee recommends the incumbents, with the exceptions of W. E. Solomon to replace Alice Spearman, resigned. The list then would read: Paul Brown, James Dabbs, John Hardy, W. E. Solomon, and Cornelius Wood.

9. The Committee desires to call to the attention of the Trustees the fact that there has developed a confused situation in connection with officer personnel and finance committee personnel and to suggest that a committee on the by-laws be asked to clarify this. By custom we have a vice-chairman, who is not called for by the by-laws, and the ex-officio membership of the vice-chairman on the finance committee ma kes a committee of six, an unfortunate number.

MOTION that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted and the persons named be elected. Adopted.

MOTION adopted expressing a ppreciation and gratitude to Alice Spearman and Harold Evans for their service as Trustees, and to Cornelius Wood for his service as Secretary of the Board.

HOME IMPROVEMENT LOANS will be checked on by Mr. Clement and reported on at the next Trustees' meeting.

REPORT ON SPECIAL FUNDS.

Mr. Julian Levin, the Beaufort attorney, has not yet been able to complete and present a written report on the scholarship funds. However, he reported by telephone that in his opinion, a single court action could free these funds -- originally given for scholarships to Penn School -- for use in the present program.

Courtney Siceloff reported that a study of the file on the Olivia Stokes Church Fund revealed that it was given for the purpose of assisting the churches of the Island. The chief expenditure was made shortly after the Fund was given, when a parsonage was built for Brick Church. (It was originally planned that the parsonage be shared by two churches, but this plan did not work out.) Small sums were made available after the 1959 hurricane to assist in the repair of praise houses damaged by the storm. The April 30, 1960 balance of the Fund was $1,778.

RESOLUTION

The Secretary was requested to insert in the Minutes the following RESOLUTION regarding the late Edward N. Jenks:

Assembled as Trustees on the Centennial Anniversary of the founding of this historic and useful institution, we are saddened by the loss from our fellowship of Edward North Jenks, former Trustee, representative of a family which has served the Board since the days of Laura Towne.

During the years of the Jenks' family association with Penn, many changes have occurred. The original motivation was the provision of relief for distressed people, and this in time changed to a concern for their vocational education. With the emergence of a new philosophy regarding education in this State, it became possible for Penn to move from "education" narrowly conceived to education in broader terms, epitomized by the marketing cooperative, the nursery school, the health clinic, and the library for the Islands. Ted Jenks' vision went even further: he asked the questions which pointed the way to an expanded conference program, to the new seminars, to the pilot study in service which we are providing for Beaufort County -- a demonstration to the larger South -- and to the planned South Carolina state-wide research program.

In addition to those contributions, themselves greatly significant, Ted's questioning led to a livelier Penn Newsletter, a bigger yet more discriminating mailing list, and a more effective approach for large scale support by charitable foundations and individuals.

To the recognition which Ted achieved through his part in expanding The New York Times to an international role, we add our own gratitude for the many hours, perhaps in scope known only to a few of us, which he devoted to work for Penn.

We the Trustees of Penn Community Services, St. Helena Island, South Carolina, offer this Resolution in appreciation for the spirit of a man who symbolizes the best that we know.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

The Trustees, after setting the Director's Salary at $5600 for 1962-63, expressed appreciation to the Sicoloffs for their service and through them to the staff.

NEXT MEETING.

The date of the next meeting of the Board of Trustees was left open, subject to a proposal by the Director.

Respectfully submitted,

Julia Abrahamson
Acting Secretary

Enclosures:

Minutes, Executive-Finance Committees, March 23, 1962
Reports of Director
Field Director
Public Relations Committee
Budget: 1962-63

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Income and Expense - General Operation

May 1, 1961 - January 31, 1962

INCOME

Income Invested Funds		7,872	
General Contributions			
Individuals		3,417	
Foundations			
Field (overhead projects)	1,000		
Arthur Griggs Fund	700		
Friends Freedmen's Ass'n.	2,000		
Miscellaneous	100	3,800	
Rent		1,783	
Income from Conferences		600	
Special Donations		111	
Miscellaneous		46	17,529

EXPENSES

Salaries		14,075	
Social Security (Penn's share)		289	
Medical Insurance		580	
Travel		969	
Entertainment		235	
Guest House			
Rental	360		
Food	191		
Insurance	35	586	
Trustee Expense		853	
Office and Bookkeeping			
Telephone & Telegraph	405		
Postage	137		
Office Supplies	200		
Treasurer's Expense	588		
Audit	3		
Publicity	599		
Fund Raising	713		
Miscellaneous	47	2,692	
Maintenance			
General	1,037		
Rental	465		
Roads & Grounds	77		
Insurance	1,088	2,667	
Capital Expenditure Fund		675	
Centennial Commemoration		7	
Pensions		2,158	
Miscellaneous		16	25,804

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Income & Expense - Special Projects

May 1, 1961 - January 31, 1962

A. PROGRAM DIRECTED BY PENN

1. FIELD WORKER

Income		
Field Foundation		
Balance May 1, 1961	9,256	
Grant	23,000	32,256
EXPENSE		8,033
Balance January 31, 1962		24,223

2. CONFERENCES AND INSTITUTES

INCOME		9,055
EXPENSE		
Operations	7,624	
Capital Expense	254	7,878
Balance January 31, 1962		1,177

3. ADULT EDUCATION

INCOME	
Estimated Balance May 1, 1961	662
EXPENSE	221
Balance January 31, 1962	441

4. FORESTRY

INCOME	
Estimated Balance May 1, 1961	819
EXPENSE	14
BALANCE JANUARY 31, 1962	805

B. COMMUNITY DIRECTED PROGRAMS

1. NURSERY

INCOME		
Student fees	1,222	
Penn Community Services	300	
Community Activities Committee	90	
Miscellaneous	54	1,666

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Income & Expense - Special Projects

Nursery (cont.)		1,666
EXPENSE		
Personnel	969	
Meals	411	
Utilities	89	
Miscellaneous	3	1,472
BALANCE January 31, 1962		194

2. LAURA M. TOWNE LIBRARY

INCOME		
Beaufort County	2,300	
Penn Community Services	284	
Miscellaneous	3	2,587
EXPENSE		
Personnel	829	
Books	179	
Rent and Maintenance	284	
Operation-Bookmobile	142	
Miscellaneous	77	1,511
BALANCE		1,076

3. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES COUNCIL

INCOME		
BALANCE May 1, 1961	149	
Income - Sales House	175	
" Community Sing	115	439
EXPENSE		
Nursery	120	
Miscellaneous	13	133
Balance January 31, 1962		306

4. SALES HOUSE

INCOME		
Balance	12	
Sale of Clothing	229	241
EXPENSE		
Operation	90	
Turned over - Community Activities Committee	151	241

July 12, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We are now revising and up-dating our "staff manual," which includes a list of those holidays taken by SRC. Will send you a copy when it is completed.

Thanks for the suggestions for new members. They will go before the nominating committee in September.

Best,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

July 6, 1962

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Every year when a particular holiday rolls around, our staff goes through great throes trying to decide whether to make this our holiday or not. Obviously this results in some confusion and also a difficulty in making plans when one is not sure about the holidays. Therefore we are going to get several official ones adopted for Penn.

Knowing that SRC has all the answers, I would appreciate knowing what the oracles in Atlanta have decided to be official in the way of holidays.

Although you have not asked my advice-yet-on prospects for new trustees next year for the Southern Regional Council, I will voluntarily make these suggestions anyway. It appears that more and more the Councils on Human Relations and the State Advisory Committees ~~of the~~ Commission on Civil Rights are becoming deeply intertwined. Whether or not this is good I am not sure but it indicates that a few good men are called on in practically everything. The persons I would suggests are:

George Lewis, II
Lewis State Bank
Tallahassee, Florida

H. O. Forgy, Jr.
H. O. Forgy and Son, Inc.
Burton Street
Jackson, Tennessee

Both of these men are chairman of their respective State Advisory Committees. George Lewis is chairman of the oldest state bank in Florida and a real liberal. I think John Griffin knows him very well and could be a source of information.

I met Mr. Forgy at the Memphis hearing of the Commission on Civil Rights and was quite impressed with his approach toward involving members and praticularly business leaders in various desegregation approaches. George Barrett would know him well

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:bbm

October 11, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, S. C.

Dear Courtney:

Have talked with Josephine Wilkins. She will not make an immediate decision though I think nothing more than this was accomplished. She remains highly sceptical that her limited time and funds can best be spent in this way. She has talked with Sylvan Meyer, still hopes to talk to Harold and the people at the Commission.

She has a very high regard for you and frankly seems more concerned with not cooperating with you than with not serving the Commission.

At least the matter remains in the air.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

PRV
MUV
PAV

PENN NEWS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, S. C.

Spring, 1962

CENTENNIAL YEAR AT PENN

Centennial. In 1962 Penn celebrates its 100th birthday with a concert in the Spring, a Summer alumni reunion, and a Christmas Mystery Play. A symposium of prominent speakers in the Fall is a possibility.

Concert By Carol Brice. On March 24 and 25, as the first major feature of Penn's Anniversary, Carol Brice will present a concert. The great contralto will be supported by a chorus of St. Helena spiritual singers under the direction of Mr. James P. King. Miss Brice will be accompanied on the piano by her brother, Jonathan Brice, an excellent musician in his own right. The concert will be held in Frissell Building on the Penn grounds. The first will be Saturday evening, March 24, at 8 p.m., the second on Sunday, March 25, at 8 p.m. The program will be the same each evening.

Carol Brice, contralto, will present a concert at Penn Center in March.

Everyone is Invited. In addition to sharing in an unusual event, visitors will enjoy seeing the Island at a beautiful time of year. The Charleston gardens are at their peak. The seating for the concert will be limited so we recommend that anyone planning to come write now for tickets: Penn Center, Frogmore, S.C., $1.50. We will be glad to house a limited number on the grounds which provide simple accommodations. Reservations should be made as soon as possible because of the Beaufort celebration being held the following week.

Distinguished Career. After twelve years on the concert stage, Miss Brice made her debut last year on Broadway in "Saratoga," followed by roles in "Finian's Rainbow," "Show Boat" and "Porgy and Bess." The show magazine, Cue, wrote that "magnificent Carol Brice sings with heaven in her voice." The great conductor, Serge Koussevitsky, "elevated Carol Brice to music stardom. She sang ten times for him as soloist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra."

History. Visitors approaching Penn Center see, when they have crossed from Lady's Island, the legend "Punta de Santa Elena, 1520." Control passed from Spain to England by 1763 and the name of the island anglicized to St. Helena. Slaves raised cotton, corn and indigo for a hundred years. In 1862, early in the Civil War, Miss Laura M. Towne and her assistant, Ellen Murray, took up their work teaching the Negroes of the abandoned plantations, called later a "mission of love and literacy." Philadelphia Quakers sent down by water the first school-house for Negroes in the South, named for William Penn. The Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier wrote the school song. When Rossa Cooley and Grace B. House came from Hampton Institute in 1904, the school had become the Penn Normal Industrial and Agricultural School. Under their leadership the school gained a national and international reputation as a rural, community-centered institution.

Tradition Continues. In 1948 county and state authorities assumed the responsibility for the education of St. Helena

children, and Penn became a community and conference center, serving in a new way but still honored by the Island residents and Penn graduates all over the country. The work has changed as needs have changed, a tradition we hope to continue. Courtney Siceloff has served as director since 1950.

Beaufort's Quadricentennial. Beaufort, seven miles from Penn, will be celebrating its 400th birthday during the week following the concert. This memorializes the landing of Jean Ribaut in 1562. A historical play and guided tours are planned and all visitors to Penn's concert who can are invited to stay over for the Beaufort events.

Other Centennial Events. On July 5-7, Alumni Days will be held. Former Penn School students will gather from all over the country to celebrate the Centennial Year. Plans are being worked out for an Autumn symposium to feature prominent speakers. Finally, on December 16 a Christmas Mystery Play will be presented, bringing the year to a close. Paul Green, the distinguished playwright, has agreed to write a script for a projected Negro drama.

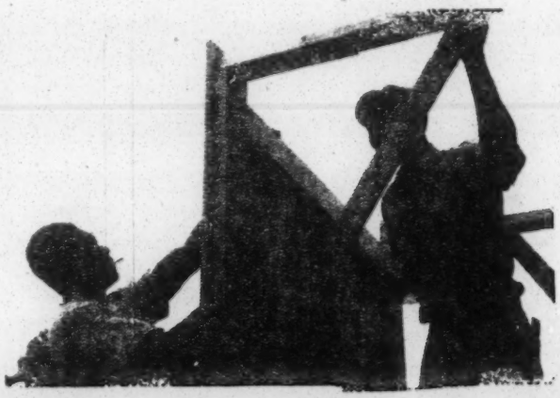
Historical Notes. Mrs. James McBride Dabbs, whose husband is the author and a Penn trustee, is working on a history of Penn School. Negotiations are under way to turn over the School's historical papers to the Library of South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina. The date for the presentation is tentatively set for March 24.

PILOT PROJECT REPORT

Background. In the Spring of 1961 Penn sponsored a group of consultants trained in rural economics and sociology. They met to study the needs of the neglected rural areas of South Carolina and to suggest ways to meet them. It was decided that Penn would hire a full-time field worker to help solve the problems of Beaufort County's rural population. Thomas C. Barnwell of Hilton Head was selected for this challenging job.

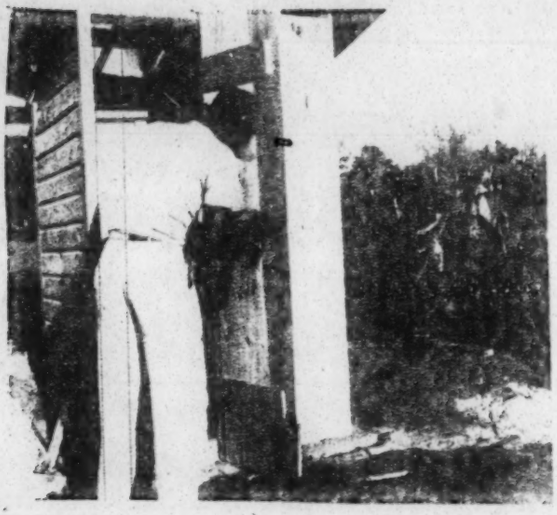
Community Projects. Dr.C.G.Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, consulted with Tom Barnwell, Pilot Project Field Director, in November. Dr. Gomillion, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, visited many Beaufort County communities with Tom. They devised a plan for working with certain cooperating communities intensively while keeping in touch with the others. The first area selected was St.Helena-Lady's Island. Tom met with residents of the two islands. After thorough discussion the group suggested the Coffins Point and Eddings Point communities, both having difficult situations which local residents could improve with their own labor, assisted by the Pilot Project. Coffins Point is the home of 22 families, most without sanitary conveniences. As nearly all of them depend on shrimp fishing, the fishermen are unemployed between November and March. In contrast with Coffins Point, Eddings Point residents largely have federal or county jobs. It has the largest Negro-owned farm in Beaufort County. Eddings Point people wish to rebuild their old school as a community center but are having difficulty financing it.

Films Shown. Films on "The Problem of Round Worms" and "The Construction of



Privy under construction in Burton. Tom Barnwell (right), Pilot Project Director, assisting William Donaldson, Burton Carpenter.

Sanitary Pit Privies" were shown in Burton, Sheldon, Bluffton and Hilton Head. Burton was inspired immediately to construct two privies, local residents aiding enthusiastically (see pictures). For those who may wonder at privy-building



The same privy. Paul Bradley of Burton is putting on the finishing touches.

in this modern age, it is nevertheless a necessity. Medical examination of children from rural homes in deprived communities revealed a notably high incidence of worm infestation. Sanitary pit privies, built at a fraction of the cost of indoor water-closets, are one of several ways of reducing illness of this type. Burton is also planning to build school bus shelters. The young people of Sheldon raised money for similar community needs by holding raffles.

Daufuskie Island Visited. Tom made a three day trip to Daufuskie Island at the extreme southern edge of Beaufort County. Difficult of access (the mailboat makes the run thrice weekly) the island has few residents besides children and the aged. There is little farming and only seasonal crab fishing. Some residents are employed on Savannah dredges, but many able-bodied workers must leave Daufuskie entirely for employment. Residents have already indicated interest in improving their conditions. Tom will keep in touch with Daufuskie leaders and assist them toward solutions of their problems as he can.

PALMETTO COTTAGE

Flames leveled Palmetto Cottage, used as a guest house, in the early morning of November 27. Discovered about 7:30 it was already out of control before help could be reached. No one was occupying the building at the time. Palmetto was familiar to many visitors to Penn. Many messages expressing regret for the loss have been received. The house was partially covered by insurance, and contributions have been coming in toward a new structure on the beautiful waterfront site.

CONFERENCES HELD

Voter Registration. The NAACP-sponsored statewide Voter Registration Conference, was held December 1-3. Mr. John Brooks, Director of Voter Registration for the national office of the NAACP, served as consultant. A number of Beaufort County residents participated. Merit Employment. Eight local persons traveled to the workshop on Merit Employment in Columbia, sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Merit employment seeks expanding opportunities in private and government employment in non-traditional jobs on the basis of merit alone. Baha'i. The Baha'i Winter Conference was held December 30 through January 1. About 80 attended from several southeastern states. Farmers. Tom and Allaphae Barnwell took three people from different communities and attended a Farm and Home Short Course in "Problems Affecting the Rural Population" on January 15-18 at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Of special interest to the Beaufort County farmers were lively discussions of farm modernization, wise use of credit, and the development of leaders "to meet a changing age." Tom reports that many came away stimulated to put new ideas into practice.

CONFERENCES SCHEDULED

The Penn Board of Trustees will hold its annual meeting at Penn on Saturday, March 24. Special guests at the Spring Centennial celebration will be: Miss Grace Bigelow House, Co-Principal of Penn School from 1904 to 1944; Mr. Francis R. Cope, Jr. and Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, members of the first Board of Trustees organized in 1901; former Penn teachers and students. A work camp sponsored by the International Voluntary Service is tentatively scheduled for late March. South Carolina college students also plan a Spring conference, although the date has not been set. Two church groups are working on plans for weekend events in the Spring as well. Still in the planning stage for early Summer is a workshop for student council representatives from high schools over the state. In June and July the annual Midwife Institutes will be held. The sponsor, the Maternal and Child Health Division of the State Board of Health, has received wide recognition of this unique training program.

AUTUMN FUND DRIVE

By the end of the year contributions from the Autumn Fund Drive totalled about $2400, approximately one-third of the figure budgeted for individual contributors which was $7500. Of the 158 contributors about one-fourth are new.

NURSERY SCHOOL

The Nursery School at Penn Center is moving toward full autonomy, leasing the building they now occupy and assuming over a period of five years, full responsibility for operation, enrollment, workers and fund-raising.

NOTES

Norman and Elsie Richards and son, Paul, of Harpersfield, New York, have returned to Penn for a two-month stay. Norman was on the staff here for two years, working in landscaping and forestry. Jimmy Hazelton is assisting with maintenance and landscaping during February and March. Jimmy has just arrived from the Bruderhof (Society of Brothers) in Paraguay, where he has spent all of his sixteen years. In April he will enter Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina. In January Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff made a ten day northern trip which included a meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference in Washington, a weekend speaking and visiting engagement at State College, Pennsylvania, as guests of the State College Friends Meeting, and some foundation visiting in New York. The Robert Stowells who spent two winters at Penn have sailed to New Zealand. They will live in an experimental cooperative community where Bob expects to use his talents as printer. Mrs. Jessiemae Warren of St. Helena Island recently joined the office staff. Mrs. Bessie Middleton continues to assist as her teaching duties permit. She has been contacting former students over the country and helping to develop plans for the Alumni Days in July. Thomas C. Barnwell, Field Director of the Pilot Project, was selected "Alumnus of the Year" by the St. Helena High School. Alice Stout and Frances Neely, staff members of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, spent Christmas at Penn. They wrote that the St. Helena "Angels" who go about the island all night Christmas Eve, sang at 2 a.m. outside their windows, making this the most memorable Christmas they ever had! Hale Chamberlain of Brevard, North Carolina, assistant in the Penn office, is editor of this edition of the Newsletter.

* * *

Dunbar ✓
Albright ✓

TRAINING PROGRAMS and JOBS for RURAL SOUTH CAROLINIANS

a southern
rural conference
sponsored by

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
South Carolina Council
on Human Relations

February 13-15, 1963
Penn Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

FEBRUARY 13

WEDNESDAY

Chairman: REV. M. D. McCOLLOM

District Superintendent of the Methodist Church
Walterboro District

11:00 A.M.—REGISTRATION

12:00 N. —LUNCH

1:00 P.M.—RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

WELCOME: Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Center

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE: L. S. James, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

A. WHAT IS RAD, How does it work, What resources are available to communities and individuals: A. T. Mace, Director, Office of Rural Areas Development

B. RAD IS SOUTH CADOLINA, Special plans: O. W. Lloyd, Rural Development Specialist, Clemson College

C. RAD AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, How the program is and is not reaching Negroes, How it can reach them more effectively: Dr. L. P. Potts, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture

2:30 P.M.—DISCUSSION

3:30 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

4:00 P.M.—WORKSHOPS

Cooperatives. Job Savage, Director, Management Services Division, Farmer's Cooperative Service
Rural Housing Loans: James K. Barnes, Area Supervisor, FHA

Credit Unions: Sidney Gillikin, Federal Examiner for Credit Union

County Agricultural Committees: Ira Kaye, Lawyer, Sumter, S. C.

Community Services: Alvin Stortroen, Domestic Farm Labor, Department of Labor

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—KEYNOTE ADDRESS

"The Rural South 15 Years From Now", Dr. Gilbert Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology, N. C. State College

FEBRUARY 14

THURSDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

A. WHAT IT IS, Which communities are eligible: Wayne Shields, Senior Field Coordinator, Southeast Region, A.R.A.

B. ARA IN SOUTH CAROLINA, Instances of the program helping low income families: Gordon Berry, A.R.A. Coordinator for S. C.

C. ARA AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, Where the porgram is and is not reaching Negroes, and what can be done to make it more effective: George Robinson, Special Assistant for Community Organization

D. TWO EXPERIENCES in Rural Development

1—Fayette County, Tennessee: Allen Yancey

2—Beaufort County, South Carolina: Jean Morot, Port Royal Industries

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—DISCUSSION

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

1:30 P.M.—FEDERAL AND STATE TRAINING PROGRAMS

A. ARA TRAINING: Miss Anne Gould, Training Coordinator, ARA

B. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACT: William Mirengoff, Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

C. NATIONAL DEFENCE EDUCATION ACT (TITLE VIII): Dr. Roy W. Dugger, Director of Manpower, Development and Training Services, U. S. Office of Education

D. SOUTH CAROLINA PROGRAMS FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING UNDER ARA, MDTA, AND NDEA (TITLE VIII): R. D. Anderson, Director of Vocational Education, South Carolina Department of Education

E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

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E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION CENTERS: John Hills, Director, Division of Technical Services, State Committee for Technical Education

3:10 P.M.—COFFEE BREAK

3:30 P.M.—

F. ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY IN RE-TRAINING PROGRAMS: Arthur Chapin, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor

G. SELECTION AND PLACEMENT FOR S. C. TRAINING PROGRAMS: Keith Aull, Director, South Carolina Employment Security

4:10 P.M.—DISCUSSION

6:00 P.M.—DINNER

7:30 P.M.—RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALL PEOPLE
John Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

FEBRUARY 15

FRIDAY

8:00 A.M.—BREAKFAST

9:00 A.M.—WHO IN SOUTH CAROLINA CAN SEE THAT PROGRAMS REACH ALL OF THE PEOPLE?

A. ROLE OF EXTENSION AGENT: O. W. Lloyd

B. ROLE OF VOCATION AGRICULTURE TEACHERS: W. E. Gore, State Superintendent of Vocational Agriculture, S. C. Department of Education

C. ROLE OF GUIDANCE TEACHERS: Miss Ellen Lyles, State Supervisor of Guidance Services, S. C. Department of Education

D. ROLE OF TECHNICAL ACTION PANEL: John Lovorn, Director of Rural Renewal Division, F.H.A., U.S. Department of Agriculture

E. ROLE OF PRIVATE AGENCIES: Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

10:30 A.M.—COFFEE BREAK

11:00 A.M.—SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Professor of Education, S. C. State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

12:30 P.M.—LUNCH

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Mr. A. T. Mace, Director RAD
USDA
Washington, D. C.

Mr. O. W. Lloyd
RAD Specialist
Clemson College

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Wayne Shields, Coordinator
Center for Continuing Education
Room 243
U. of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Mr. Gordon Berry, ARA
1320 Pendleton St.
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. George H. Robinson
Office of Area Operations, ARA
U.S. Dept. of Commerce
Main Building, Rm. 7008
Washington 25, D. C.

TRAINING PROGRAMS

Mr. William Mirengoff
Deputy Ass't Director
Manpower, Automation & Training
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

Dr. Edwin L. Rumpf
Ass't Director
Vocational & Tech. Education
US Dept. of Ed., Wash., D. C.

Miss Anne Gould
Training Coordinator, ARA
US Dept. of Commerce, Rm 6327
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. R. D. Anderson
Dept. of Vocational Education
S.C. Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. John Hills, Director
Division of Technical Services
SC Commission for Tech. Ed.
1321 Pendleton, Columbia, S. C.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

Mr. Arthur Chapin
Bureau of Employment Security
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

Mr. Keith Aull, Exec. Dir.
SC Employment Security Div.
Box 995, Columbia, S. C.

SPECIALIZED SERVICES

Mr. William E. Gore
State Super. of Vocational Agr.
SC Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. John M. Lovorn, Dir.
Rural Renewal Division
FHA/USDA, Washington 25, D. C.

Miss Ellen Lyles
State Super. of Guidance Services
S.C. Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Job K. Savage
Farmer Co-op Service, USDA
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Sidney Gillikin
Fed. Examiner for Credit Unions
2009 Sein Pl., Savannah, Ga.

RESOURCE PERSONS

Dr. L. A. Potts
Special Ass't to Sec'y of Agr.
232 W. Administration Bldg.
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Baker
Ass't Sec'y of Agriculture
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. P. F. Aylesworth
Federal Extension Service
USDA, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Alvin Stortroen
Domestic Farm Service
US Dept. of Labor, Wash., D. C.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Exec. Dir.
SC Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel St., Columbia, S. C.

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th St., N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Dir.
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, S. C.

Penn Community Center

COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

MEMO to conference participants

HOW TO REACH PENN CENTER: Penn Center is located at Frogmore and one-half mile off U. S. Highway 21, six miles beyond Beaufort, S. C. It is roughly 50 miles north of Savannah, Georgia, and 75 miles south of Charleston. Greyhound bus line serves Beaufort from Savannah and Charleston, and taxi fare from Beaufort to Frogmore is $2. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad serves Yemassee, S. C., about 30 miles from Frogmore, and several airlines serve Savannah and Charleston. The Penn staff will provide transportation from Yemassee, Savannah or Charleston to conference guests arriving by plane or rail, IF THEY WILL NOTIFY PENN OF THEIR TIME OF ARRIVAL IN ADVANCE.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Penn Center has dormitory facilities for over 100 people, with arrangements in private homes for overflow. The dining room serves all meals cafeteria style. Main sessions of the conference will be held in Frissell Auditorium on the Penn campus; discussion groups will be in the classroom building. All buildings are heated and linen is provided. There is no charge for sleeping accommodations or for meals.

REGISTRATION: To register for the conference, simply contact Mrs. Alice Spearman at the address below and notify her of your intention to register. There is no charge for registration. Room assignments will be made upon arrival at Penn Center.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL
on HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.
Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director

April 11, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

There are a number of "research projects" which we know of or have conducted that have led to rather phenomenal "concrete" results.

Here in Georgia some years ago - at the beginning of the Administration of Ellis Arnall - a group of people formed the Georgia Fact Finding Committee to do hard research on the problems of the state. This group, headed by Miss Josephine Wilkins, provided masses of invaluable material which formed the basis of some of the most constructive legislation passed by the Georgia Legislature. They produced information no one else was willing to take the trouble to get and, equally important, it was material which - once gathered - could not be ignored.

Several southern communities have conducted "self-surveys." Among the first were those of Greenville, S.C., and Jacksonville, Fla. To a certain extent these studies documented the obvious but they did provide documentation for the first time and this information helped to pinpoint areas of greatest need and indicated acceptable solutions. In both of these cities the surveys started a chain reaction of improvements in housing, health, education and the like.

More recently a group of Atlanta citizens have produced "A Second Look at Atlanta." Among city agencies - public and private - and with influential individuals and the press, this study has had a considerable impact. It has been particularly helpful in improving housing conditions and in getting serious attention for the needs of improved medical care and hospital facilities for Negroes.

In 1958 SRC released a report on Negro voting and registration in the southern states. Shortly after this, when the first civil rights bill was being debated in Congress, this study provided the only comprehensive information on conditions in this area. We have reason to believe this "research" paid off in immediate results and that it indicated the desirability of having such records maintained by the Federal government.

In 1959 part of the South was prepared to believe that private schools could be substituted for public schools. An SRC study prepared by two Emory University professors documented the fallacy of such thinking. This study was used by a great many school administrators and others interested in preserving public schools. We think it was effective.

This list of illustrations could go on indefinitely: our studies in police and law enforcement, transportation, voluntary school desegregation, the powers of the Federal Executive, etc., etc.

There is no question but that research projects can lead to significant and frequently immediate "results" if the research meets a real need and if the results are placed in the hands of the proper persons and followed up effectively. Also, there is frequently an important side value in involving appropriate people in the research project. Certainly there is value in giving concerned people adequate information, albeit the obvious; and, sometimes the "obvious" contains real surprises.

It would seem to us that Penn is on sound ground in planning research programs.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

April 11, 1962

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Enclosed is something. What, I'm not sure.

I must confess some (good natured) frustration at having to try to be helpful with proposals about which I'm completely ignorant and after which that proverbial barn door has been shut.

But, I hope it will help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:bp
enclosure
cc: Marion A. Wright

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Rec'd 7/25/63

July 23, 1963

Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have just finished reading your brochure "Token Desegregation and Beyond", by J. Kenneth Moreland. This is indeed a wonderful document and very well timed.

It would seem to me that this would be very effective here in South Carolina. I think here in the state there are a number of persons who are anxious to see that the state comply with the decisions although our lack of action for so many ~~of the areas~~ years requires us to make considerable leaps at this point.

I am wondering what the distribution of the brochure is planned for South Carolina. I understand your "leadership" releases go to many persons in the state, though I am not sure just what group. I would hope that this brochure would at least go to that group.

I am wondering if some, if not all of the following groups might be sent this brchure, either by the SRC or the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. If neither of these groups plan such a mailing, what would be a cost of approximately 500?

Some of the groups that come to mind at first include members of the State Legislature; members of the State Board of Education; University of South Carolina Law School faculty (you noted, no doubt, that five of these persons signed the statements supporting recent Supreme Court decisions on civil rights); members of the Governor's Executive Branch, which would include certainly the Governor and Attorney General; likewise, should funds permit, the presidents of the Chambers of Commerce in the towns in South Carolina; chairmen and possibly members of the local boards of education and trustees in the various communities plus directors of radio, television and newspapers in the state.

It would also be helpful if certainly quantities could be made available to Negro organizations for mailing out to their key persons. This would include Palmetto Education Association, NAACP; I should likewise hope that members on the Council on Human Relations in the state would also receive copies.

I realize that if all of these persons received a copy it would be considerable expense, both for the brochure and the mailing. However since the booklet seems to be one of the most comprehensive, I believe the funds would be well invested in a "softening up" process throughout South Carolina. Obviously while this booklet addresses itself to schools, the same principles are related to other public facilities.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Alice Spearman

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

✓ J - let's cooperate in some if not all of these suggestions. pls reply to Carter

PA ✓

STB

for i

send copy ~~to~~ to Rowland

100

August 14, 1963

Mr. Courtney P. Siceloff
Secretary
South Carolina Advisory Committee
Commission on Civil Rights
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Your letter of July 23 to Les is acknowledged.

We are indeed interested in your proposal for distribution of the Morland study in South Carolina and assure you our full cooperation.

The following groups have already received at least one copy of the study: presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, school superintendents, the South Carolina Education Association, the Palmetto Education Association, and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

I would suggest that as to the other groups you mentioned that selected individuals therein receive copies, rather than the entire group, some of whom may be totally disinterested. You are the best judge of those individuals that might be helped by the study or is even desirous of same.

Ltr., Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, South Carolina

If you will provide us with the names and addresses of the individuals or organizations necessary, we will assume the responsibility for distribution.

Thank you for your kind words about the study and the suggestions for a more varied and wider circulation.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

File: Penn Community Services

March 27, 1964

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

In response to your letter of March 17, to Les, I am enclosing the reports of Ben Muse that you referred to. I am sure they will be helpful to you.

It was good seeing you in Augusta last weekend; sorry we did not have time to talk. It was an excellent meeting I thought, and I was glad to see so many participating from South Carolina.

My best regards to your family.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr,
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures
Ben Muse Reports (Reproductions)

Penn Community Center

MJ-file

~~Penn Community~~

WALKING TALL

by

EDITH M. DABBS

WALKING TALL

A Brief Sketch of Penn School,
Forerunner of Penn Community Services,
Frogmore, South Carolina

by

EDITH M. DABBS

Map by Mrs. Tony Pollitzer used with permission of the Chamber of Commerce in Beaufort County.

Drawings by Eleanor L. Andrews

Published by Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina, 1964

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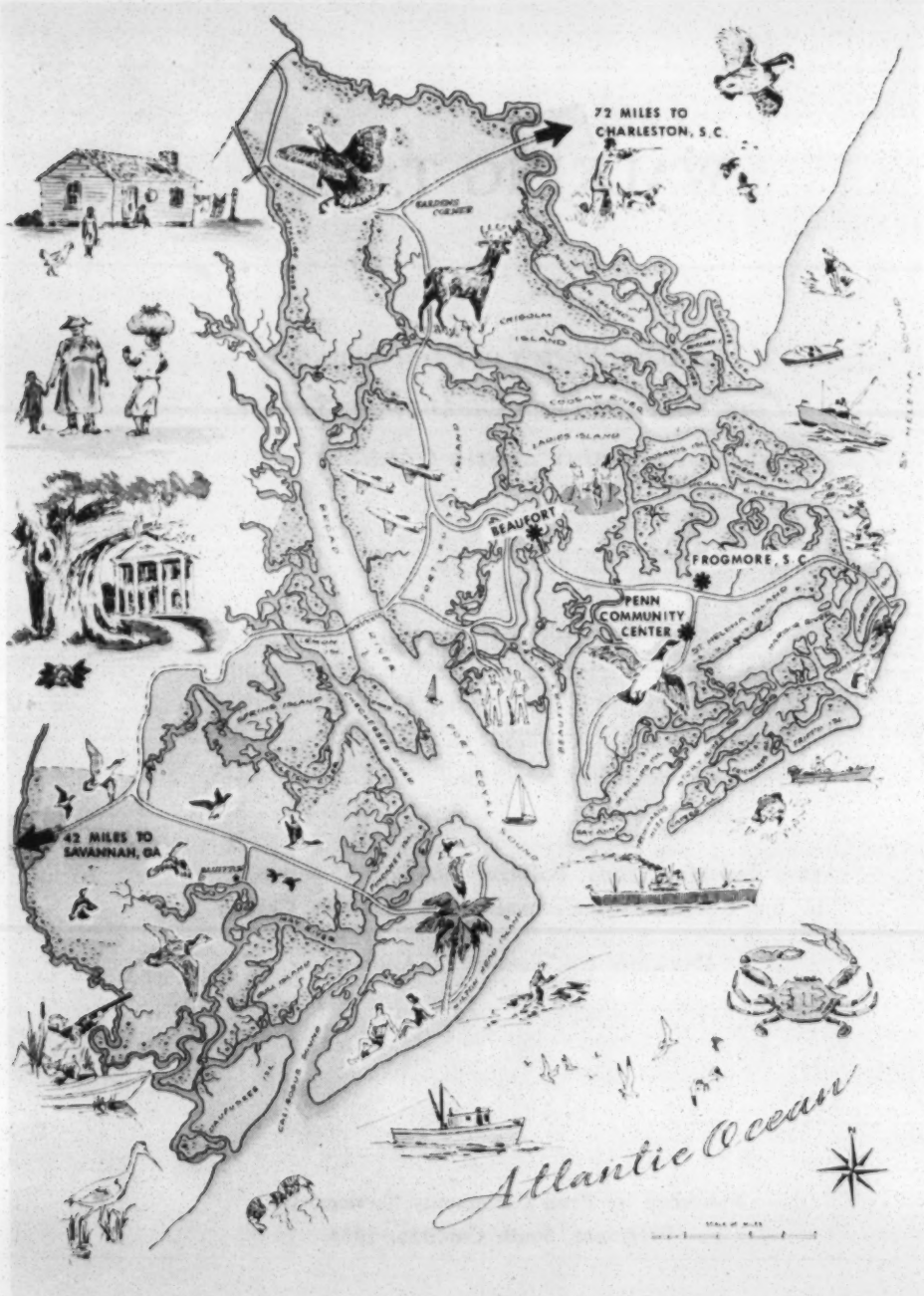

MAP BY MRS. TONI POLLITZER

Beaufort County, South Carolina

Beaufort County lies at the southern point of its triangular-shaped state, South Carolina.

THE history of Penn School, which covers one of the most interesting experiments ever undertaken in Americanization, began a hundred years ago on the Sea Islands along the lower coast of South Carolina. Centered near Beaufort and separated from the mainland and from each other by quiet, tidal rivers, these semi-tropical islands compose a mysterious and legendary land of sunshine and placid waters. Yet, for a century and a half, through alternating violence and calm, they formed one of the main targets of the imperial thrust of England, Spain and France. Then, with English possession secure, they witnessed the creation of the fabulous plantation system of the Old South which, by the time of the Civil War, had reached a crest of luxury and power.

Civil War Comes to the Sea Islands

Across this deep backdrop of history, on the morning of November 7, 1861, a fleet of United States warships came steaming into Port Royal Harbor. By nightfall, the planters on St. Helena and the small adjacent islands had fled to the mainland, carrying only their families, their most valued slaves, and such personal property as they could hurriedly collect. Most of them never saw the Island again.

The landing forces found to their dismay only empty homes and deserted plantations where masses of bewildered, helpless slaves were milling about without business or purpose beyond survival. Neither the government nor the army had foreseen that, to avoid starvation and meet the onslaught of winter, these people would have to be fed and clothed immediately.

To meet the emergency, Secretary Chase of the United States Treasury sent down Edward L. Pierce of Milton, Massachusetts, who suggested that superintendents be dispatched to handle the harvesting, sale, and planting of the valuable

cotton crop, thus furnishing revenue for the national treasury and employment for the Negroes. Pierce himself was appointed Special Agent to put the plan into effect.

But—beyond transportation and salaries for superintendents — there were still no funds from the government. Mr. Pierce's friends in New England began organizing benevolent societies to furnish relief supplies and salaries of workers for a "Port Royal Experiment"—to determine whether field slaves were capable of education and whether they would defend their own freedom.

Benevolent Societies Send Relief

In March of 1862, the *S.S. Atlantic* brought Mr. Pierce back with the first company of appointees, and the *S.S. Oriental,* arriving in April, brought several more including Dr. Laura Towne, a graduate of Vassar who had studied at the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. At least forty workers were assigned to St. Helena, largest of the Sea Islands. Important among them was Ellen Murray, a close friend and school-mate of Miss Towne.

Mr. Pierce put Edward S. Philbrick in charge of the plantations and superintendents on St. Helena and set up his own headquarters at The Oaks on the Pope plantation. Miss Towne and Miss Murray were assigned to run his household and distribute relief supplies. Miss Murray started a school in a back room and Miss Towne was immediately overwhelmed with the need for her medical skill. Miss Towne was also official secretary for Mr. Pierce and manager of The Oaks plantation.

By June of 1862, all the workers were settled in abandoned plantation houses, and had opened some thirty little schools, in cotton houses and cabins, scattered over St. Helena. The most interesting of these and the only one to survive

permanently was Ellen Murray's class at The Oaks. On the first day, June 18, 1862, there were nine pupils, all adults. After a few weeks the class had increased to 47 adults and began to include children. As parents steadily dropped out, they sent their children instead. Some pupils walked for miles, leaving home long before daylight, and some even came by boat along the tidal rivers from nearby islands.

In that same June, the War Department under General Rufus Saxton, took over entire authority for the freedmen and the plantations. This was now no longer a humanitarian but a business project, concerned with getting in revenue, so Mr. Pierce returned to Boston. Fortunately, General Saxton was sympathetic with the educational experiment and a personal friend of the teachers at The Oaks. In September, he gave them permission to use Brick Church for a school-house.

Brick Church was a handsome building in a grove of wide-spreading liveoaks at the center of the island. Here the school grew, in the first month, to 110 pupils. None of the children who came here had ever seen a school before or had the slightest notion of educational procedure. They had—to quote Miss Murray—"no idea of sitting still, of giving attention, of ceasing to talk aloud. They lay down and went to sleep, they scuffled and struck each other. They got up by the dozen, made their curtsies and walked off to the neighboring fields for blackberries, coming back to their seats with a curtsy when they were ready."

As the freedmen began to earn small wages, they depended less on relief and more upon their purchases at the general store. This was run by a Quaker, "Friend Hunn," who had brought his wife and daughter from Philadelphia with their traveling companion, Charlotte Forten. Miss Forten, a Vassar graduate, was the first Negro who came from the North to St. Helena. It was at her request that the poet Whittier, her very good friend, wrote the St. Helena Hymn, first sung by the Island people at their 1862 Christmas Service in Brick Church.

Two of the most important dates in St. Helena history came in 1863. One was January 1st, when Lincoln's final Emancipation Proclamation was read for the first time to a regiment of Negro soldiers near Beaufort. In the preceding November, the government had announced that taxes would be due on all "abandoned lands" on January 2, 1863. If not paid by the owners, they would be collected by sale of lands. The Confederate owners, quite naturally, did not present themselves with tax funds to the military headquarters of the enemy which had been trying for more than a year to take them prisoners; so, in the following March, the sales proceeded. A few acres were sold to the freedmen, but most of them went to Northern speculators and to the government. Mr. Philbrick, realizing this was his one chance to insure continuation of the Experiment, bought in his own name thirteen plantations comprising a third of the island. These were later resold in small parcels to freedmen who proved they could buy and maintain them.

From the first, this privilege of owning a bit of land seemed to the Negroes almost as important as their freedom. It became the key to their entire future progress as citizens—the difference between St. Helena freedmen and Afro-Americans elsewhere.

At the beginning of 1863, the little schools had reached a peak attendance. Nearly 1200 children were being taught on Lady's and St. Helena Islands together. By April, Ellen Murray was teaching 186 at Brick Church and Laura Towne supervised all the island schools as she traveled the sandy roads with her little black doctor's bag in her buggy. But by summer—after only a year—the Northern colony had dwindled considerably. Several had died and all had suffered in some way from the constant plagues of malaria, smallpox, and yellow fever. A number of small schools had to be combined or closed. In the fall, Miss Towne wrote, "Everybody seems to be ill, or nursing, or gone home."

Beginning of Penn School

By the end of the occupation, almost the last vestige of the Experiment was the combination of "book learning" and civic education being administered by these two women with assistance from their most apt pupils. The Philadelphia society, in 1865, sent down by boat a frame school-house, ready-built, in three separate rooms. This was the first schoolhouse in the South constructed for the use of freedmen. Pupils and teachers together erected it across the road, facing Brick Church, and named it Penn School. Laura Towne presented it with a fine brass bell which bore the inscription, "Proclaim Liberty," and became so much the voice of Penn across the island that even today, after a hundred years of steady use, its familiar call is part of the community life.

After the war, the population leveled off from its estimated peak of twelve thousand to about seven or eight thousand Negroes and some thirty whites. For several years, the two young teachers were the only white women permanently on the island, and Penn School was the center from which, for all practical purposes, they ruled St. Helena. They bought Frogmore Plantation for their home and rode horseback or drove a buggy endlessly back and forth over the sandy roads. Laura was forever vaccinating and fighting fever; in Ellen's classes, first aid, nursing, and sanitation were favorite subjects.

St. Helena remained for many years completely isolated by water, its people subjected to no outside influences at variance with the training of Penn. But, by the 1890's, the state was supporting many schools for Negroes, including twelve on St. Helena. These and most of the Sea Island and coastal Negro schools were taught by Penn graduates, who were at that time better trained than any other Negro public school teachers in the state. They had finished industrial classes in sewing, nursing, food and home care, or in carpentry, printing and farming, besides a thorough study of the constitution of the United

States. All had studied Bible since entering the school and, for graduation, had passed County Board examinations in "the usual English branches, elementary Algebra, Arithmetic through the cube root, History of the United States and South Carolina, and Physiology."

For three decades since the war the people had been learning to think of themselves as a community and to assume their first civic responsibilities through the visiting program of the nursing class, the weekly mothers' home-maker classes, the Sunday-School, and a strong temperance society. Many of their mud-floored huts had been replaced by neat, painted cottages of their own building surrounded by small, but well-tilled fields. Even so, the three hundred pupils at Penn and the community their families comprised were but a small part of the total population, which had decreased to about six thousand.

So it was on a still Sunday morning in 1893. But in the night the Great Storm came roaring up from the Indies to break in a tidal wave over the low, flat island. Homes, stores, whole families were washed into the sea; wreckage and bodies were swept into piles of debris on the land. Fields of cotton, corn, and foodstuffs were buried under several feet of salty sand and seaweed. Roads were wiped out and scattered with uprooted trees. All the school buildings were badly damaged, and new Darrah Hall, with its tiny, cherished library, was destroyed by fire. Thirty years of hard work was washed away between sundown and dawn.

With most of the Carolina coast suffering disaster from the same storm, St. Helena, caught in its eye, received little aid. Clara Barton, first president of the Red Cross, paid the island a personal visit; the state sent a number of small tents for temporary shelter and little fishing boats for general use. The people buried their dead and salvaged what was left.

No amount of labor and courage could have saved them from certain starvation without immediate assistance from New England. Loyal supporters in New York, Pennsylvania, Massa-

chusetts and Illinois furnished a steady supply of money, food, and clothing to subsidize the Island people until new crops could be planted and brought to harvest. For the last two weeks of the famine, "a lady from Milton, Massachusetts" fed the entire Island—enough, at least, to keep them all alive.

Penn Develops Industrial Program

But this could not go on forever. The two women themselves were nearing seventy and Laura's health was failing steadily. Laura and Ellen considered Penn's past progress and future role in society. The original experiment was finished: the people had proved their academic ability and many were self-supporting home-owners. A changing economy now took many young people away from the island to earn a living off the farm. In December of 1900, the two women summoned a little handful of friends and supporters to their Frogmore home to map Penn's future. Dr. Frissell of Hampton Institute agreed to head a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees who would take over the school, now being incorporated under South Carolina law. Thus it was that, before her death two months later, Miss Towne saw a new Penn taking shape after the industrial pattern of Hampton Institute.

A strong faculty and a wider program tailored to the times soon gave evidence of Dr. Frissell's rare combination of vision and realism. Two white teachers with Hampton experience, Rossa Cooley and Grace Bigelow House, took over the teaching burden and additional Negro teachers from Hampton set up new courses in crafts and trades. Miss Murray continued as principal until her death in 1908.

It was during the early part of Penn's industrial era that so many present-day names came or returned to the island—Dawkins, Flynt, Wildy, King, Blanton and Bailey, Washington, Boyd, Brown and Fripp. Dr. York Bailey, a native son of Penn,

trained both at Hampton and at Howard University, was St. Helena's first physician since Miss Towne's active years. Mrs. King, a graduate nurse, worked with him tirelessly to lift the health standards of the Penn community and as much of the island as they could reach.

While full-time courses in carpentry, wheel-wrighting, basketry, cobbling, etc. became increasingly valuable, the chief interest continued to be farming and homemaking. This survived bad crop years and storms, which resulted in the formation of a Farmers' Cooperative, and was annually re-inspired by the Farmers' Fair. Steadily increasing farm yields and improving health attracted wide attention from educators interested in rural development. After a dozen years under the industrial emphasis, the school had added several buildings, was operating a model farm, employed twenty-six workers, and was trying very hard to extend its demonstration teaching to the whole island. This was an impossible task for one small, private school. But, steadily, school and community were becoming practically one—the main problem being to extend the community to include more of the island.

For four decades—the "Founders' Regime"—the Penn experiment had been centered in a typical, conventional school. In the industrial era which followed—the second forty years—the little center was sending its products out through the coastal area of the mainland and often far beyond. Up until 1928, the small kingdom of St. Helena remained isolated and the school-community made steady progress. Then came the bridge. For the first time, St. Helena was connected physically with the outside world and her people were never the same again. Their needs were new and divergent, no longer to be met by trades like cobbling, wheelwrighting or basket-weaving. One disaster followed another—hurricanes, droughts, World War I, the the cotton-boll weevil. Through the 1920's and into the harder '30's, many life-time islanders were forced off their farms.

By 1935, approximately 10% of the 4,000 people on the island were white.

For some three-quarters of a century, while the South had been struggling back to her feet economically, Penn had stood a leader in rural and community education. Penn-trained doctors, ministers, teachers, social workers, and business men were scattered over many states. Four new schools, modeled after Penn, had been built in Africa, and educators in India had adopted the Penn concept of school-community coordination.

But, by the 1940's, the general progress of the South had overtaken Penn and the state was supporting schools for Negroes on the Island as well as in Beaufort. Penn, with a very small grade school, was concentrating its efforts on the Normal department and finding the expenses of a small private school fearfully high as compared to those of state-supported schools. Both directors and trustees began to question whether Penn's assets were being used to best advantage.

In 1944, Miss Cooley and Miss House retired to Ndulamo, their plantation home on the island, and the trustees employed Howard and Alice Kester as interim directors while Penn determined her role in the new age.

School Becomes a Community Center

Four years later, at the request of the Board of Trustees, the distinguished sociologist, Dr. Ira De A. Reid, directed a staff of highly-qualified experts in making a survey of the assets and needs of Penn as a school and its potentialities for service in the field of human relations. Thorough study revealed that the physical plant was in a serious state of disrepair and would require enormous expenditures for repair or replacement. The school staff had all been long in service and several were nearing retirement age. In the face of such critical uncertainty,

foundation support was dwindling. A radical change of program seemed indicated.

As a result of the survey findings, the program of academic education was transferred to the public school system of Beaufort County. A cooperative plan was worked out by which Penn School property might be used by the public school until the county could erect its own building on the island. Under Dr. George Aull of Clemson College, a special, all-Southern committee, including county and state representation as well as recognized experts in the field of human relations, was asked to map out a plan by which the entire emphasis of Penn could be focused on community service. The Community Development Program which they offered included four emphases: community health, library services, economic development and community organization and recreation.

This committee also enlisted new directors—Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff—both Southern and both skilled in community experience. The Siceloffs brought a realistic conception of the Southern scene to which Penn must make her contribution, rather than to a single small island. With rare understanding and skill, they handled projects through local committees and became a steadily cohesive force among the islanders.

In the first decade under the Siceloffs, the American Negro has passed another milestone on St. Helena, where he has every encouragement to realize his citizenship potential as an American. The people who loved Penn School continue to work in the Penn Community Services, Inc., and island people carry much responsibility for its program. One of these, Leroy Browne, re-elected this year to the Beaufort County Board of Directors, is the first Negro in elective public office in South Carolina since 1900.

Penn has made unprecedented progress these last ten years. Most significantly, the "community" has now widened to include the state and, in certain instances, the Southern region. The original three-room schoolhouse, after it literally

wore out, was replaced by a modern structure of masonry on the same site—Frissell Community Hall—and the little school yard has been extended to property and assets valued at more than a quarter of a million dollars.

Sea Islanders as Members of World Community

Since 1955, the new conception of community services has made Penn's facilities available for conference groups—particularly when bi-racial membership made suitable meeting grounds difficult to obtain. Organized groups have increasingly taken advantage of the relaxed, congenial atmosphere to work out their concerns. Recently, the Center began bringing together individuals interested in workshops or seminars on citizenship, leadership, ministry, and social and economic problems. The greater interest of Penn soon focused on specific areas of human relations like merit employment, voter registration, or rural rehabilitation far beyond St. Helena. In 1958, visitors and conferees came from Switzerland, New Zealand, Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, India, England, Jordan, Egypt, Bahamas, and Nigeria. During the following fiscal year, six work camps and fifteen important conferences were held on the grounds.

On the threshold of her second century of service, Penn looks far afield to new horizons of opportunity. The original concept of service to St. Helena Island will continue to be important; but in these days no man hopes to be an island any more. What the old Penn School was to St. Helena the Penn Community Services must be to the South and to the nation. There is urgent need for a program of rural development and leadership education to parallel the present industrial revolution in the South. Pioneering to face this challenge, Penn is conducting, under the able direction of Mr. Thomas Barnwell, a Beaufort County Pilot Project in rural rehabilitation. This, like many

valuable services in the past, is supported by a special grant from a philanthropic foundation.

A distinguished Southern author and a Penn trustee, Dr. James McBride Dabbs, might have been speaking of Penn Community Services when he wrote recently: "It is the strength of the South that, though conservative, it has always had a frontier to strain and jar the old pattern. Within the last century that frontier has been overwhelming, and, faced with heart-breaking economic and social demands, we have let the old pioneering instinct lie frustrated and festering within us. Happily, those days are either gone or going. Once again the old sense of something hid behind the ranges . . . rises within us. Only, this time, the mountains to be crossed are the mountains of the mind, and the gold to be found is the essential gold of happy human relations and the happy heart."

Rec'd 11/8/65
file "Penn Community Services"

MJ

Frogmore, S. C.
November 4, 1965

Mr. Carl Holman
Special Assistant to the Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Carl:

I have just received the notebook listing the Directory of National Private Organizations with Civil Rights Programs. It is an excellent compilation and I feel it will be of much help.

I note that you expect that there will be revisions, and no doubt you have been flooded by representatives of organizations that have been omitted. The only notable one that I did not see listed was the Southern Regional Council. While I agree that it is not exactly a national organization, I imagine it covers as much territory as does SNCC and SCEF, which are both listed.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

CS

Courtney Siceloff
Regional Consultant

cs/es

bc: Paul Anthony

If you don't have this notebook, you should get a copy.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
WITH CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAMS

This directory is a working guide to a broadly representative cross section of national private organizations which fall into two rough categories:

(1) Groups concerned exclusively, or almost exclusively, with civil rights or human relations; or

(2) Groups organized for other purposes which have either developed significant programs or demonstrated strong interest in civil rights.

The listing which follows does not purport to be all-inclusive. In cases where the Commission did not have thorough knowledge of the organization, its personnel, purposes and programs, we have relied mainly on the information supplied by its officials, either in writing or through interviews.

It is anticipated that from time to time there will be revisions, deletions, and additions if the directory is to be an effective resource.

JULY 1965

December 29, 1965

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

It has been suggested that Al Ulmer do the Peurto Rican circuit somewhat as you and your staff did. If this were Iceland or some place there would be no doubt in my mind about his value. Since suffering in itself is obviously wholesome, but Puerto Rico.

More seriously, what is your opinion of this and what things would you do that might be especially helpful for Al should we find the money for him to make a similar trip.

Every good wish to all the Siceloffs for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

January 5, 1966

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I can understand your reluctance to serve another year on the Development Committee.

Josephine Wilkins and I are meeting Friday evening to discuss whether or not we should recommend drastically altering the structure of this committee or even whether we should abolish it altogether. Whatever, we will keep your wishes in mind and you will hear more about this on Monday.

The Special Project Committee will be meeting Sunday afternoon at the Biltmore. We will be having dinner there around 6:00 or 6:30 P.M. If you are in town by that time we would be pleased to have you join us.

Your reservation has been made at the Dinkler.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES

RT. 1, MAYESVILLE, S. C.
TEL. SUMTER 469-3321

December 31, 1965 29104

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Under separate cover I am sending you, at the request of the Development Committee, such information as I have. It is all too brief.

The time of service of this committee is one year. I wish you--or if it is John Wheeler, then John Wheeler--could see your way clear not to reappoint me. If I knew anybody else from South Carolina to urge upon you in my place, I would insist on getting out. But Mac Secrest is in effect inVirginia, Courtney Siceloff is not only known as being on the Civil Rights group but is also responsible to raise funds for Penn, the other members are Negroes--and I would consider this a handicap in fund-raising for SRC in South Carolina. It is possible that a lawyer of the standing of Matthew Perry, of Coulumbia, mighthave, or be able to get hold of, so much information that he might well overcome this handicap. I don't know. I came on the Committee remembering Les Dunbar's statement that the Committee was to be considerably concerned about the whole development and direction of the Council. Joesphine--bless her heart--sees fund raising as the object. I'm no fund-raiser, an I'm not going to kid myself or anybody else that I am. I'll stay on if you can't get somebody else, but I'd rather be off, and it would be better for the Council if I could be replaced.

Whatever your decision, good luck! And, by the way, I didn't see you afterwards to tell you what a splendid speech you made in Columbia. And I say this not simply because you mentioned me! I like your basic ideas and attitudes. (Perhaps I like them because they resemble mine!)

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs.

Rec'd 1/24/66

MJ - file

January 21, 1966

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon Eagle:

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Deborah M. Cole of the Aaron Norman Fund indicating that they are making a grant of one thousand dollars toward the School Desegregation Program. Because of the interest expressed by the Fund in this project, particularly suggesting that the person work full time even through the summer, I had anticipated that the major part of the funds for this project might come from this source. As it is, we will have to once again adjust the budget for this project.

A part of this proposal is that of hiring a consultant to work full time during the period of school registration and part-time in the summer as follow-up. The cost for this would amount to four thousand five hundred dollars. Having received the grant of one thousand dollars from the Aaron Norman Fund and a similar commitment from the Southern Regional Council, a balance of two thousand five hundred dollars is required if the project is to be undertaken as outlined. If the New World Foundation could underwrite this amount, then I think we would have a very effective program in South Carolina. The Commission on Civil Rights is still planning the state-wide conference on March 17, and look to, perhaps, the American Friends Service Committee to help underwrite the expenses of persons attending the conference.

I am enclosing a copy of the revised budget and I would appreciate your consideration of this project.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

CS/fm

CC: Mr. Paul Anthony
Enclosure

BUDGET FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

PROGRAM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Consultant:

Salary - 3 Months Full Time (Feb. 15- May 15) @ $300-$900 4 Months Half-time (May 15-Sept. 15) @ 150- 600		$1500
Travel and Per Diem (while traveling)of Consultant		2000
Telephone, Office and Supplies		500
Secretarial Assistance, contribution toward office rent		500
		$4500

Grants made or committed:

Aaron Norman Fund	$1000	
Southern Regional Council	1000	
		$2000
Balance Needed		$2500

January 21, 1966

Dear Connie:

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Deborah Cole of the Aaron Norman Fund with a check of $1,000 as their contribution toward the school desegregation program in South Carolina. After Mrs. Cole's talk with Jean Fairfax and the suggestion of expanding the project, it was a disappointment that more funds were not available from this source.

As you will note from the enclosed budget, we have scaled down the project to that of a consultant. You will also note that the Southern Regional Council has committed itself for $1,000, leaving a balance of $2,500 for the work of the consultant. We will not know until February what commitment the New World Foundation will be able to make.

I am not sure how you were going to allocate your funds or personnel for the school desegregation project. It would be most helpful if a portion of the Southern School Desegregation Project money might be put into this in South Carolina, and we would be more than pleased to share with you the selection of the person as well as supervision. If as much as $2,000 were available, this could be used for whatever money was lacking from the grant from the New World Foundation to pay the salary and expenses of the consultant and for travel of participants to the state-wide conference held on your National Holiday(Everyone will be given shamrocks as they enter the door).

I thought you might want to discuss this matter at the meeting in Philadelphia, and I will certainly be in touch with you on any developments in the project.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

CS/fm
Encl.

February 9, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Once upon a time we were partially responsible for recommending Penn to the Peace Corps. Since then, I have read copies of letters and memoranda to you or about you. It's dismal reading.

I know you and your board are more than capable of making your own decisions. But, I have to clear my conscience. We don't recommend that you not have a project. We don't recommend that you do either.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

February 9, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I am very sorry that I was unable to be at Penn this week. Please tell Lib that I do still, more than ever, dream of beach, contemplation, meditation, and all the rest, but it is not likely to come off soon.

The Ford education man is Alan Ferguson. I am sorry it is not your cousin.

Enclosed is a seperate letter to you that's an effort to clear my conscience.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES - ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Paul —

Bach? Contemplation?
Meditation? Great American Novel?
When?

Happy New Year -
Lil

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

January 11, 1966

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You mentioned in your report that a representative of the Ford Foundation had approached SRC concerning implementation of the recommendations in the brochure, "Black Belt Schools." I was curious whether the person might be my cousin, Frank Bowles, director of the Dividion of Education at Ford. If so, please extend my greetings and indicate our interest in this particular project. If you feel a personal note to Frank would help, I would be glad to write him.

That was a good meeting Sunday.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

Rec'd 2/15/66

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

WJ clip file Commendation

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

February 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed editorial concerning the grant from Ford Foundation to SRC. One might expect the News & Courier to take a dim view of such work.

I was interested in your letter concerning the Memoranda about Penn and the Peace Corps. I am not sure that I have seen all that you have referred to. With the opportunities for making our community development program a much more effective one that came from our Program Review Committee, we probably would have made the decision not to have the Peace Corps anywya. However, Harold Fleming questioned rather seriously whether the Peace Corps would go through with the project and we could not continue to give the staff time necessary to work up a project only to have it cancelled out because it was not politically feasible.

I don't know if there was anything implied in the memoranda that SRC affected our decision in one way or another. While we were glad to have a reason why SRC did not undertake this, yet the decision was entirely that of the PENN Executive Committee first to work with the program and then abandon it. It appeared a necessity to make a choice between the Peace Corps and an expanded community development program.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

The News and Courier
South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper
FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803
Thomas R. Waring, Editor | Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor | Anthony Harrigan, Associate Editor

Whipping The Suppliers

Official announcement that the U.S. government will cancel federal contracts with companies deemed to be guilty of racial discrimination raises a harsh problem for the business community.

The policy also places in the hands of government an effective new political weapon to keep in line those who may choose to buck it on any subject, regardless of race, color and creed. Proof of "discrimination" could be whatever a hard-nosed bureaucrat wanted to make it. Opportunities to exert inside influence to get around vague regulations will abound.

As we noted in an editorial Feb. 7 about a unique Employment Guidance Center in Columbia, the location of qualified Negro personnel is not easy. Many employers, fearful of government pressure, have been scouting around in an attempt to place Negroes in positions heretofore filled exclusively by white people. In some capacities, the lack of material is revealing.

Likewise illuminating is the blunt statement by Edward C. Sylvester Jr., director of the Labor Department's new office of Federal Contract Compliance: "We'll cancel or suspend contracts if necessary. We hope such action won't be necessary, and we'll take it only after every effort at conciliation has been made. But we will take it."

Since government contracts represent a tremendous part of the national economy, the force of this policy is incalculable. It used to be assumed that goods and services that met specifications and competitive prices were suitable for public needs. Now goods and services must come equipped also with a "non - discriminatory" label. The Wall Street Journal reports that 40 concerns already are under suspicion. While "the roster of suspects is a closely held secret," the newspaper says they are located in all sections of the country, range in size from small to large, and are "scattered throughout the whole spectrum of American industry."

At a time when the national economy is straining to produce weapons for war and supply a booming domestic market, the demand for manpower is high. Unemployment is diminishing to an almost irreducible figure. Opportunities are wide open for ambitious, reliable and able workers without respect to color.

We are suspicious of the reasons for promulgating this crackdown. Enforcement could create confusion and waste in U.S. industry unless some measure of common sense prevails eventually at Washington.

Tribute To Thurmond

At a Republican dinner Feb. 5 that raised half a million dollars for the 1966 campaign, The Washington Evening Star reports that "the senator who got the biggest hand when he was introduced was Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina segregationist who bolted the Democratic Party and became a Republican during the 1964 presidential campaign for Barry Goldwater. During a picture-taking session, Nixon and Ford (House Republican leader) were photographed with their arms draped over Thurmond's shoulders. Thurmond is expected to be a shoo-in for reelection this year, and Republicans are hopeful

more pamphlets and hold numerous seminars aimed at making Southerners feel guilty about their view of society. We don't believe the SRC can make Southerners buy its line with any amount of money. We regret, however, that the Ford Foundation uses its money to prop up a publicity agency for a special point of view. The foundation could obtain better value for its money by helping institutions and agencies that concentrate on more worthy causes.

fearful of government pressure, have been scouting around in an attempt to place Negroes in positions heretofore filled exclusively by white people. In some capacities, the lack of material is revealing.

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The Republican Party is straining to produce an umbrella as broad as the one that the Democrats have spread with such success over all the regions and voting blocs. In some sections, GOP spokesmen are making appeals for Negro and urban voters. The recognition of Thurmond by the professionals gathered at the dinner in Washington, however, shows that independence and integrity have been successful, in Thurmond's case, irrespective of party label in attracting popular support. Those qualities might succeed someday at the national level.

Funds For Propaganda

The custom of a tax-exempt foundation giving money to special pleaders instead of non-partisan causes comes up for review again on account of the Ford Foundation's grant of $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The Ford Foundation said the money is given to "help strengthen state and local human-relations councils in 11 Southern states."

We are all for good human relations. As a matter of fact, we believe that human relations in South Carolina are excellent. They are this way because of the common sense and courtesy of the people of this state. South Carolina has not needed any council or committee to engineer better relationship among various elements of its population. It is calmly and quietly adjusting to new conditions.

The Southern Regional Council is a pressure group plugging for artificial togetherness. Its leadership has not been broadly representative of the states in which it has operated.

With a grant of $300,000, the SRC should be able to publish many more pamphlets and hold numerous seminars aimed at making Southerners feel guilty about their view of society. We don't believe the SRC can make Southerners buy its line with any amount of money. We regret, however, that the Ford Foundation uses its money to prop up a publicity agency for a special point of view. The foundation could obtain better value for its money by helping institutions and agencies that concentrate on more worthy causes.

February 15, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Incorporated
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Connie and I have discussed the desirability of AFSC, SRC and Penn working closely together on the South Carolina school desegregation project. I think, among the three of us, we have enough resources to put together an effective program. Connie will see you in Columbia on Friday. I have asked her to plan with you on how our commitment of $1,000 can be most effectively used. I think we need to consider the possibility of a part time consultant working closely with the AFSC South Carolina staff and to come up with a firm minimum cost on the conferences. We will be happy to help cover the cost of any of this so long as we can build it around one or more good staff people.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES - ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Paul -

Your letter to Courtney has arrived while he's on a one-day stand in Washington.

Don't worry about the Peace Corps. Fix your eyes on Seaside Contemplation. Terribly disappointed you didn't get here - Sit

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

February 11, 1966
Dict. February 10

Connie Curry
American Friends Service Committee
Atlanta, Georgia

Rec'd 2/14/66

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Connie and Paul:

Vernon Eagle has just called to say that New World has granted us $2,500 toward the enclosed budget for the School Desegregation Program in South Carolina.

The budget was submitted before we knew to what extent AFSC was going into the program. In the light of the resources AFSC is putting into South Carolina, should we re-evaluate how this money should be spent, since (as you see) no conferences are included in this latest budget?

I will probably be in Columbia all day Friday, February 18, making preparations for the Advisory Committee conference on the Guidelines, and expect to discuss this with Connie. Since SRC has allocated money for this project, I wonder, Paul, whether Winifred Falls or any other person should be present to make recommendations on the budget.

Best,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

enclosure

BUDGET FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

PROGRAM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Consultant:

Salary - 3 Months Full Time (Feb. 15- May 15) @ $300-$900		
4 Months Half-time (May 15-Sept. 15) @ 150- 600		$1500
Travel and Per Diem (while traveling) of Consultant		2000
Telephone, Office and Supplies		500
Secretarial Assistance, contribution toward office rent		500
		$4500

Grants made or committed:

Aaron Norman Fund	$1000	
Southern Regional Council	1000	
		$2000
Balance Needed		$2500

February 25, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

All of your work on the school project looks sound and good. Do you want our $1,000 now or later?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 2/25/66

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

February 22, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You can see from the enclosed letter to Vernon Eagle a summary of our discussion and possibly Connie Curry has already been in touch with you. We are really very encouraged by all of these developments. I gather this allocation funds will meet your approval, as you had indicated in your letter of February 15, the lines which you felt the project might take. We certainly will be very much interested in any suggestions you have along these lines.

With best regards,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

CS/fm

Paul, I'm reluctantly decided that I cannot make the Feb 28 meeting with Katzenbach. I was out of the office 2 days last week, this week 3 days + a board meeting coming up.

February 22, 1966

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon Eagle:

I have just returned from Columbia where I discussed with Miss Connie Curry of the American Friends Service Committee, the resources that organization will put into South Carolina, as well as meeting with most of the organizations sponsoring the project in desegregation during the summer in South Carolina. It appeared that we will have a very effective program, much better than I had even hoped in the state.

When the project of Penn was drawn up for the program in school desegregation, no other organization was planning a program in the state. We were in close touch with the other organizations, and particularly expected support from the American Friends Service Committee.

I understand the last two or three weeks, the AFSC has made a commitment to putting three persons in Atlanta to work in South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia in school desegregation. During our discussion last Friday, a decision was made to base one of these persons in South Carolina with his entire responsibility being this state. The person is to be hired immediately, and will work full-time for seven months, carrying the program into school enrollment in the fall.

In view of this commitment of the AFSC and in consultation, both with the AFSC and the other supporting organizations, we have redrawn our budget for the $4,500 given toward this project. You will note that our original proposal included conferences and a person to follow up in the communities. It was felt that ~~while~~ since conferences are an essential ingredient toward an effective program, therefore, two of them have been included as you will note in the enclosed budget.

The balance of the budget will be hiring a full-time person during this critical time prior to the conference and during the registration period.

Both the Penn person and the AFSC representative will be working closely together and operating out of the office furnished by the Voter Education Project, one of the sponsoring agencies in Columbia. This will give a day-to-day supervision of the Penn representative which we could not ~~have~~ hoped to give from Frogmore.

As to the conferences, the first is scheduled to be held in Columbia on March 19, sponsored by the Commission on Civil Rights, from 10 until approximately 3:00 P. M. The Commission has received permission to use the mailing list of the South Carolina Education Association, some 15,000 white teachers; the Association of School Boards of South Carolina, some 1100 persons, and the Palmetto Education Association with some 9,000 Negro teachers.* A list compiled from the various civil rights organizations, numbering approximately 600, will receive invitations likewise.

This last group of 600 will be offered travel expenses, and the private agencies will hold their own session following that of the Commission on Civil Rights, beginning at 3:30 and running through early evening. This group will move to another location and provide a meal. The purpose will be to discuss techniques for implementing these guidelines and laying plans in the various communities. This same group plus additional contacts made in the meantime, would be brought back later in the spring for further planning and sharing of experiences to date.

I trust that these changes in our budgeted program wil meet with your approval.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

CS/fm

CC: Paul Anthony

* P.S. Sam Simmons thinks this may be too large a conference but so am not sure that we'll invite everyone.

February 24, 1966

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon Eagle:

Since dictating the enclosed letter of February 22, I have made a second trip to Columbia to work out further plans for the desegregation project.

In view of the cost of the conferences, we feel we will have to limit ourselves to one conference, rather than two. The budget which is enclosed details how the money will be spent for that conference.

I have interviewed two persons for the position of Consultant, and I am waiting to confer with the AFSC representative before making a final selection. The person will probably be hired and on the job within the week. When the selection has been made, I will write the details.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Courtney E

Courtney Siceloff

cc: Paul Anthony

Dictated by telephone
from Columbia, S. C.
and signed in the absence of Mr. Siceloff

BUDGET FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

Consultant:

Salary, 4 months @ $300	-	$1,200	
Per Diem and travel expenses	-	1,200	
Telephone, postage and stationery	-	260	
Contribution toward office rent, secretarial assistance	-	200	
			$ 2,860

State-wide Conference:

Rental, Masonic Lodge	-	100	
Travel (beyond 50 miles)	-	800	
400 meals @ $1.60	-	640	
Mailing, postage, secretarial work	-	100	
			1,640
			$ 4,500

March 8, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Everything sounds in very good order and I think you are fortunate to have David Carter doing the work.

Enclosed is our check for $1,000 toward support of Carter's salary and expenses. Please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to us at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 2

cc: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: $1,000.00

TO: Penn Community Services, Incorporated

Name St. Helena Island

Address Frogmore, South Carolina

City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: Toward support of David Carter's salary and expenses.

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY:

To come from the School Desegregation Special Project Funds (318)

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE March 8 19 66

REQUESTED BY: Paul Anthony

APPROVED: _____

Rec'd 3/8/66

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

March 6, 1966

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have just hired David Carter to be the consultant in the school desegregation project, and will begin on next Monday. David is a young Negro minister of Newberry who worked as a Program Associate with the AFSC in school desegregation last year, He worked in the towns of York and Chester, so has had experience in this. He was reared in Barnwell, went to school and had a pastorate in Columbia for eight years and has been in ~~Columbia~~ Newberry for three years. Likewise, he traveled for the Youth Council of the NAACP over South Carolina for one summer. I think he will be an excellent "alter ego," for Hayes Mizzell and I am sure can do a very effective job. In that respect, we would be glad to have the $1,000

Thank you indeed for your support of the program.

I have just been going through New South and find it an excellent publication. I usually put aside anything that's longer than six pages, but have great difficulty laying down this issue of the New South.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

Rec'd 3/31/66

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PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

March 22, 1966

Dear Friend:

Because you are a person who has shown a special interest in the work of Penn, we thought you might be interested in the enclosed reports made to our recent Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees.

We want to thank you also for your continuing interest in Penn and the community development work we are doing. We will appreciate any recommendations or comments you might wish to make.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

Enc.: Director's Report
Community Development Quarterly Report
List of conferences held at Penn.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ANNUAL MEETING, BOARD OF TRUSTEES
March 12, 1966

STAFF

Director - Courtney Siceloff
Program Director - Everett Gill III
Senior Field Director- Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.
Field Director - Joseph McDomick, Jr.
Maintenance Supervisor - Leroy Browne
Bookkeeper - Mrs. Jessiemae G. Warren
Office Manager - Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
Office Assistant - Mrs. Elizabeth Siceloff
Maintenance Assistant - Andrew Miller
Addressograph & Conference Coordinator - Chandlee White
Director, School Desegregation Project - Rev. David Carter

CONFERENCE SERVICES

Cafeteria Supervisor - Mrs. Evangeline Major
Assistant Supervisor - Mrs. Shirley Mack

ASSOCIATED SERVICES

Laura Towne Library: Mrs. Agnes Sherman, Librarian

Nursery School: Mrs. Corinne Browne, Supervisor
Mrs. Christine Johnson, Assistant

Sales House: Miss Harriet Watson, Manager

Not for publication without permission.

Four years ago Penn compiled some statistics about Beaufort County derived primarily from the 1960 census figures. At that time, it pointed out that:

> Almost one-third of all Negro families earn less than $1,000 annually. More than 75% less than $3,000, a figure currently being used to determine the existence of poverty;
>
> Eighty-one percent of Negroes enrolling in the first grade of school dropped out before graduating from schools that were then fully segregated. Forty-six percent of Negro population over twenty-five years old were functionally illiterate.
>
> One-third of all homes in rural areas had an outdoor privy or no facility whatsoever, with an equal percentage without piped water. Tests showed that 80% of the Negro children in Bluffton had intestinal parasites, but none of the white children.

Today, some changes have been effected. Garland Mills, a plant manufacturing women's wear, has a payroll of some 300 women. Two Negroes serve on the County Board of Directors (Commissioners); an other is a clerk at the County Registration Board. Beaufort has the only Negro Farmers Home Administration Supervisor in the nation, the only county library board in the state known to have a Negro representative, the only state park where swimming is permitted on an integrated basis. With the exception of Columbia, District #1 has more Negroes enrolled in formerly white schools than any other district in South Carolina. Furthermore, this county has the highest percentage of Negroes registered, compared to white registration statistics. Operators of public accommodations have observed the law, so that their facilities are open to all.

In spite of the gains, the position of the Negro in Beaufort County is basically the same as in 1960. Most of the Negroes live in

a condition of poverty. Their lives are circumscribed by separate -- but unequal--facilities and institutions. Retraining programs have been undertaken but significant employment has not resulted. For example, when a clerk-stenographer course was offered last year, seven Negroes successfully completed the training --one at the top of the class -- yet none of the Negroes was placed,while all of the white trainees acquired jobs. Ninety-five percent of Negro students still attend segregated schools. A private school,housed temporarily in church facilities, caters to those who attach great importance to skin pigmentation. The publicly built and financed hospital has launched a fund-raising campaign in the hope of maintaining its unequal, segregated facilities. The United Fund manipilated its monies, condoned by a federal institution, so that certain member agencies do not have to conform to non-discriminatory regulations. Two churches -- one last month -- have turned away Negro worshippers from their doors.

More examples could be cited, but this is not intended as a catalog of discriminatory practices in Beaufort County, or to say that Beaufort is any different from surrounding areas. Relatively, conditions are better here than in some adjacent counties, but we can no longer be content with comparisons. It matters little to one-third of Beaufort County Negroes that the income here is higher than, say, Jasper County, when they have to feed, clothe and educate their families on an annual income of less than $1,000. What difference does it make to a Negro teacher that he receives equal pay, yet must take a sick student from his civics class to a segregated room to receive medical attention.

This, then is the context in which we must place Penn, its role and its services. A fragmentary approach is entirely inadequate. We

should not seek training courses without being concerned about jobs, at adequate compensation. We must not provide citizenship education without being involved with a person's place in society.

Community Development

This program has provided the best opportunity for dealing with some of the problems in the county, and today's agenda permits several persons to go into various aspects of the program. The two field directors and coordinator have undertaken a variety of programs. One project is the establishment of a water system for several communities. This has involved many weeks' work -- first on discussion of the feasibility of the program, of population surveys, map-drawing, negotiation with the loan agency, lawyers, and engineers.

Day care centers are planned in a number of communities, several of which comprise more than one area. In each case, facilities have to be acquired: some will construct a building; others will undertake renovations of an existing structure.

Other projects are being undertaken, sometimes with more than one endeavor in a community. However, what is being accomplished here is, for example, more than a center for pre-school children. The project has required community organization through cooperation and mutual confidence, development of leadership, assumption of responsibility, participation in government, these community experiences may well outweigh the immediate goals toward which these persons are working.

Many of the community programs expect to participate in the government poverty programs. Tom Barnwell has taken a leading part in the formation of the Beaufort Economic Opportunity Commission, which

was funded just this week after considerable delay. As you are no doubt aware, Penn had the contract for the Headstart Program for District One and expects to participate in it again this summer.

The enlarged Program Review Committee, at its meeting in January, offered new insights and direction toward making the community development program more effective in the county, as well as in providing training for persons who would undertake similar work elsewhere.

Conferences

This year, as Chandlee White will soon explain, has been our most successful one in terms of groups accommodated. Some 1719 persons in 31 conferences were involved during 1965. One of the most interesting was an 11-day meeting of the Methodists who were seeking new ways in which the church could become inclusive, with the 65 attenders coming from 19 states and 5 overseas countries.

We are proposing that a new position be created this year to handle the increasing load of conferences. This person will be in charge of details for groups meeting here and will handle the addressograph and mailings from the office.

Public Relations and Fund Raising

Everett Gill has been charged with the responsibility of fund-raising from individual donors, with a goal of $1,000 more than last year. An analysis of returns on our first mailing to purchased lists showed that contributions received were not sufficient to cover the cost of mailing, although this requires more study and experimentation. It appears that the goal will be reached this year. As to foundations giving, additional sources will have to be found if we are to raise this year's budget.

A new folder was issued in the fall, with dramatic photographs by a volunteer photographer. More favorable responses have been received concerning this brochure than anything previously issued.

Penn, and the director, received unfavorable publicity last fall when the chairman of the Beaufort County Economic Opportunity Commission resigned with a blast at Penn. Back in May, a record Ku Klux Klan rally was held, with the primary target again being Penn, but the group confined its activities to singing "The Old Rugged Cross" in a cornfield, and did not bring its cross-burning equipment to Penn campus.

Property Development

A number of major projects have been completed. The most recent accomplishment has been the construction af a concrete play area, with lights and backstops soon to be added. This area was skillfully laid out and supervised by the maintenance supervisor. Painting has been a major project, with Hampton House receiving a first coat. A Lutheran work camp painted the nursery school in August.

Personnel

Penn's greatest asset is its staff members. Whether in terms of clerical, maintenance, bookkeeping, or programming, I believe that Penn has the most skilled persons who can be found. Each department or phase of program is equally strong, with mutual interest and concern about the other's work.

Workers here have not been content to do an outstanding job in their field. Nearly all have become deeply involved in community

affairs, whether as an officer or a participating member of the group. Most have put their roots into community life through the purchase or building of their homes, through voter registration, or in sending their children to newly desegregated schools.

One cannot enumerate all of the involvements of staff members, but mentioning a few will give a good indication of this community participation. Leroy Browne, serving his third term as Beaufort County Director, is on the Credentials Committee of the State Democratic Convention. Tom Barnwell, Jr., a most active member of the Beaufort-Jasper Economic Opportunity Commission, plays a leading role in the County Emancipation Committee. Mrs. Frieda Mitchell is Chairman of the Beaufort County Education Committee and has participated in a number of meetings with county officials. Everett Gill, with his wife, leads a Training Union class for their church and is active in the ministerial association. Mrs. Jessiemae Warren, a Sunday School teacher, is also a Girl Scout counselor. While there can be no stock market quotation, Penn trustees can be assured they are receiving a good return on their investment in personnel.

Larger Community

Beaufort County is our area of concentration, as was St. Helena Island a few years ago. Because of the needs here, it it tempting to put on blinders to events and movements going on beyond our borders. While it is necessary to focus our energies within a defined scope of activity, we do have an obligation to learn from other programs as well as sharing our experiences and insights with allied agencies.

Penn is joining nine organizations in conducting a state-wide school desegregation program to which we are committing both personnel and funds. Staff members participate in the State Voter Education Project, Commission on Civil Rights, Southern Interagency Conference, White House Planning Conference on "To Fulfill These Rights," S. C. Council on Human Relations, American Friends Service Committee and Southern Regional Council. An opportunity was presented to conduct a training course for Peace Corps volunteers for work in Nigeria. Reluctantly, Penn declined participation in the project when an alternative training program was proposed by the Program Review Committee.

"Essential But Not Enough"

This, then, is the situation which confronts Penn today and some of the things that we have been engaged in this year.

The pleasant aspect of these sea islands, the availability of economic opportunities, the limited gains of some Negro citizens, the lack of racial intimidation -- all this may blind us to the pervasive poverty enveloping the county. Penn has served here for over a century. Our perspective, our timetable needs revision. This is not just a staff problem, but one to which Trustees must address themselves.

President Johnson, in an address at Howard University, said this:

> "We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability. Not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result. To this end equal opportunity is essential but not enough, not enough."

It is against such a statement that Penn must project its programs and its planning.

* * * *

QUARTERLY REPORT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
March 1966

Activity in the past three months included the following:

1. Eight individuals have received loans through the Farmers Home Administration for home improvement and economic opportunity.

2. The rural water system in the Burton-Grays Hill area is nearing the point of securing a loan.

3. Fourteen people from eight communities visited the Arthurtown Day Care Center in Columbia, South Carolina.

4. Work has begun in the Chelsea-Low Bottom Community in Beaufort and Jasper Counties.

5. A Coordinating Committee has been formed of representatives of the major Negro action groups in Beaufort County.

6. High school and college students have been encouraged to apply for summer jobs in the post office, and older people have been encouraged to apply for Medicare.

7. A group of small farmers is forming a tomato and cucumber marketing cooperative in Beaufort County.

8. A county-wide survey has been made to determine the number of children of nursery school age.

9. The staff has considered and rejected a proposal to train Peace Corps volunteers for work in Nigeria.

10. The field directors assisted in distribution of Toys for Tots.

11. The community development staff is meeting twice a week to discuss the recommendations of the recent Program Review Committee meeting.

12. Work continues on a regular basis in nine communities.

ACTIVITY IN DETAIL

1. Construction has begun on six homes financed through FHA loans. Field directors have worked with individuals encouraging them to apply for the loans and following the procedures through. The appointment of Beaufort County's first full-time FHA supervisor made the processing of loans much easier for people of the communities. Field directors have assisted in orienting the supervisor, Mr. Wilbert Campbell, to the county.

2. An attorney has prepared a petition to be signed by land owners in the Burton and Grays Hill Communities as the water system moves toward securing a FHA loan. Community representatives have met with engineers and attorneys and preliminary surveys indicate that the cost to individuals in the communities will be reasonable. The staff is studying ways to enable the families to get water from the lines into their houses and install indoor plumbing.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
March, 1966

3. Fourteen people from seven communities in Beaufort County who are interested in day care center facilities visited the Arthurtown Day Care Center in Columbia, South Carolina recently to see what could be done in Beaufort County. The all-day trip included visits with the Richland County Economic Opportunity Commission. Since the trip, the communities have had an intensified interest in organizing day care centers under the Economic Opportunity Act.

4. Field director Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr. has begun work in the Chelsea-Low Bottom Community on a biweekly basis. In this community, which spans the Beaufort-Jasper County line, the people are receiving the program very well and have been meeting in a near-by church. The greatest problem in the community seems to be the lack of adequate water. The fact that people live in both Beaufort and Jasper Countues is significant in that the two counties have joined to form an Economic Opportunity Commission.

5. At the invitation of Penn, leaders of the Beaufort County Voters League, the Education Committee, the Beaufort County Teachers Association, county branches of the NAACP as well as other county leaders met to form the Beaufort County Coordinating Committee. The Committee meets periodically for information and coordination of their activities. The Committee succeeded in getting the registration books open more than the usual days per month, including a Saturday in one month which resulted in the registration of 210 Negroes on Saturday with a total of 377 for that month. The Committee, at its last meeting, decided to request a meeting with the Beaufort County Medical Society to express the feeling of Negroes concerning separate waiting room facilities.

6. Field directors have intensified efforts to see that all older people have signed up for Medicare before the March 31 deadline. The staff obtained application forms from the post office and distributed them to high schools for students to apply for civil service jobs at the post office during the summer. Principals report that a number of students have applied.

7. Several small and part-time tomato and cucumber growers on St. Helena Island initiated the idea of a county-wide marketing cooperative. Over fifty farmers have indicated their desire to join. Financed with a loan from Farmers Home Administration, the co-op would build a packing house, buy trucks and equipment and hire a broker to get a better price for their produce. A site for the cooperative has been selected and an application for the loan has been made. The farmers meet weekly at Penn.

8. Following an interest in day care centers throughout the county, and looking forward to the May 31 deadline for applications to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Penn has conducted a county-wide survey to determine the number of prospective students for day care centers. An application for day care centers throughout the county will be made and presented to the Beaufort-Jasper Economic Opportunity Commission for their consideration.

9. The staff spent several weeks considering and finally rejecting the possibility of training Peace Corps volunteers for work in Nigeria. The project, to be conducted by the Experiment in International Living, would have provided training in community development for college juniors who will spend two years in Nigeria following graduation. While this was being considered, the possibility of domestic community development training by the Penn staff was suggested by the Program Review Committee. The staff therefore decided not to continue negotiation with the Peace Corps.

10. In cooperation with the Welfare Department and American Legion, the staff assisted in getting names and later distributing toys in Beaufort County's annual "Toys for Tots" Christmas campaign.

11. The Program Review Committee has recommended a more directive approach to community development, and more county-wide involvement in our program. They also recommended that we look into the possibility of training people for community development work in the South. The staff meets regularly to plan for this expansion.

WORK IN COMMUNITIES

Daufuskie Island: The Daufuskie Island Improvement Club continues to work toward getting transportation and forming some sort of money-making enterprise on the Island. The weather has prevented the Field Director from visiting regularly and the worsening condition of the mailman's boat has increased the problem of transportation. The VISTA volunteer workers continue to work toward the development of a craft industry and the Improvement Club recently drafted a letter expressing their deep appreciation of the work of the Nethertons on Daufuskie Island. Plans for the future include the developing of crafts and farming produce that would be sold at a waterfront market in Savannah. The Art Department of Savannah State College is assisting in the development of crafts and the South Carolina Office of Economic Opportunity has been encouraging in terms of securing a boat.

Hilton Head Island: The people have been interested in a day care center and the Progressive Club, a long established organization on the Island, has joined with the community group to decide on the location of a day care center. A number of people have been having trouble with their telephone service and are working toward improvement in this regard. One man has applied for a loan to buy a shrimp boat, and there has been some building in the area. One man has just completed an adequate and beautiful grocery store and cafe on the main highway.

Bluffton: The nursery school committee has bought land for expansion of the nursery school and is in the process of drawing up plans for new construction of a school. The school will hopefully be constructed with the funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity and also the Department of Urban Development. Residents of the community plan to do much of the construction work themselves.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
March, 1966

The Emancipation Day of 1966 was held in Bluffton for the first time. The celebration, which is usually held in Beaufort, was well attended and there was cooperation from the white community in putting it on. The Bluffton community had a float in the parade.

The field director is now working every other week in Bluffton, alternating with Chelsea-Low Bottom Community.

Pritchardville: Residents have bought a new stove and installed lights in the praise house as they continue to meet weekly in the building. The possibility is being worked out in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council on initiating a self-help house-building project in Pritchardville. Based on the groundwork of cooperation that has been established in the community, this project has possibilities. Two homes recently burned in this community with the loss of two lives. One man has enrolled in a bricklaying course in the STEP School.

Chelsea-Low Botton Community: Work began on January 1 following a survey of the area by Barnwell and Gill. This area is relatively isolated from both the upper and lower ends of the county and it is in both Beaufort and Jasper Counties, just below the Broad River Bridge. There are 51 families in the area, many working in the seafood industry and at two oyster factories in the area. Others work in outlying towns. There are problems of sanitation and need for jobs, transportation, child care, housing, water, and care for the aging.

The Field Director has been well accepted in the community. As many as 20 people attend the evening meetings. The need for water and indoor sanitation facilities is the expressed need of the people. The field director has referred many of the people to the Farmers Home Administration and the Employment Security Commission.

Coffins Point: Five from this community went to the Arthurtown Day Care Center but as yet no community interest has developed in establishing a day care center in this area. Two Opportunity Loans have been made to farmers and two people have applied for FHA housing loans. Community meetings have been hampered by the weather this winter. The young people are still active in the evening meetings, however, and are making plans for an excursion this summer.

Burton: Most of the time and efforts of this community have been taken up with the water district that is being formed. At present, there are 311 families who are interested in water in the total Burton-Laurel Bay-Grays Hill areas. The people of this community, where the interest began, continue to take the lead. This project has successfully involved communities where we are not working regularly.

The community is planning a community center under the Economic Opportunity Act for day care, recreation and adult education, using the building where meetings are now held.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
March, 1966

Grays Hill:

Six new houses are going up in this area as a result of FHA loans. The community has conducted a survey to determine the number of nursery school children in the area. The water district, which will go through this community, has been the object of much interest and work throughout the winter. A workcamp of students from Furman University will be at Penn the week-end after Easter to help the community repair and paint their praise house.

Big Estate: Work continues, but slowly, in planning for the nursery school. The project is being held up pending transfer of the school property from the school board back to the community. This community has been particularly active in voter registration and a number of people went to Columbia to see the Arthurtown Day Care Center.

Activities of the Staff: Thomas Barnwell, Jr. was ordained a deacon in his church on Hilton head Island. Everett Gill recently moved into his newly built house near Penn. Joseph McDomick, Jr. topped them all by becoming the proud father of a seven-pound baby boy.

CONFERENCES AT PENN CENTER
January 1, 1965-December 31, 1965

GROUP	DURATION IN DAYS	NUMBER	GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	COMPOSITION
Southeastern Baha'i Winter School	4	151	13 States and Iran	Bi-Racial
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Teacher Refresher Course	3	108	8 Southern states	Negro
S. C. Voter Education Project First Congressional District	1	28	South Carolina	Negro
Paine College Student Council	2	23	Georgia	Negro
Guilford College Choir	2	45	North Carolina	White
Florida A&M Dancers	2	13	Florida	Negro
South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations	3	85	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
Sea Island Folk Singers	3	15	South Carolina and Georgia	Bi-Racial
State-Wide Conference on School Desegregation	3	200	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
High School Workcamp, S. C. Council on Human Relations	3	17	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
Johnson C. Smith University Zoology Class	3	38	North Carolina	Negro
Southeastern Quaker Retreat	3	25	N. C. and Georgia	Bi-Racial
NAACP Task Force on Voter Registration	3	53	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
S. C. Voter Education Project First Congressional District	2	10	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
S. C. State Board of Health Midwife Institute	12	76	South Carolina	Negro
Southeastern Baha'i Summer School	9	71	National	Bi-Racial

CONFERENCES AT PENN CENTER

GROUP	DURATION IN DAYS	NUMBER	GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	COMPOSITION
Penn Alumni Association	3	35	Philadelphia	Negro
Presbyterian Junior Camp	7	55	South Carolina	Negro
United Presbyterian Men's Group	2	30	South Carolina	Negro
Palmetto Education Association	3	109	South Carolina	Negro
Lutherna Workcamp	10	17	National	White
NAACP Youth Retreat	3	49	South Carolina	Negro
St. Michael's Truth Center	7	34	New York City	Negro
SCLC SCOPE Retreat	6	82	Atlanta, Ga.	Bi-Racial
S. C. Student Council on Human Relations	3	79	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
Semi-Annual Convention, S. C. Voter Education Project	2	10	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
SCLC Citizenship School Training Session	5	60	4 southern states	Bi-Racial
S. C. Student Council on Human Relations	3	79	South Carolina	Bi-Racial
Southeastern Quaker Retreat	3	20	S. C., N. C. and Georgia	Bi-Racial
Friends World College	7	42	National	Bi-Racial
Southeastern Baha'i Winter School	6	60	National	Bi-Racial

FUTURE CONFERENCES SCHEDULED

National Conference on Race Methodist Church	February 1-11
Congress of Racial Equality	February 16-20
Congress of Racial Equality	March 19-20
Furman University, Greenville, S. C., Retreat	April 12-17
Congress of Racial Equality	April 23-24
Southeastern Quaker Retreat	May 13-23
Congress of Racial Equality	May 21-22
S. C. State Board of Health Midwife Institute	June 13-23
Palmetto Education Association	August 15-17

File
Penn Community Services

JB
ES
Ret. to MMJ

September 7, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thank you for the good and thorough report on the school desegregation program.

I think all of us involved more than got our money's worth out of this one.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

HB - interesting info in rept

ES - MJ

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

September 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a report of the Project In School Desegregation which SRC so generously supported. The conclusions we reached are of no news to you and would be curious to know if your reactions are similar.

The funds have not been fully expended, and we expect David Carter to continue throughout the month of September. We asked him at the beginning of August to not work for several weeks, as funds were running low, so that he could work into the school year. When the project is completed we will send you a complete list of expenditures.

The Jasper County Board of Education re-opened its registration, so David resumed work on August 24. Likewise, the federal court announced a decision today requiring further pupil and faculty desegregation in the court-order districts, so that I am sure David Carter will be working in these areas as well.

I am enclosing a copy of the news story of the conference on desegregation held in Columbia last April as well as a list of the communities visited by David Carter.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

enclosures

S.C. Integration Guidelines Issued

By HUGH E. GIBSON
Staff Reporter

COLUMBIA — South Carolina' must begin abolishing her dual school system this year and make "significant" progress in meshing teaching staffs, federmeshing teaching staffs, federal officials said here yester-

Both steps must be taken under the revised and tougher 1966 "guidelines" issued by the U.S. Office of Education, spokesmen for that organization told an all-day conference at Dreher High School.

The parley, one of nine scheduled this spring in the south, drew an estimated 700 to 800 persons, mostly Negro. Held under U. S Commission on Civil rights auspices. It was sponsored by the commission's S. C. Advisory Committee.

Committee Chairman E. R. McIver of Conway presided during the opening round of speeches by feleral and local officials. The gathering then divided into five workshop groups to spend the rest of the day familiarizing itself with the fine print of the new guidelines.

The keynote address was by F. Peter Libassi, special assistant for civil rights to the secretary for Health, Education anl Welfare (HEW), parent department for the education commission.

Breifing the gathering on the special fields were Samuel J. Simmons, field services division director for the Civil Rights Commission, and U. S. District Attorney General Terrell L. Glenn of Columbia.

Columbia's Mayor Pro Tempo Hyman Rubin extended a welcome from the city government. He noted that good race relations were a key factor in bringing Columbia its second "Al-

(See GUIDELINES, Page 8-A)

Continued From Page 2-A

American" city award last year.

Libassi, keynoting the session,, made it clear that HEW's ultimate goal is a single, South Carolina school system for all races. Significant progress toward more integration of Negro pupils and a start on merged facilities must be demonstrated during 1966-67 by all school districts, he stressed.

The tool to make this happen is the new, tougher set of federal guidelines for the coming school year.

"These guidelines can work, and these guidelines can work in South Carolina, Libassi insisted.

But the 1966 guidelines are "only the beginning" of school desegregation, Libassi said. President Lyndon B. Johnson is determined to "stamp out the last vestiges (of segregation) in our beloved America," he reported.

A summary of the new guidelines, passed out to all attending the conference, laid down these four basic requirements:

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans.

2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and other staff members.

3. Progress in closing small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups.

4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

"Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years, and will be judged in accordance with the federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their schools," the summary stipulated.

"The basic criterion for the commissioner's interpretation of these guidelines is measurable evidence of progress and good faith effort to eliminate the dual school system as quickly as possible," the publication declared.

Libassi said the new guidelines were patterned on federal court orders interpretating integration requirements, not on the U. S. Constitution.

That the required changes will pose "agonizing" difficulties is recognized in Washington, Libassi said. He called for full cooperation among all concerned to ease the transition, and he pledged HEW's best efforts to lend an enforcement hand.

The final aim, as seen in Washington, is to "build something of beauty" — a new era in which all people will respect the dignity and rights of their fellow men, Libassi explained.

Precisely what Washington will accept as "substantial achievements" and "significant progress" was nowhere spelled out at the conference.

But another HEW official, W. Stanley Kurger, gave South Carolina schoolmen a rough "rule of thumb" to apply in assessing their "freedom of choice" integration plans.

In this state, where only 2 per cent of the total Negro students were integrated last year, these performance figures will be expected during 1966-67:

— 8 or 9 per cent integration last year must be at least doubled next fall.

The News and Courier, Sun., April 3, 1966 2-A
CHARLESTON, S.C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

COMMUNITIES VISITED IN SOUTH CAROLINA BY MR. DAVID CARTER

IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

1. Abbeville, S. C.
2. Aiken, S. C.
3. Allendale, S. C.
4. Anderson, S. C.
5. Appleton, S. C.
6. Bamberg, S. C.
7. Barnwell, S. C.
8. Blackville, S. C.
9. Belton, S. C.
10. Calhoun Falls, S. C.
11. Chappello, S. C.
12. Cheraw, S. C.
13. Clinton, S. C.
14. Clemson, S. C.
15. Crosshill, S. C.
16. Columbia, S. C.
17. Denmark, S. C.
18. Fair Forest, S. C.
19. Fountain Inn
20. Frogmore, S. C.
21. Greenwood, S. C.
22. Greenville, S. C.
23. Gaffney, S. C.
24. Honea Path, S. C.
25. Iva, S. C.
26. Johnston, S. C.
27. Jonesville, S. C.
28. McCormick, S. C.
29. Manning, S. C.
30. Neyle, S. C.
31. Ninety Six, S. C.
32. Pacolet, S. C.
33. Pendleton, S. C.
34. Sumter, S. C.
35. Seneca, S. C.
36. Saluda, S. C.
37. Taylor, S. C.
38. Union, S. C.
39. Walterboro, S. C.
40. Welford, S. C.
41. Westminister, S. C.
42. Woodruff, S. C.
43. Williston, S. C.
44. Whitmire, S. C.
45. Laurens, S. C.
46. Orangeburg, S. C.
47. Red Oak, S. C.
48. Spartanburg, S. C.

PROJECT IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Spring and Summer-1966

Penn Community Services recieved three grants totaling four thousand five hundred dollars ($4,500) from the New World and the Aaron E. Norman Foundations and the Southern Regional Council. Since the Guidelines issued by the U. S. Office of Education again placed the burden of responsibility on Negro parents to seek transfers to the formerly white schools, the purpose of the grant was to encourage Negro parents in the state to apply for school transfers. This project was to be carried out primarily through the holding of a state-wide conference on school desegregation and the hiring of a full-time person to visit communities throughout the state.

The conference was held in Columbia on April 2, 1966, and the person employed for the project was Rev. David Carter of Newberry, South Carolina. The American Friends Service Committee also received a grant for work in school desegregation and placed a full-time representative in South Carolina, as well as using a number of part-time program associates. This permitted Mr. Carter to concentrate in fewer communities.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights became interested in such conferences and sponsored a conference in most of the Southern states, with the local State Advisory Committees to the Commission on Civil Rights assuming the responsibility for organization of the conferences. The Commission staffed the conferences with representatives of federal agencies with the responsibilities in school desegregation, as well as state superintendents of schools, human relations and civil rights representatives. The purpose was to explain what the guidelinex were, the responsibilities of the agencies designated to implement the guidelines as well as South Carolinians relating how desegregation was begun in their areas. Out of some 5,500 invitations issued, there was an attendance of between seven and eight hundred persons. Much of the expense for organizing the conference such as mailing out of invitations, renting the auditorium and sound system was assumed by the Commission.

The private agencies then sponsored a session following the Commission meeting, where techniques of community organization for desegregation were discussed. This was held in the Masonic Hall in Columbia and an evening meal was provided. Actual expense money was given to those who brought carloads of persons. Some nine other agencies assisted in supplying names for the Commission conference as well as the private meeting. The total cost for this conference was approximately nine hundred dollars ($9,000). There were some 67 carloads of persons whose transportation was paid and included in this amount.

PROJECT IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA (continued)

REV. DAVID CARTER:

Mr. Carter began work in mid-March. During this period through August, he has worked in some 40 communities, a list of which is attached. The time spent in each is varied from one day to a week. His area was primarily in the Piedmont-the Northeastern section of the state- and in the Southern area around Barnwell where he grew up.

The pattern which he followed was to notify community leaders prior to a visit of his coming. He would then visit many of the leaders within the community, followed by a meeting in the evening where the Guidelines and program of school desegregation were outlined and where plans were made for visiting parents to encourage transfer of their children to white schools. In some communities he found excellent cooperation and good organization, whereas in others, he had to assume more responsibility.

David Carter worked very closely with the AFSC representative, Hayes Mizell, so that the work would not be duplicated. Likewise, regular reports were made following each field visit, summarizing the situation in the community, the prospects for desegregation and names and addresses of those active in the program.

One draw-back of the program was that Mr. Carter was not able to begin earlier. The Guidelines were not issued until March, requiring a 30-day transfer period to be completed by the end of April. Most of the school districts had their periods from April 1-30. Therefore, in order to reach a number of communities, there was not time to remain sufficiently long in any one town to develop a good community organization which might have produced considerably more transfers.

After the April 30 deadline, there were several districts which held their transfer periods after that date. In addition to these, Mr. Carter worked in other districts that had not yet signed the required form 441-B, and in districts under court order which had later transfer periods. While more time could be spent in these districts, it often was a case of working with less cooperative school administrators and/or school boards.

Private agencies had a difficult time deciding where to best utilize their resources during the summer while working in school desegregation. Representatives of the Office of Education had emphasized last spring that school districts would have to reopen their transfer periods if the earlier period did not produce a sufficient number of transfers. Early in June it was known that few school districts in the state had met desegregation requirements, yet apparently only two school districts in the state reopened their transfer periods - and within two weeks of the opening of school.

RESULTS OF THE PROGRAM:

If one looks at the number of Negro students transferring

to white schools this year, as compared to transfers last year, it would show that a good deal had been accomplished. However, when judged against the goal of eliminating the dual school system, both the number and the percentage of transfers are disappointing. In communities where Mr. Carter worked, the increase of transfers varied between 5 to 321. In some communities, he was not the only one to visit there, and, in some places there already existed a strong community organization.

Below are some eight communities in which Mr. Carter worked, showing the increases in transfers:

TOWN	LAST YEAR's TRANSFERS	NEXT YEAR'S TRANSFERS	PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN WHITE SCHOOLS NEXT YEAR
Allendale	0	100	4.4
Anderson #2	0	50	5.4
Barnwell	0	62	6.4
Honea Path	0	50	5.4
McCormick	0	18	1.0
Laurens	8	115	5.2
Woodruff	17	81	10.3
Spartanburg	20	341	7.5

On the state level, there have been 11,163 Negroes requesting transfers to white schools next year out of 219,044 in the 95 school districts offering freedom-of-choice plans. This number amounts to only 5.1 percent of the Negroes enrolled in school, which is considerably below the percentage originally required of school districts by the Office of Education in order to be judged in compliance. It is furthermore assumed that South Carolina will not differ greatly from the other Southern states in the number or percentage of Negro transfers next year.

It would further appear that there will be little faculty desegregation, although few figures have been announced. The school board and superintendents, as well as legislators and other officials, have been standing firm against anything but token faculty desegregation. Again, this is in violation of the Guidelines, which indicated that the school district should have the equivalent of one teacher in each school of the opposite race from the majority of students.

PROJECT IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

One must conclude that under the Freedom-of-Choice Plan which was used in some 90 percent of the school districts in South Carolina, there has not been adequate desegregation, even where the plan was fairly administered and where there was some community organization. At the beginning of the Penn-AFSC desegregation program, there had been the expectation of massive transfers of Negroes to white schools in some communities, thus requiring student and faculty desegregation in Negro schools as well. However, to our knowledge, the white schools are all making provisions to absorb the transfers without assigning white children or faculty members to the Negro schools.

While we are not satisfied with the results of this program, there are at least two accomplishments: (1) A number of Negro parents and students realized the importance of integrated quality education and took advantage of the transfer opportunities and (2) South Carolina served as a testing ground for the "Freedom-Of-Choice" Plans to accomplish the goal of a single non-segregated school system and proved that such a plan alone could not achieve the goal.

August 31, 1966

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Attachments

File
Penn Community Services
cr. of
New World Fd.
re. S.C. School Desegregation
Project

MM file

November 3, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for the accounting of the school project. I am delighted that you were able to make a small refund to the New World Foundation. There is no need to make a similar refund to us. Please use the magnificent sum of $6.86 as you see best.

Look forward to seeing you on the 16th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

October 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have concluded the project on school desegregation about which I wrote you on September 1. It was, of course, very frustrating in knowing how best to use our sources. Two school districts did re-open registration dates,where David Carter spent most of his time.

Now that we have the balance of expenses in, we can wind up the project.From the sheet you will note that there has been expenditure of $4,472.55 out of the $4,500 combined grant. This leaves a balance of $27.45, of which we have turned over one half to the New World Foundation as a refund. According to our calculations, we are in debt to you of $6.86. Please advise us as to how you wish it, cash, money order or a steak dinner.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

CS/fm
Enclosure

PROJECT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Penn Community Services, Inc.

EXPENSES OF DIRECTOR, Rev. David Carter		
Salary, Social Security	$1,840.64	
Travel: Mileage, Hotel, Meals	1,299,13	
Payment toward office rent in Columbia, S. C.	60.00	
		$3,199.77
STATEWIDE CONFERENCE, Columbia, S. C.		
Rental of Hall	125.00	
200 Meals for Conference Attenders	309.00	
Travel Expense for Attenders (67 carloads)	380.50	
Two Planning Meetings	20.10	
Postage & Extra Secretarial Help	91.28	
		$ 925.88
CONSULTATIONS:		
2 Meetings AFSC Staff 1 Meeting NEA in Atlanta, Ga.		$ 220.26
ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSE, Frogmore, S. C.		
Office Supplies	.93	
Telephone	85.71	
Materials	40.00	
		$ 126.64
TOTAL EXPENDITURES:		$4,472.55
BALANCE FROM GRANTS OF $4,500	$27.45	

File Penn Community Services

October 18, 1967

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Because of some correspondence that has just come to my attention, I recall with horror that I am almost a year late in writing you an important letter.

Last year you were dropped from Council membership and ordinarily you would have received a somewhat routine letter of appreciation after the meeting. This was not done in your case because I wanted to inform you of the circumstances. Several years ago the Council adopted a policy that the staff of agences with which we work should not serve on our policy board. This is, I think, a sound decision and probably the only one. Nevertheless, it becomes somewhat awkward in this case.

Please know how much all of us here appreciate your leadership and how much

we wish you could still be one of our official bosses.

Should you and Elizabeth find it possible to attend the Annual Meeting on November 1-3 at the Atlanta Biltmore, we would be more than please to have you as our guests.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 10/25/67 wj

File

File

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

October 24, 1967

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

(803) 524-4337

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you indeed for your letter of October 18, concerning membership in the Council. I agree completely with the policy of staff members not serving on the policy boards of sister agencies. In fact, even though Penn has not passed such a resolution, I do not believe we have such persons on our board either.

When Harold Fleming was Director, he mentioned this policy, and I reminded him that my membership violated the policy and offered to resign; I believe he indicated that it was not necessary.

In this intervening period, I should have taken the initiative to submit my resignation but frankly, I did not have the "guts" to do so. The Council members were, and still are, such an interesting group - I am not aware of a similar assemblage- that Elizabeth and I look forward to seeing these people at annual meetings. Likewise, a few years ago when opposition was much stronger to any form of moderation, Elizabeth and I felt that these meetings proved a necessary "escape" from an often hostile environment to a place where issues could be discussed freely among congenial persons. While we will certainly miss these meetings, we are not quite so desperate for escape. We are indeed grateful, though, for these experiences.

I trust, however, that this severing of an umbilical cord does not preclude the continuation of our tradition of having the Chairman of SRC, as he steps down from office, become the Chairman of Penn.

We appreciate the invitation to the annual meeting but will be unable to attend because of a comflicting engagement.

With best regards,

Courtney

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

REGARDING

Siceloff Card transmitting criticism of SRC in Article released by Grass Roots League of Dec. 20, 1967

DATE

1-5-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

DEFENSE MATERIALS ATTACKS

File
Penn Community Services

May 20, 1968

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

You have no idea how much I sympathize, empathize, regret, and understand the situation and your situation relative to the material you have sent me.

It's easy to say and hard to do, but keep heart. If we can do anything to help, let me know.

All best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Hi Paul —
What jobs are open at SRC
these days?

Paul

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, PROGRAM REVIEW COMMITTEE, FORD FOUNDATION, FIELD FOUNDATION, FUTURE TRAINING GROUPS, COMMUNITY LEADERS, ETC.

FROM: THE GEORGIA TRAINEES AND BLACK STAFF OF PENN

RE: HANDICAPS OF AND RESOLUTIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAM AT PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

DATE: May 17, 1968

At the request of the Georgia Training Group, a Black Caucus was held to evaluate the training program from the point of black people who are primarily effected.

Enclosed please find the results of the Caucus.

May 13, 1968

WE THE GEORGIA TRAINEES FOUND THE FOLLOWING THINGS TO BE DEFINITE HANDICAPS IN THE PENN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM;

1. No decisive directions from the top.

2. The Community Development program does not represent the thinking of the black people.

3. The program is too closed -- the local people do not know about it.

4. The program is too passive and middle class and does not reach down to the people it is intended to serve.

5. Poor trainee recruitment.

6. Rules and regulations of Penn's policies are unclear on controversial issues.

7. Too many white directors in Penn's agency who are suppose to be helping the black people to come to self realization.

8. There are no blacks in positions of authority in Penn's agency.

ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE STATED FACTS WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:

1. That the directors take a firm and public stand on local, state and national issues that are detrimental to, and beneficial for the Welfare of black people in South Carolina.

2. That the program include public relations.

3. We also resolve that a black person be the Coordinator for the Community Development program at Penn Center

4. The Community Development be expanded.

5. All training groups be informed of the future development in the Community Development program.

6. We resolve that the orientation program should give clear emphasis as to the policies of Penn and its stand on current issues relative to black people.

7. We also resolve that some black professional person from Beaufort County be included on the staff.

8. A car be made available to the trainees

9. There should be some policies pretaining to employees and trainees in interpersonal relationship.

Resolutions continued

10. There be separate accommodations for trainees(male and female)

11. An effective follow through on local Community Development plans -- Coop, Welfare, Health, and Education.

12. We resolve the Kerner report be a basis for the guidelines for Community Development at Penn Center.

13. We request a follow through of the resolutions and that the Georgia group be constantly informed.

14. We also resolve that the discussion and selection of Interns be open to the trainees.

THESE HANDICAPS AND RESOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED AND UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED AND ADOPTED BY THE FOLLOWING PERSONS. WE ARE ALSO PROUD THAT WE HAD THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE BLACK PERSONS ON THE STAFF UNAMIOUSLY IN SUPPORT OF THESE RESOLUTIONS.

James Burch
Leroy Brown
C. D. Camp
J. T. Cheek
Wynell Clemons
J. P. Collins
Willie Davis, Jr.
Nancy F. Drew
Joseph Frazier, Sr.
Roy Gloster
Willie Ann Howard
Mrs. E. Major
Joseph McDomick
Frieda Mitchell
Dorothy Revels
Isaac Richmond
Richard Sheffield
F. Spencer Scrutchins
Josephine Stevenson
Jessiemae Warren
Annie Pearl Young

WE ALSO RESOLVE THAT A COPY OF THE HANDICAPS AND RESOLUTIONS BE SENT TO THE FOLLOWING:

Each staff member
Each Board Member
Program Review Committee
Community Leaders of Beaufort County
South Carolina Training group
Mr. Edley at the Ford Foundation
Mrs. Marshall-Field Foundation
The Georgia group and the incoming group

MF.

JC — F.Y.I.

HCH

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
Director

Dear Harold —

Want to compliment you on the recent "special Report" on ~~Student~~ "sit-ins". It was quite well done & very helpful personally to know of the legal questions & other background material.

AM Secret ~~bar~~ of Chevaux, SC had a good editorial on the "sit-ins" — though not as liberal as one would wish. However, if he is not on your mailing list for special reports, I think he should be added.

Billing did a good job for us — hope his nerves aren't too jangled from the experience.

Courtney

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Article from Clarion Ledger Oct 15 1965 Judge Staples Hits Burners, Politicians Cross Hate in Intermorgs. — filed in Research

TH
TH
PW
BT - file cly
MJ - note & file letter

Les —

I thought you might be interested in this. Sounds pretty good coming out of a Miss. judge.

The program SCLC meeting looks good & Eliz & I are making plans to come.

Courtney

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Harold —

My arm has been twisted into accepting the check — it didn't take much twisting. When the check arrived at the time of an exhausted bank account (a monthly feat accomplished around the 5th of each month), a horse laugh from the wife at the idea of doing anything but keeping it settled matters with a finality that left no indecision.

Many thanks,

Courtney

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Harold —

a letter — quite a good one — from Harry Ernst. I must say that SRC is getting plenty of publicity in these columns the last few weeks. Can't think of a better place for a forum.

"Lost — but not least" — a daughter arrived Friday at 6:30 — 7#7oz — at precisely the time Quakers were arriving at Penn for a meeting!! Mary Caroline is the name.

Incidentally, I told

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island — Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

John said mom that he had a sister (he had been wanting a lady); he was very delighted. after 5 minutes, he asked, "Is it a boy or a girl?"

Courtney

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Dear Sir:

Your letter was received today. Unfortunately, Mr. Siceloff will be out of the office until January 2. He will communicate with you concerning this matter as soon as he returns.

Sincerely,

Leroy E. Brown,
Maintenance Supt.

Penn Community Center

Dear Friends:

We have had some very interesting activities over the Christmas Holidays, which we would like to share with you.

Last November at the Southern Regional Council Meeting in Atlanta, Marion Wright and I talked with another member of the Council, Mr. Paul Green, in the hope that he would be interested in visiting Penn at the time of the Mystery Play. He agreed to do this, and came down with his wife from his home in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, spending the night here at Penn. Marion Wright also arranged to come down for the occasion.

Paul Green is a well-known dramatist and author of such outdoor dramas as, The Lost Colony, playing at Manteo, North Carolina, and dramas playing at Berea College and Bardstown in Kentucky, at Virginia Beach, Jamestown and Williamsburg, Virginia, and has one planned at Jacksonville, Florida. So far, none of these dramas has dramatized the life and history of the Negro, and we felt that the area here would lend itself very well to this. We were interested to learn that Mr. Green is quite in accord with this and had actually come to Beaufort at the request of several local persons, some ten to twelve years ago, with this in mind. However, at that time the idea dropped for lack of community support.

It was a moving experience to discuss with Mr. and Mrs. Green the possibilities of such a play, as well as hear their comments on the Mystery Play. They feel that if such a play could be developed in this area, that a handicraft industry could also be developed alongside and have an immediate outlet through patrons of the play. Mr. Green is willing to return to discuss this again, both with trustees and local people on St. Helena and Beaufort. It is possible that arrangements could be made for him to visit during the time of the trustee meeting, if trustees were interested in this.

The Mystery Play was quite a success this year. For the first time there were two performances given. The first performance on Friday had about half the house filled, whereas the one on Sunday was completely packed with people standing in the aisles. Mr. and Mrs. Green met with several members of the cast following the play, and gave a number of interesting suggestions on how it might be improved, so that it might in itself be quite a drawing card throughout the Christmas season. Some $190 was taken up in collection during the two nights and the cast expects to use some of this to buy costumes and other equipment for future plays.

For those who were not acquainted with the Mystery Play, the script was brought here to the Island in 1916 by Miss Cooley and Miss House, a gift from a school in New England. A number of changes were made to adapt it to the local situation. It is the Christmas Story, but a large number of spirituals are used, and it has a cast of sixty.

The Play has been put on continuously since 1916, and after the school was turned over to the county, the entire direction assumed by Mr. and Mrs. King. At present it is being given once every two years, but from the enthusiastic reception it received this year, it may be given annually.

Christmas Day began in the usual manner, with some eight "angels" entering silently into the house in the early morning and serenading with spirituals. These angels made some thirty visits on the island before returning home at daybreak.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

P.S. Enclosed are the minutes of the Board meeting of November 7. You will note that the date of the next meeting has been fixed for March 7 here at St. Helena Island. A detailed agenda and schedule for that meeting will be sent to you soon.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

PROPOSAL FOR STUDY OF SMALL-TOWN AND RURAL AREAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn Community Services, Inc., offers the following proposal for a grant of $5,000 to enable it to perform a unique service in the field of human relations in the South. Penn seeks to secure a definitive study of the inequalities of opportunity between races and the causes of resistance to change in the rural areas of the South. It would search out also the tactics to be employed in overcoming such resistance, and the most effective roles of existing agencies and groups throughout the region.

Since the Supreme Court decision in 1954 set the stage for a "break-through" in the field of human relations, the efforts of most agencies in the South have been largely in the area of implementing this and subsequent decisions relating to schools and public facilities. Desegregation in the South has taken place largely in border states and in urban areas.

The rural and small-town areas of the deep South have been necessarily neglected. Here there exist the greatest gaps between Negro and white citizens in the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. Perhaps more crucial now than school desegregation in these communities is the obtaining of basic civil rights. It is entirely possible that southern opposition might not be so unyielding in some such areas as medical and hospital services; private and public employment; libraries, transportation, voter registration, judicial procedures, public and private housing. It is possible, also, that successes in such areas would favorably affect the effort to secure acceptance of the school decrees.

Method

To secure the best possible advice and direction on the points of immediate and long-range goals in the field of racial discrimination, Penn proposes to bring together at its campus specialists in the field of human relations who combine professional skills with practical experience in the rural South. The group would list the areas most and least likely to yield results and propose priorities of effort. It would also suggest methods and techniques to be employed, and define the role of such agencies as human relations organizations, extension services, the church and the press.

The geographical area involved in the study would be the state of South Carolina, which is typical of the "hard-core" states. These states are still largely rural and small-town areas with a relatively large Negro population. The economic and cultural status of such states bears striking similarity to each other. They face common problems which might have common solutions. Obviously, such a study of one state would be more thorough and definitive than a more generalized study of all the "hard-core" states.

Personnel

The working party would consist of not more than ten persons, of such caliber and qualifications as the following:

Philip Hammer, Economic Planner

Dr. Louis Killian, Sociologist, Florida State University

Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Sociologist, Haverford College

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary, NAACP

Dr. Guy Johnson, Sociologist, University of North Carolina

Rev. Will Campbell, Southern Race Relations Program, National Council of Churches

Dr. C. Waldo Scott, Surgeon, Newport News, Virginia

Eugene Cox, Rural Life Specialist, National Council of Churches

Miss Jean Fairfax, Southern Program Representative, American Friends Service Committee

Staff representative of Southern Regional Council

In undertaking this work the group would gather once, and perhaps twice, at Penn Center. Together with the Southern Regional Council, the Penn staff would provide documents and materials in preparation for the study.

Penn Center is peculiarly suited for this role. For almost a century, it has been active in the field of community-centered education for Negroes on the South Carolina coast. In recent years it has provided conference facilities for varied groups of both races, and it has initiated an educational program concerned with human relations and civil rights in South Carolina. The secluded campus permits concentration with little outside interference.

The findings of this working party could have far-reaching results. The conclusions arrived at would be printed in pamphlet form and given appropriate distribution. Interested local organizations and communities could use this guide; agencies working in the area of human relations would be enabled to evaluate their own programs and plan future action; foundations and individuals might use this study as reference for securing the wisest possible use of their resources.

Penn Community Services itself is one agency that would be prepared to implement at once the findings of this survey. Penn could initiate conferences of groups whose roles are forecast in the study, so that specific recommendations could be considered and acted upon.

Attached hereto are a proposed budget for this study and a brochure describing the work of Penn Community Services. Contributions to Penn are deductible for tax purposes.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

By: _____
Marion A. Wright, Chairman
Board of Trustees

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RURAL STUDY

Honoraria	$ 1,250
Travel to Penn Center (2 trips)	2,500
Accommodations at Penn Center	300
Printing and distribution of findings	700
Overhead expense allocated to study	250
	$ 5,000

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

1959-1960 Budget

INCOME:		
Contributions	$ 6,500.00	
Returns on Invested Funds	12,950.00	
Conferences and Institutes (net)	600.00	
Rent (net)	2,080.00	
Total income		22,130.00
EXPENSES:		
Salaries of Personnel	12,658.00	
Program expenses	6,115.00	
Office, auditing and publicity	1,855.00	
Trustee expense	1,450.00	
Maintenance expenses	3,425.00	
Total operating expenses	25,503.00	
Non-operating expenses, Pensions	4,859.00	
Total expenses		30,362.00
AMOUNT TO BE RAISED:		$ 8,232.00

Penn Community Center

ADAMS, PAUL GREEN STANLEY, N.C.
PATTON, MRS. JAMES D. (GRACE ALLEN), 80 ELLIOTS RD., FORT WALTON, FLA.
ARMFIELD, ROY HANES, 1712 FRIENDLY ROAD, GREENSBORO, N.C.
ASHCRAFT, THOMAS L., 16TH FLOOR L & C TOWER, NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE
BAKER, MAUDE ELECTRA, VANCE ST., REIDSVILLE, N.C.
BARDEN, JAMES F. JR., BOX 45, WELDON, N.C.
BECKHAM, BERTRAM HOPE JR., 410 S. CHAPMAN ST., GREENSBORO, N.C.
SMITH, MRS. O.H. (ANNIE MARILLA BEESON), GUILFORD, N.C.
BOYLES, MRS. NORMAN S. (CATHARINE BEITTEL), 3617 FRIENDLY ROAD, GREENSBORO, N.C.
(BENBOW, JOHN -- DECEASED)
ROOS, MRS. ALBERT (MARY ELIZABETH BENBOW), 1040 SYLVAN PL., KIRKWOOD 22, MISSOURI
BELL, EDNA BENGEL, 274 W. CLINTON AVE., BERGENFIELD, N.J.
BEST, TILDA, BELLTOWN, TENN.
SAWYER, MRS. KEITT, VANCEBORO, N.C. (DORIS MAE BLAND)
ALEXANDER, MRS. MALCOLM (MARY PRISCILLA BLOUCH), 465 ENGLE ST., ENGLEWOOD, N.J.
BOLES, GILMER CLINTON, JONESVILLE, N.C.
BOLES, ROY LESTER, BOONVILLE, N.C.
BOLES, TROY TRANSOU, JONESVILLE, N.C.
BORING, EDWIN GARRIGUES JR., 1113 EAST TRINITY AVE., DURHAM, N.C.
BOSHER, RALPH G., BIRDNECK POINT, VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.
BOWMAN, JUNE DORSEY, 1331 SEMINOLE DRIVE, GREENSBORO, N.C.
HICKS, MRS. RONALD (DOROTHY IRENE CARSON), 229 LAKEVIEW CIRCLE, KINGSPORT, TENN.
CHAMBERS, PAUL B. JR., BEVERLY RDO., LAKEVIEW VILLAGE, ROUTE 44, NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.
CHRISTENSEN, JOHN M. JR., LINDIS FARNE AVENUE, WESTMONT, N.J.
CLAYTON, WILLIAM FRNAKLIN JR., BOX 1105, FAYETTEVILLE, N.C.
CLEAVER, EMILY K., 189 E. McMILLAN, CINCINNATI 19, OHIO
CUSCONNELL, MRS. FRANK B. JR. (MILDRED COBLE), 625 MORRISON AVE., KINGSPORT, TENN.
STROOK, MRS. E.F. (BERTHA VENITA COCKMAN), 1412 MORAVIA, HOLLY HILL, FLORIDA
COOLE, MRS. WAKEFIELD A. (EUGENIA COLTRANE), JAMESTOWN, N.C.
COOCH, ROGER WILLIAM JR., BOX 108, SLATER, S.C.
COX, DAVID C., BOX 1394, CHARLOTTE, N.C.
FYE, MRS. RICHARD L. (MARY ALICE CRONISTER), PEENS FURNACE, PA.
CURTIS, ERNEST HARRIS, 819 DOUGLAS ST., GREENSBORO, N.C.
DARDEN, HARRY LEE
DODDS, RAYMOND HARRIS, 213 LEES AVENUE, COLLINGSWOOD, N.J.
DAVIS, RICHARD EDWARD, 68 POPLAR ST., CANTON, N.C.
DORFY, DR. FRANK D.
SHOOBRIDGE, MRS. BRUCE (HELEN GRAY DOUGLAS), BUSHY PARK, DERWENT, TASMANIA. AUSTRALIA
DUNKHORST, ISABEL, 409 PLEASANT AVE., NEW MILFORD, N.J.
DUNNAGAN, CLAUDE V., YADKINVILLE, N.C.
ELDRIDGE, DR. ROBERT H., JR., 242 STOCKTON ST., HIGHSTOWN, N.J.
EVANS, CLYDE JR., 113 S. VIRGINIA ST., GOLDSBORO, N.C.
WILKENS, MRS. CARL (ADELAIDE ELIZABETH FIEDELDEY), 17703 ROY ST., LANSING, ILL.
FISHER, KARL ALLEN JR., BOX O, GREENSBORO, N.C.
FONDREN, DR. FRANK, 302 JACKSON ST., ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.
FOX, CLIFFORD E., DILLON, S.C.
FREEMAN, WILLIAM LAURENCE, METHODIST CHURCH, JONESBORO HGTS., SANFORD, N.C.
FRIDDLE, GEORGE H., ROUTE 2, STOKESDALE, N.C.
FURMAN, R. WILLIAM, 2332 AMLONG AVE., ALEXANDRIA, VA.
FURNAS, MARTHA RUTH
GILLIAM, WILLIAM TYREE, 1505 COMMERCE BLDG., HOUSTON, TEXAS
HANCOCK, HUGH, 226 PARKWAY, BLUEFIELD, W. VA.
HARDY, HANNAH L., ROUTE 1, LaGRANGE, N.C.
HENDRIX, JOHY CLAYBORNE, PLEASANT GARDEN, N.C.
HETTEL, JOSEPH NORMAN JR., ROUTE 1, MEDFORD LAKES, NEW JERSEY
HINES, CHARLES W. JR., 1074 S. HAWTHORNE RD., WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
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HOLLAND, TRAVIS, ROUTE 2, TOBACCOVILLE, N.C.
PERIAN, MRS. JOHN (EUNICE ELIZABETH HOLLOMAN), 1408 OAKLAND AVE., DURHAM, N.C.
ISSERMAN, MRS. JACK (FLORA HUGGMAN), SOUTH COVENTRY, CONN.
HUFFMAN, N. EDWARD, 942 OAKLAWN AVE., N.W., WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
HUGHES, DOROTHY LEE, MADISON, N.C.
JOHNSON, WADE HARRIS, SOUTH SALEM, N.Y.
(JONES, THOMAS McLENDON -- DECEASED)
FLINCHUM, MRS. CARL RAY (BESSIE BROWN JOYCE), DANBURY, N.C.
JOYNER, ALLEN TAYLOR, ROUTE 2, MADISON, N.C.
KETCHUM, SHERMAN JOHN, 931 S. PICKWISK, SPRINGFIELD, MO.
FEELEY, MRS. DONALD O. (JEANETTE LaROSA), ROUTE 309, MONTGOMERYVILLE, PA.
LEE, ROBERT DONAL, 2608 SHERWOOD ST., GREENSBORO, N.C.
LEMONS, EDWARD BRUCE, CENTRAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, PULASKI, VA.
McHUGH, MRS. JOHN (GLORIA ELIZABETH LESLIE), MT. LEMMON, ARIZONA
LINDLE, EDNA PEARL, SNOW CAMP, N.C.
NELSON, MRS. RODNEY E. (ELIZABETH K. LOCKE), HIDEAWAY LANE, R.R.1, NORWALK, CONN.

McADAMS, JAMES H., 44 WATER ST., GORHAM, MAINE
MACALLISTER, GWENN, 414 W. 120TH ST., APT. 501, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.
STUART, MRS. A.H., JR. (MARY McBANT), ROUTE 1, SNOW CAMP, N.C.
McDONALD, JAMES H. 2293 OVERTON RD., AUGUSTA, GA.
McKIBBON, RUTH STUART, TALLADEGA, ALA.
BALLARD, MRS. JOHN (FREDA FRANCES McKINNEY), ROUTE 2, XENIA, OHIO
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McLAUGHLIN, DOROTHY WHITFORD, 405 W. AVONDALE, GREENSBORO, N.C.
McNEELY, FRANK, 2009 BUCKWELL AVE., CHARLOTTE, N.C.
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MATLOCK, THOMAS L. JR., ROUTE 5, BOX 166, GREENSBORO, N.C.
MEIBOHN, ALVIN W., VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY, VALPARAISO, INDIANA
MOORE, J. FLOYD, BOX 565, GUILFORD COLLEGE, N.C.
MORRIS, J. CRAIG, 10708 BENTLEY LANE, KENSINGTON, MD.
KENYON, MRS. CHARLES F. (MARGARET MOSTROM). 74 MARGERIE ST., SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
NEAVE, WALTER, ROUTE 1, IVOR, VA.
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OLMSTED, MARGARET, 218"1 ELIZABETH ST., CLAIR SHORES, MICH.
PARSONS, MRS. DAVID H. JR. (CORA WORTH PARKER), GUILFORD COLLEGE, N.C.
PARKER, JOHN LEONARD JR., COLERAIN, N.C.
PERLAN, JOHN, 1408 OAKLAND AVE., DURHAM, N.C.
PHILLIPS, CAPT. JAMES W. 026236, Hq 31ST F A Bn, APO 7, C/o P.M., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
POORE, MYRTLE, BOX 143, SOUTHPORT, N.C.
POPE, EDGAR SLOAN, ROUTE 4, CLINTON, N.C.
POPE, SARAH EMMA, ROUTE 2, CLINTON, N.C.
REDFEARN, WILLIAM GERALD, 67 SCHOOL ST., BRISTOL, CONN.
RICH, WILLIAM THOMAS JR.
RITCHIE, REV. GREIG, 1212 MOREAU DR., JEFFERSON CITY, MO.
SCHUMANN, EDWARD CHARLES, 276 NEW JERSEY AVE., WESTMONT, COLLINGSWOOD, N.J.
SHORE, HENRY NISSEN, 601 CLOVER ST., WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
SMITH, CALVIN HUNTER, 716 WALKER AVE., GREENSBORO, N.C.
SMITH, HILDA ELIZABETH
MORRIS, MRS. KENNETH E. (MABEL LEA SMITH), YMCA, 96 W. MAIN ST., SOMERVILLE, N.J.
SMITH, WILBUR BEAL
STANLEY, JOHN SULLIVAN, 706 MAGNOLIA ST., GREENSBORO, N.C
STEWART, THOMAS EUGENE, JR., GREENSBORO, N.C.
STONE, MARIO M., BERNAZA 217, HAVANA, CUBA
SYKES, GORDON, 1064 CASE AVE., MENTOR, OHIO
TALIAFERRO, ROBERT R. JR.
TAYLOR, ALBERT G., RAMSEUR, N.C.
TAYLOR, THOMAS, LINCOLN VA.
TEAGUE, WILLIAM G., BOX 1951 or 100 N. HOLDEN ROAD, GREENSBORO, N.C.
TISH, HUBERT HOFFMAN, ROUTE 4, CHARLOTTE, N.C.
BRIGGS, MRS. H.M. (HELEN G. TROEGER), 201 LAUREN HILL RD., MOUNTAIN LAKES, N.J.
PEEBLES, MRS. FRANCIS E. (PEARL ELIZABETH TURNER), PINEVIEW ST., RALEIGH, N.C.
VAN HOY, WILLIAM JR., 151 CRANFORD ST., ASHEBOTO, N.C.
WARNER, EUGENE SPURGEON, R.F.D., GUILFORD COLLEGE, N.C.
MARTIN, MRS. W.L. (RUBY FRANCES WATSON), 1004 ASHEBORO ST., GREENSBORO, N.C.
WEYLL, CHARLES ELDRED, 23 S. ANDREWS LANE, GLEN COVE, LI, NY.
WILSON, GEORGE JR., SCHOOL OF SPEECH, UNIV. OF VA., CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.
SMITH, MRS. WINFIELD (LOIS WILSON), 609 WINFIELD ST., WELDON, N.C.
WOLFE, DR. CARL. 220 S. AVONDALE DRIVE, GREENSBORO, N.C.
(WRIGHT, JOHN WORTH -- DECEASED)
YOUNG, BOBBIE FRANCES
YOW, HOWARD B., 110 W. WILSON ST., MOUNT AIRY, N.C.
ZACHARY, JONATHAN DELBERT, ROUTE 2, GRAHAM, N.C.
ZIMMERMAN, DR. H. STOKES, 2359 FAIRWAY DR., WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

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FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

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In seeking your support for Penn Community Services, we are asking you to invest in the future of the South and of America. Legally, the artificial barriers which have been erected between the races are gradually being demolished. Unfortunately, however, relations between the races have not always improved. Indeed, where violence has accompanied the transition, they have deteriorated.

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Won't you help us continue this work?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MARION A. WRIGHT, Chairman

Isabella Curtis

ISABELLA CURTIS
Assistant to the Treasurer

P.S. See current budget on reverse side of this letter.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

Budget 1 May 1958 - 30 April 1959

INCOME		
Contributions	$ 5,000	
Income from Investments	10,500	
Rent	2,600	
Conferences and Institutes	5,500	
Timber Sales	500	
Transfer from Special Funds	2,970	
Total Income		$27,070
PROGRAM EXPENSES		
Library	220	
Adult Education	50	
Nursery School	750	
Teen Canteen	500	
Conferences and Institutes	5,000	
Transportation, including program development	1,300	
Hospitality, including program development	150	
Reforestration	800	
Rossa Cooley Health Center	300	
Recording Folk Music	50	
Staff Salaries and Clerical	5,300	
Office Expense	500	
Publicity	550	
Bookkeeping Expense	650	
Auditor	225	
Insurance	450	
Social Security	250	
Trustee Travel and Expense	1,300	
Maintenance, Salaries and Expense	7,550	
Total Operating Expenses		$25,895
Operating Balance		$ 1,175
NON-OPERATING EXPENSES: Pensions		5,350
DEFICIT		$(4,175)

Penn Community Services

Community Program Analysis

I. Nursery - Kindergarten

Enrolment - 20; come from 6 plantations on St. Helena, and Lady's Island, and Beaufort. Transportation subsidized for half of children. Except in cases where mother is housewife, the parents or legal guardians both work.

Program - Instructional and custodial care from 8:00 a. m. to 4:00 p. m. Hot lunch served, cots provided for naps. Instruction in drawing, painting, bead work, clay modeling. Supervised recreation. Equipment includes wheel toys, blocks, swings, slides, jacks.

Budget: $250 - $300 monthly with Penn contributing $82. monthly. Responsibility - financial & management, in hands of parents and Teachers organization.

Personnel - 2 persons, both mothers and graduates of high school; director with special courses in Nursery Education. (Parents are variously employed as laborers, teachers, civil servants & domestics)

II. Library:

Circulation - average 1000 books monthly, 4000 volumes in library. 600 books or circulating loan from South Carolina State Library Board; other books available through Interlibrary Loan Service. Bookmobile carries books throughout St. Helena & Lady's Islands, serves 18 branches located in homes. Library open daily and during gatherings at community house.

Personnel - Librarian with eleven years experience, special courses at Hampton Institute. Assistant Librarian in charge of bookmobile and branch service. Direction comes from library board and from regular visits of librarians of State Library Board.

Budget: $2280 with Penn contributing $480. Remainder comes from special levy on St. Helena township.

Program: In addition to book circulation, there are weekly story-telling sessions for youngsters, activity-study groups for teen-agers.

III. Homemaking Class

Enrolment - 24 from Lady's and St. Helena Islands.

Program: Instruction in all phases of homelife: dressmaking, understanding better family life, crafts, landscaping.

Personnel: Home Demonstration agent provides instruction weekly, while other work periods are utilized between class sessions.

IV. Rossa Cooley Clinic

Program: Prenatal and well-baby clinics, former are all patients of midwives. From 10-15 pregnant women attend clinic, while number of children fluctuate continuously. Monthly class for Midwives, who closely supervised by Board of Health. Each year, more seek doctors' services during pregnancy, but majority of babies delivered by midwives.

Personnel: County health nurse and doctor service clinic.

V. St. Helena Marketing Association

Program: Marketing - Grading, waxing, selling - tomatoes primary cash crop on St. Helena - later to be expanded to other crops. Permits grower to have produce sold directly, rather than accepting non-competitive price of packing houses for ungraded fruit. Non-profit operation with proceeds, after expenses, returned to producers. Educational for farmers in learning about marketing standards, fluctuations, finances. Experience in democratic solving of problems.

Membership: 50 farmers - full and part-time - representing all sections of St. Helena and adjoining Islands.

Personnel: Manager and crew hired only during season. Only packing house of Island relying primarily on local persons, thus, good source of employment in season.

VI. Miscellaneous Services

A. Apprenticeship program in building maintenance. High school junior works 20 hours weekly with maintenance superintendent in school approved program.

B. Advice to organized groups - consumers cooperative retail store, credit union - and groups formed for special purposes - applicants for post office job learning about civil service exams, men desiring to organize union to work in new seaport established near Beaufort.

C. Establishment of work camps to provide opportunity for young people to find concrete expression of ideas and ideals in bi-racial contact with persons of their interest group, the chance for some to do manual work for first time.

D. Recording spirituals and religious services unique to the Sea Islands, for historical preservation.

E. Tractor Clinics conducted by agricultural extension. Mechanic for power machinery. Farmers learn to give proper maintenance and make minor repairs to equipment.

F. Sales House - provides source of used clothing at small prices for low income families of Island. Income used by community activities committee for community projects.

G. Community Activities Committee - citizens group representing all parts of Island to coordinate and instigate projects in community. Provides clearing house for Island activities.

H. Community Sings - Monthly program, emphasizing spirituals. Provides bi-racial contact with Beaufort residents and tourists.

FBR

Report of
Advisory Board Meeting
to
The Board of Directors
Penn Community Services

Present were: Miss Leila Johnson; Miss Mary Wheeler; Miss Wil Lou Gray; Miss Jane McAllister; Mr. Kirk, Dr. O. R. Reuben, Marion A. Wright; Courtney Siceloff.

After an inspection of the grounds and physical facilities of Penn Community Center, the committee met together at Arnett House.

We reviewed the creation of the Advisory Board and examined the By-laws' description of it. We agreed our function was advisory in nature and that all decisions were the responsibility of The Board of Directors. We further saw our responsibility to examine current program projects of the Board and staff of Penn.

After a review of the history of Penn and its more recent services to the community and special interest groups we decided to examine the needs which Penn might fill.

We devided the needs we would examine into local community needs and the needs of the wider area - state and region.

In terms of local community needs we recognized the following possibilities for service:

1. Continuing workshop type courses in family life including planned parenthood and child guidance.

2. Continuing classes which would lead to increased employment opportunities.

3. Special clinics for maintenance of household appliances and farm equipment.

4. Increased use of the health clinic; expansion of the types of services it offers.

5. Classes in citizenship:

   A. Participation - registration and voting

   B. Governmental services available

   C. Community responsibility.

6. Classes or workshops to help reduce the differentials between generations.

7. Religious Institutes and workshops:

   A. For clergymen and lay leaders

   B. For Sunday School teachers

   C. For Vacation Bible School teachers

8. Creation of other Co-ops.

We saw, as a result of our examination of community needs, the desirability for a community self-survey - probably led by the Community Activities Committee.

In terms of serving the Broader Community - the state and the region - as a conference site we recognized that because of the present situation in the state, two groups would be most likely to avail themselves of Penn's services: (1) all Negro groups and (2) integrated groups. With some exceptions few all-White groups would probably use Penn at this time. We therefore recommend that conferences of Negro and integrated groups be actively sought for Penn.

Finally, we would like to commend the Board and staff for the good work being done; we view it as a promise of even greater service.

This is a confidential report for the use of the Board of Directors only.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

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FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MARION A. WRIGHT, Chairman

Isabella Curtis

ISABELLA CURTIS
Assistant to the Treasurer

P.S. See current budget on reverse side of this letter.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

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PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

St. Helena Island

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Penn Community Services seeks to meet human needs in two ways. First, it maintains a community center for the people of St. Helena and its neighboring sea islands. Secondly, it offers a friendly conference center where groups from all parts of a troubled South can meet freely together.

A COMMUNITY CENTER . . .

Day Nursery—About 30 children of working parents are cared for from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily and provided with a hot meal. While parents bear most of the cost, the center underwrites a third of the budget.

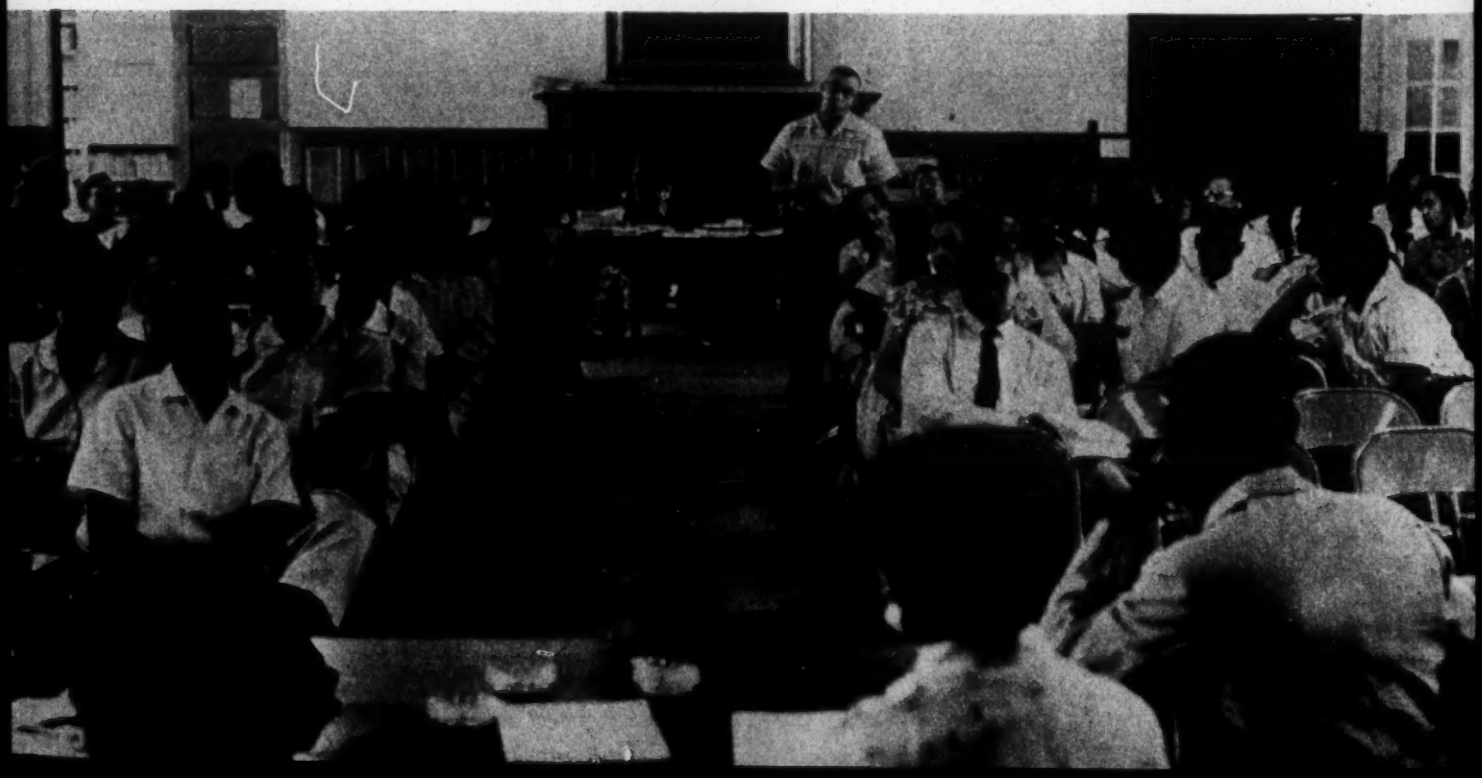
Health Center—Prenatal and child health clinics are held regularly, in addition to regular classes and refresher courses for midwives. Personnel are provided by the Beaufort County Public Health Service, the building by Penn.

Library—Penn co-operates with the county in maintaining the island's only library, which circulates more than 1,000 books monthly. A fund has been started to purchase a bookmobile and hire a full-time librarian.

Marketing Cooperative—The island's tomato farmers meet regularly at Penn to study improved farming and marketing methods. Their packing house, set up in a former Penn School building, helps them compete with big sellers.

Homemaking Classes—Both teen-age girls and older women meet at Penn with the County Home Demonstration Agent and acquire skills in dressmaking, cooking and other types of housework.

Sales House—Clothing donated to the center is sold by Penn Community volunteers at minimum cost to low-income families. Proceeds go to help other aspects of the program.

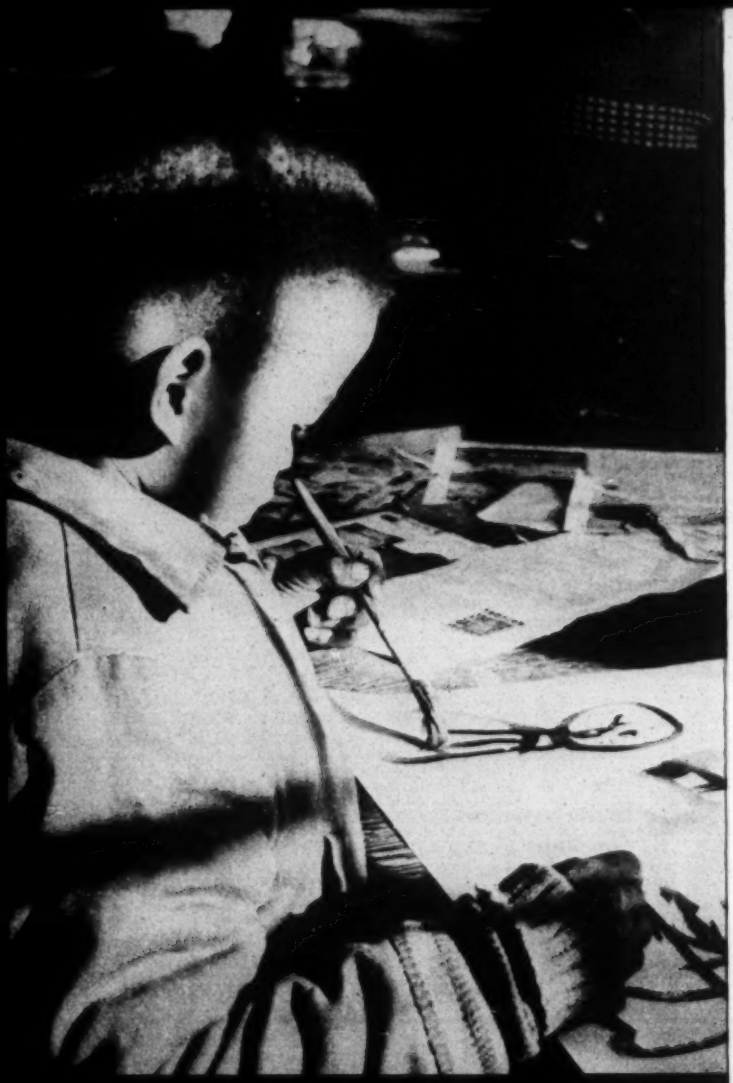


A CONFERENCE CENTER

In the period of transition which the South is undergoing, Penn performs one of its most important services in furnishing a cheerful center for meetings of groups of both races. A few of those which have met there recently are:

- Retreat, Society of Friends
- Study Tour, University of British West Indies
- Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council
- YMCA-YWCA University Staff Regional Conference
- Atlantic Presbytery Summer Conference
- Palmetto Education Association

Students, teachers, midwives and Girl Scouts are among those which have used the center. They number more than 500, and their stays at the center have ranged from two days to two weeks. They have come from most of the Southern states, and from as far away as New England and the West Indies.



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COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

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"The work of Penn is supported by participants, a small endowment, and contributions enabling this important pilot project to continue. Gifts to Penn are tax deductible."

PENN COMMUNITY CENTER
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

INVITATION
to the
ISLANDS
For Your Conference

Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The right atmosphere, relaxed, congenial, friendly, exists for all groups at PENN . . .

The conference center is on the shaded grounds of the former PENN SCHOOL (founded 1862) with substantial buildings well-heated in winter.

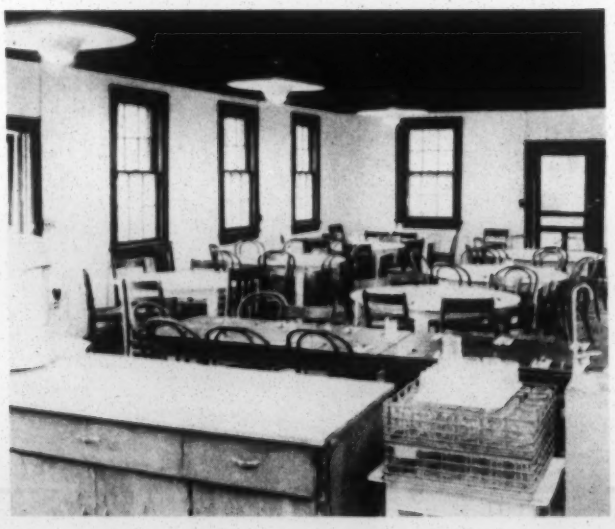
Rates are set on a cost basis and vary according to services provided.

Conference facilities include separate cafeteria building, an auditorium seating 200, several smaller meeting rooms, library, recreation area, sleeping accommodations for 100, with additional quarters available in neighboring community.

For meetings of Church and School leaders, Policy makers, youth groups

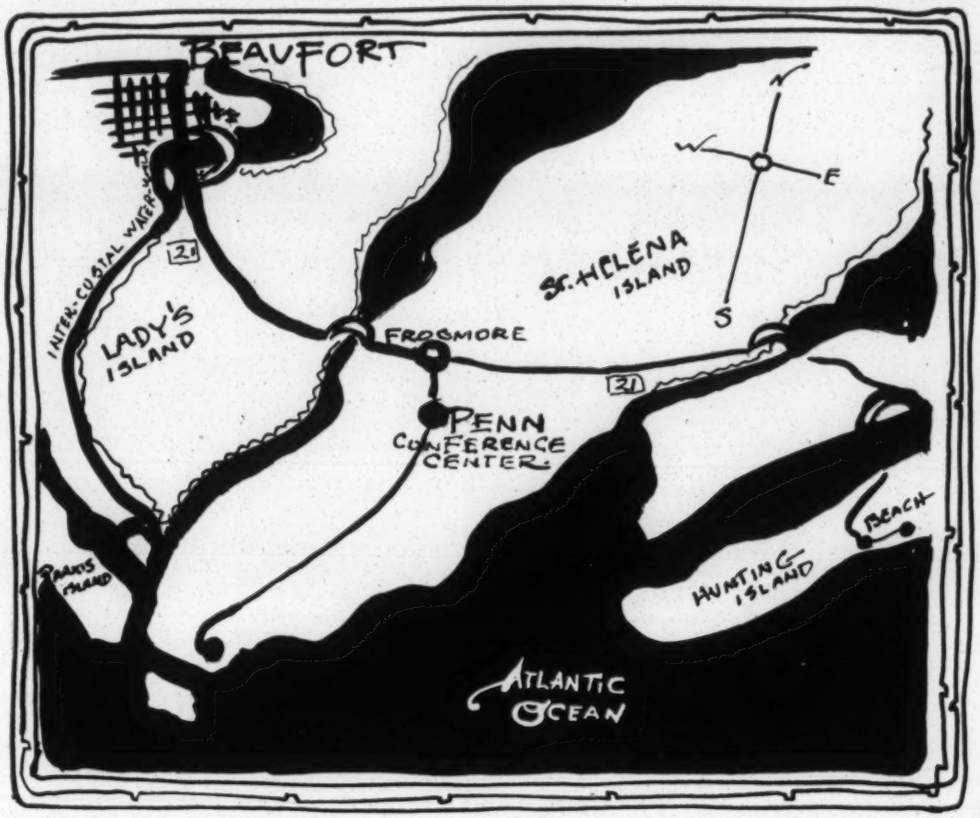
For conferences, institutes, seminars, discussion groups

COME TO PENN



Write to:
Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, South Carolina
for further details

PENN is reached via Beaufort, South Carolina. If driving, continue across bridge on Route 21 from Beaufort to Lady's Island and on to Frogmore (7 miles). Turn right for ½ mile to grounds of PENN. Or take Greyhound bus to Beaufort and local bus or taxi to Penn.



The Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina offer ocean bathing, year-round fishing and many trips of historical interest.

PENN COMMUNITY CENTER
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

File - Penn Community Services

WORKING GROUP ON STATUS OF RURAL SOUTH CAROLINA AND SUGGESTIONS

FOR REALIZING ITS POTENTIALITIES

Friday evening:

Introductions with biographical information

Brief statement on Penn

Background material and statistics on South Carolina--explanation of maps, graphs, etc.

Procedures for discussion, definition of terms, relation of study to other Southern rural areas

SATURDAY: (Sessions 9:00 -12:00; 1:30 - 4:30; 8:00 - 10:00; Sunday 9:00 - 12:00)

I. WHAT IS THE STATUS OF RURAL LIFE IN S.C.

For Whites

For Negroes

WHAT ARE THE MAJOR MANIFESTATIONS OF IT

Legislative power

educational, and cultural levels

personal freedom of thought and action

services--public and private--available or denied to Whites, to Negroes

economic opportunities and limitations

migration to city and out-of-state

WHAT ARE DETERRENTS TO CHANGE

Political and economic leadership

Lack of trained Negro Leaders

Conformity to status quo

II. WHAT ACTION CAN BE UNDERTAKEN TO WORKING OUT SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS

L1. How to raise economic, educational, hea lth opportunities of Negroes

2. How stimulate leadership and participation by Negroes in Community affairs

3. How involve white persons in program and meeting the emerging realities of 20th Century

III. WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE TO WORKING OUT SOLUTION AND HOW UTILIZE THEM

Indigenious

Negro

White

Outside

IV. WHAT PRIORITIES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED
Differences in communities in state should be taken into account

V. SPEFIFIC NEXT STEPS

Who will do what and when, in terms of priorities established

Distribution of findings

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Pennsylvania

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MAYOR

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GEORGE W. CULBERSON

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO: Intergroup Agencies

FROM: Edward A. King,
Community Relations Specialist

SUBJECT: Interreligious Committee

The Commission on Human Relations has received many requests from Agencies throughout the Country for information in regard to our involving clergy of different faiths to work together. I have prepared this brief summary about the operation and organization of the Interreligious Committee in Pittsburgh.

The Interreligious Committee of the Commission on Human Relations consists of 13 clergymen from the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths. The purpose of the Committee is to promote projects designed to: (a) motivate all clergy of the Pittsburgh area of their duties and responsibilities in the achievement of better intergroup relations practices within the religious institution and the community at large; (b) assist clergy in the development of methods and techniques of promoting good intergroup relations practices; (c) point out problem areas where clergy participation may be effective.

The Committee was not organized to promote better interreligious understanding. The Committee meetings and the clergy projects will lead to a better understanding and respect for one another's respective creeds.

The Committee is an outgrowth of the Commission's concern to develop a Seminar for Clergy.

A proposal for a clergy seminar was presented by staff to the Commissioners of the Commission on Human Relations. The proposal recommended that the Commission

on Human Relations sponsor three separate seminars; one for the Catholic clergy, one for Protestant clergy and one for the Jewish clergy.

The Commission appointed the four clergy Commissioners to serve as a sub-committee to further study the proposal and recommend the necessary action to be taken.

After several meetings, the sub-committee recommended that a Seminar for Clergy should be held and a committee of clergy representing the major religious faiths be appointed to plan the project. These two recommendations were accepted by the Commission on Human Relations.

The Commission on Human Relations requested the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese, and the Byzantine Catholic Diocese, the Council of Churches, and the Jewish Community Relations Council to appoint two representatives to the proposed committee. The response to these requests was very favorable. The appointments made were as follows:

a. Two Catholic clergy to represent the Roman Catholic Diocese.

b. Two Byzantine Catholic clergy to represent the Byzantine Catholic Diocese.

c. Three Jewish Rabbis to represent the conservative, orthodox and reform congregations.

d. Two Protestant clergy to represent the Protestant Churches.

The four clergy (one Catholic and three Protestant) from the Commission on Human Relations completed the membership of the Interreligious Committee. The Protestant clergy on the Committee are from the major religious denominations. They represent the Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist and Greek Orthodox Churches.

The first two meetings of the Committee were devoted to a clarification of the purpose, function and the need for a project with all clergy in the Pittsburgh area. These two meetings further provided an opportunity for clergy from the different faiths to know each other. The actual planning of the proposed Seminars began in the third meeting. The Committee agreed that one Seminar should be held instead of three separate seminars. Fifty-one of the 2,000 plus clergy should be invited to attend. A quoto system was used in the Selection of clergy to be invited. Therefore, invitations were sent to 25 leading Protestant clergy, 20 Catholic clergy and six Jewish clergy. The clergy who were invited were selected by the members of the Interreligious Committee in cooperation with the heads of the various religious bodies.

The Seminar was held in October, 1960, at Duquesne University. Presentations on "The Role of Clergy in Promoting Better Intergroup Relations" were made by a panel of three religious leaders

and three laymen from the Catholic Protestant and Jewish faiths. This was the first attempt for clergy of the three faiths to work together on a project. Therefore, the Seminar served as a Pilot Project, and approximately 44 clergy attended the program.

The Interreligious Committee requested the Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Relations Council, and the Catholic Interracial Council to co-sponsor a series of four area seminars. These area seminars were held in January, 1961, and provided an opportunity for all clergy in the Pittsburgh area to participate. A Guide entitled "The Role of Clergy in Promoting Better Intergroup Relations" was prepared for the Area Seminars.

The Interreligious Committee will continue to promote projects to improve intergroup relations in the Pittsburgh area.

Copies of the proceedings of the various Intergroup Relations Seminars for Clergy and the Guide entitled "The Role of Clergy in Promoting Better Intergroup Relations" are available for distribution.

THE 1968 PENNY FESTIVAL PRESENTS

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23 — 8:15 P. M.
Magnolia Ballroom, 690 Magnolia St., S. W.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24 — 8:15 P. M.
Howe Hall, Spelman College

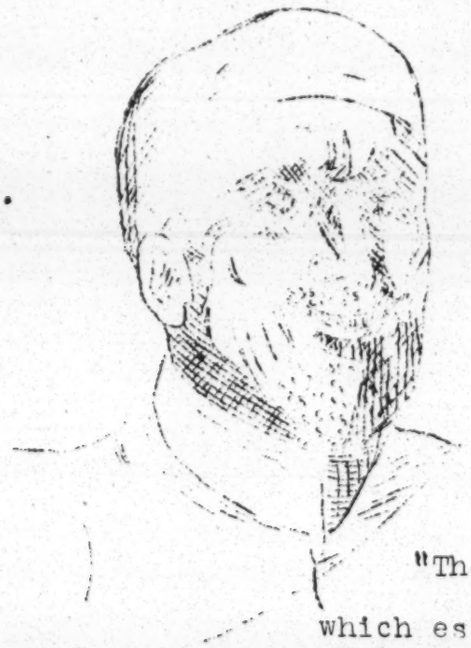
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25 — Matinee 3:15 P. M., Evening 8:15 P. M.
Magnolia Ballroom, 690 Magnolia St., S. W.

W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Experience

D E D I C A T I O N

To Dr. W. E. B. DuBois whose courage and insight has been an inspiration to all of us. He was a pioneer fighter for dignity, independence, and freedom for Black America.

His book of essays, "The Souls of Black Folk", published in 1903, signaled a new era in Negro art and a new concept of Black self respect.



In 1905, he, with 29 other prominant men, founded.... "The Niagara Movement" which established a philosophy of "Aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth".

We salute his prophetic insight as we commit ourselves to his idea of "aggressive action". Thus, the Second Annual Penny Festival is dedicated to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in commemoration of what would be his One-Hundredth Birthday.

RUBY DORIS ROBINSON

"Le st We Forget"

Ruby Doris Robinson's involvement in the struggle for black liberation dates back to 1960 when, in her Sophomore year a t Spelman College, she helped organize the Atlanta Student Movement along with Julian Bond and others. In that year , she attended the founding conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Raleigh, North Carolina. From that point on to the remainder of her life, she was dedicated to the liberation of her people.

As one of the original Freedom Riders to arrive in Jackson, Mississippi, she spent 42 days in the hated Parcham Penitentiaryy On eight occasions she was arrested on charges stemming from direct-action tactics which caused her to serve 17 additional days in American jails.

Seven years, a full-time staff member of SNCC, Ruby worked in Nashville, Tenn., McComb, Miss., Atlanta and Albany, Ga., Charleston, S. C., and other areas. In 1964 she was married to Clifford Robinson, and in 1965, gave birth to her son, Kenneth Toure (named after Pres. SeKou Toure of Guinea). Despite the many obstacles,in her struggle for black people, she maintained her family life and completed her education at Spelman. In 1966, she was elected Executive Secretary of SNCC.

Mrs. Robinson, the hea rtbeat of the liberation struggle, died on October 7, 1967, after a prolonged illness. Her memory will be a shinning light to all who continue the battle.

PROGRAM

THE BLACK FLAME

W. E. B. DUBOIS AND THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
Script by -- A. B. Spelman
Poet-in-Residence -- Morehouse College

SONGS _____ "Steal Away" -- Traditional

"Down On Me" -- "

"Let Me Ride Jesus" -- "

"Remember Me" -- "

"Oh Po Sinner" -- "

"I Will Trust" -- Hymn

"Asikati" -- African Freedom Song

POETRY_____ "Song of The Smoke" -- DuBois

"Ante-bellum Sermon -- P. L. Dunbar

"Litany At Atlanta" -- DuBois

"Ghana Calls" -- DuBois

PERFORMERS

CAST:

DRAMATIC DIRECTOR . . . . . Walter Dallas

NARRATOR . . . W.E.B. DuBois . . . Douglas Webb

CLASS:

Nancy Green

Andrea Whatley

John Hughley

Fredy Thompson

Michael Stublefield

MRS. BURK . . . . . Bernice Reagon

MRS. DOZIER . . . . . LaTanya Richardson

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON . . . . . Walter Dallas

THE JUDGE . . . . . William Hanson

READERS . . . . . Calvin Butts

LaTanya Richards

Elizabeth Spraggins

VERSE CHOIR . . . . . Carolyn Davenport

Elizabeth Spraggins

Beth Willis

LaTanya Richardson

PERFORMERS (Cont'd)

SINGERS . . .	Judy Brown	Helen Battle
	Gwen Gray	Kenneth Smith
	Gail Marshall . .	LaTamya Richardson
	Bessie Lights	Cilla Oscocio
	Paul Reynolds	Ivey Avery
	Sharon Grant . . .	Gail E. Jordan
	Diedre M. Hurley .	Verolyn D. Morris
	Belinda S. Glover . .	Mary E. Jones
	Bernice Reagon . .	Music Specialist
DANCERS . . .	Clover Mathis . . .	Gwyn Davis
	Ruthe Hanson . . .	Matilyn Hill
	Verdell Stanford .	Barbara Julliras
	Paulette Dennart -	Choreographer, - - Shirley Rushing

DRUMMER: RALPH ROMONA

FLUTIST: LOIS WHITE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The sponsoring Committee of the 1968 Penny Festival would like to take this opportunity to express their sincere gratitude to those who helped to make this production possible.

To A. B. Spellman, Poet-in-Residence, A. U. Center, for the moving and imaginative script of "The Black Flame", and to the researchers who helped to make the script realistic, namely, Drs. Vincent Harding and Mel Drimmer of Spelman's History and Social Science Department.

The artistry of the program cover is the work of Mary Lauton to whom we are much indebted.

A very special thanks to Paul Anthony and the Southern Regional Council for the paper used in the program. Vernon Jordan, Nobbie Morgan and the Voter Education Project for the printing of the program cover; Howard Moore and staff for clerical assistance; Wilson Brown for printing of posters and to Shirley Rushing and Walter Dallas for serving as dance and drama specialists.

For the very beautiful posters and for assisting in coordinating the art exhibit, Jenelsie Holloway of Spelman's Art Department; Marcia Klenbort for working on the art exhibit; Floyd Coleman, Chairman, Art Department, A. U. Center, for coordinating and directing the art exhibit; Herman Bailey, Atlanta photographer, for his photographic series "Souls of Black Folk", Lois White, flutist of Knoxville, Tennessee, guest artist; to the high school art teachers and students for their participation in the art exhibit; Turner High School, the Black Student Alliance, the Atlanta Cooperative Pre-School Center, Inc., and the Booker T. Washington High School for providing usher service; and to the many whose names do not appear here, but gave very valuable services such as typing, mimeographing, soliciting and collecting art pieces, stage lighting, ushering and acting.

--THIS PAGE COURTESY OF PETER AND TOSHI SEEGER--

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Mr. Carl Nosk
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Mr. Barnard J.Bridges
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Mrs. Sandra Scardino
Mr. & Mrs. William Harris
Mr. . & Mrs. Paul Warhaftig
Mrs. Alice M. Lewis
Miss Molora Lou Turner

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Miss Doris Dozier
Southern Field Representative

"A People who don't know where they're been,
Don't know where they are, and cannot possibly project
on where they are going,"

John Henrik Clarke

BEST WISHES

Rep. & Mrs. Julian Bond
4th District
Atlanta, Ga.

"I hate a song that makes you think you're not any good.... no good....no good to nobody, no good for nothing. I am out to fight those kinds of songs to my very last breath."

Woody Guthrie

Courtesy of Friends

MY BLACK SIBLING

FOR MALCOM X

Assassinated February 21, 1965

Your countenance revealed a culture of oppressions.

The myths gnawed at your vitals.

But like Prometheus you captured its valuable fire.

Your hair of red clay and caramel complexion

Reminds us of the unilateral violation of our mothers.

Your forehead was the leeward side of all our lives.

Your astigmatized eyes mirrored the ogre of our affliction.

The locks of your ear canals opened to oral streams-

While ours jammed.

Your nose was the tunnel that smelled.

The heady scents of our creative toil.

The dust bowl of your cheeks were our hunger and barrenness.

The ivory of your smile

Mocked the trinity;

The bread you never tasted

The wine you would not drink-

(Because he was not our brother)

And the body you gored for us.

You were the man we thought we were.

By Wesley Brown

(Liberator, Vol. 8, #1, 1/68)

--COURTESY OF ATTORNEY AND MRS. HOWARD MOORE, JR.--

PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN TO: The Penny Festival Workshop
201 Ashby St. S. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

1. What did you think of the production?

2. Have you any suggestions for improving the Art Show?

3. Although the Penny Festival is not a money-making production, should there be a profit, which fund would you like to see it support.

   A. A W. E. B. DuBois scholarship at Atlanta University___

   B. Use the money to take the Penny Festival to other places for benefit performances_____

   C. Put the profits into escrow for 1969 performance____

   D. Other suggestions.

4. To whom would you like to see other dedications made?

MEMORANDUM November 23, 1965

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony PA

Re: Our Moving Situation.

Later this week I hope all those concerned can get together to discuss who goes where, etc. In the meantime, I hope you will look at available space, consider needs, etc., etc., and come up with any suggestions you can.

At best, we are going to have a very difficult time, and it is already clear that many people are not going to have the conditions that either they need or deserve. We will simply have to do the best we can under the circumstances.

In the meantime, please do not either mentally or physically take possession of any space or any equipment or furniture. These matters will have to be decided on in relation to everybody's needs.

jp

NM

BP

gb

jamie

R.H

AU

PF

MM

LK

BCC

E.T.V.

M.L.

RHA

PW

G.K.B.

MEMORANDUM November 23, 1965

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony PA

Re: Thanksgiving and other things.

Friday, November 26, as well as Thanksgiving Day will be a holiday for the staff since it is so designated in the Staff Manual.

Next year, this manual will, along with other guidlines, be re-written. They are out-of-date. We must, of necessity, face our new situations with new rules and expectations. In the process, we must try to see that all of our staff are properly compensated. Some are not, at this time. On the basis of experience, we must see that an entirely different situation of requirements and expectations is instituted.

We will make every effort at fair compensation. We are going to make every effort at meeting our commands and responsibilities. In the process, we shall defend the position of the staff of working 7 hours per day, 5 days per week, with 18 days of vacation per year (the hours of which, incidentally, begin at 9:00 a.m., and end at 5:00 p.m., and run normally from Monday through Friday.)

In doing so, we shall expect the staff to work 7 hours per day, 5 days per week, with 18 days of vacation per year. Other than that, the staff is going to work like HELL. If there are those on the staff — as I hope there are not -- who find this an uncomfortable or impossible arrangement, I hope they will accept this memorandum as a 2 month notice of opportunity to seek other employment.

Over the years, we have developed a number of ideas and habits and traditions and customs. They are very understandable. Certainly I can understand them, because I have been very much a party to them. Now, however, as regrettable as it is, we must prepare ourselves for, and learn to accept, the inevitability of change.

N LK AU T.F.
ACL MM BCC PW
gb MS Jamie A.P.B.
BP S.T.V.(?) RHA
DR R.H.

Juve Personnel Gen 1966

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MR. JOHN O. BOONE - Director, Prison Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation

MISS SUSAN BRESLER - Planner, Urban Planning

~~MISS JOAN BROWNING~~ ? -

Pat Collins - Intern, VEP

MISS LOUISE COLE -

MRS. BERNICE COOK - Mailroom Supervisor

Miss Linda Corbett Research Assistant

Mrs. Jane DeLong Sec, Labor Program

MR. WILLIAM FARMAR - Clerk, Prison Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation

MISS PAT FRANKLIN - Secretary, Voter Education Project

MISS SUSAN FRIEDMAN - Research Assistant

MRS. RUTH HOWARD - Secretary, Women's Work and Community Organization

MRS. HATTIE JOHNSON - Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

MRS. MILDRED JOHNSON - Secretary, Executive Director

MR. VERNON JORDAN - Director, Voter Education Project

MRS. LUESTA KNOX - Receptionist

Mrs. Carolyn Lockhart - Secretary, Field Activities

STAFF AND TITLES - Continued
October 18, 1966

MRS. MARGARET LONG	-	
MISS MARGE MANDERSON	-	Editorial Assistant
MRS. KATHARINE MARTIN	-	Secretary, Executive Director
MRS. NOBBIE MORGAN	-	Administrative Secretary, Voter Education Project
MRS. BERNICE MORRISON	-	Research Assistant
MR. THAD OLIVE	-	Administrative Assistant Voter Education Project
MR. JOHN PECOUL	-	
Mr. Herman Pierce	-	clerk, circulation
MRS. DORIS REED	-	Research Assistant
MRS. JANET SHORTT	-	Secretary, Research and Information
MISS JANET SMITH	-	Circulation Dept
MR. MORELAND SMITH	-	Director, Urban Planning
MR. EDWIN STANFIELD	-	Director, Field Activities
Mr. William Terry		
MRS. M. E. TILLY	-	Director, Women's Work
MR. AL ULMER	-	Director, Community Organization
MR. EMORY F. VIA	-	Director, Labor Program
MR. MARVIN WALL	-	Director, Research, Voter Education Project
MR. PAT WATTERS	-	Director, Information

SRC STAFF AND TITLES - Continued
October 18, 1966

TEMPORARY AND PART TIME PERSONNEL:

MR. HERMAN PIERRE -

MR. WILLIAM TERRY - Clerk, Mailroom

Miss Linda Corbett - VEP

? Mrs. Jane DeLung - E. Via

Kathy

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MRS. LUESTA KNOX	-	Receptionist
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MRS. MARGARET LONG	-	

SELF-EXAMINED BOARD

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MRS. BERNICE MORRISON	-	Research Assistant
MR. THAD OLIVE	-	Administrative Assistant Voter Education Project
MR. JOHN PECOUL	-	
MR. HERMAN PIERRE	-	Clerk, Circulation Dept.
MRS. DORIS REED	-	Research Assistant
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MR. WILLIAM TERRY	-	Clerk, Mailroom
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MR. AL ULMER	-	Director, Community Organization
MR. EMORY F. VIA	-	Director, Labor Program
MR. MARVIN WALL	-	Director, Research, Voter Education Project
MR. PAT WATTERS	-	Director, Information

File
Personnel, gen.

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE STAFF December 9, 1966

FROM: PAUL ANTHONY

RE: CHRISTMAS VACATION.

In accordance with the policy as outlined in the Staff Manual, since Christmas falls on Sunday this year, Monday, December 26th will be a holiday. Staff members are free, of course, to take additional time to be charged against your regular vacation time.

File Personnel - Gen.

MEMORANDUM May 22, 1967

To: The Staff

From: James N. Wood, Jr.

Due consideration has been given to the request of having Monday, May 29th as a holiday as opposed to Tuesday, May 30th. The decision has been made that the holiday will be on May 30th.

MGS ✓ KNB
mmj ✓ RH
KM ✓ ES ✓
NM ✓ JBrick
MW ✓ B
PW ✓ BC
BSM ✓ MY
gb ✓
RM ✓ JNW/mmj
MW ✓
DR ✓ BH
gd ✓ JS ✓
Pat
CL
RHA ✓

See Personnel - gen.

June 30, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE STAFF

FROM: JIM WOOD

MONDAY, July 3, will be a bonus HOLIDAY!

JW/mmj

MEMORANDUM June 30, 1967

To: The Staff

From: Jim Wood

This is a bonus -- and all the bonus you'll ever get from SRC -- MONDAY, July 3, is a holiday!

File: Personnel Gen.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

STAFF DIRECTORY 10-67

PAUL ANTHONY - EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JIM WOOD - EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

= = = = = = = = = = = =

Mrs RUTH ALEXANDER - SECRETARY TREASURER

ROBERT E. ANDERSON - MANAGING EDITOR, SRC PUBLICATIONS

Mrs GLENDA BARTLEY - RESEARCH ASSISTANT

JOHN O. BOONE - DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON CRIME & CORRECTIONS

Mrs BERNICE COOK - MAILROOM SUPERVISOR

WILLIAM FARMAR - CLERK, CRIME & CORRECTIONS PROJECT

SUSAN FRIEDMAN - RESEARCH

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BARNETTA JACKSON - RESEARCH

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JOHN LEWIS - DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

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Mrs JOYCE MEEKINS - RESEARCH

Mrs NOBBIE MORGAN - SECRETARY, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Mrs BERNICE MORRISON - RESEARCH ASSISTANT (Librarian)

THAD OLIVE - ADMINISTRATIVE ASST., VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

WARREN PRITCHARD - RESEARCH

Mrs DORIS REED - RESEARCH

MORRIS REED - MAILROOM

BILL ROBERTS - MAILROOM

WELDON ROUGEAU - FIELD DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

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JANET SMITH - CIRCULATION

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MRS. M. E. TILLY — DIRECTOR, WOMEN'S WORK

MARVIN WALL — DIRECTOR, RESEARCH VEP

PAT WATTERS — DIRECTOR, INFORMATION

Mrs VIRGINIA BROWN — SECRETARY, URBAN PLANNING & CRIME & CORRECTIONS

MARGARET JENNINGS — SECRETARY, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

PRISCILLA EDDY — ASST. TO SECRETARY TREASURER

Temporary Student

Mrs. Helen Grape
Mrs. Johnie B. Booker
Miss Annie Ruth Harris

Social Work Trainees, Project on Crime and Corrections

all Graduate Students of Atlanta University

Lee
Staff
Personnel - gw

MEMORANDUM March 11, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

The Executive Committee, meeting last weekend, voted to inaugurate a guaranteed income plan in the event a member of the staff becomes unable to work either because of accident or illness.

After applications are taken and the plan is in effect (about April 1) each member of the staff, should he or she become unable to continue to work, will receive a monthly compensation, up to age 65, of approximately 60% of the employee's salary as of this date.

I hope you share with me the feeling that this is both a very desirable additional staff benefit and a thoughtful gesture on the part of the Executive Committee.

MEMORANDUM February 4, 1970

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

I am pleased to announce two appointments that were approved by the Executive Committee on January 30th.

Emory F. Via has been appointed as Director of the Council's Resources Development Center and John Lewis as Director of the Council's Voter Education Project.

-:-

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 22, 1971

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Council

FROM: Raymond Wheeler, President

As you know by now, Paul Anthony has resigned as Director of the Council. It is my hope to convene the Personnel Committee at the earliest opportunity (hopefully within the next ten days) to begin serious, and likely long, deliberations on the recommendations we shall make to the Executive Committee for a successor. This is to invite and to urge each of you to send to me any suggestions you may have as to individuals whom we should consider for this position.

My office address is: 1900 Brunswick, Charlotte, N. C. and my office phone is: A.C. 704- 375-1795. I can also be reached at my resident: 3724 Warrington Drive - phone: 366-0266.

****

PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

FOR RELEASE TO

MORNING PAPERS:

MONDAY, JULY 26, 1971

ATLANTA -- The nation's oldest southern-based civil rights organization, the Southern Regional Council, announced today the beginning of a search for a new Executive Director. In accepting the resignation of Paul Anthony, Executive Director since 1965, President Raymond Wheeler praised the valuable legacy left by Mr. Anthony to his successor and stated that "the prospects for the future of the organization are indeed bright."

Since its creation in 1944, the Council has combined research and action programs to promote the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. A successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919, the biracial agency's policy is set by a membership of 100 noted Southerners. A staff of some thirty persons is based in Atlanta.

The fifth Director of the Council, Mr. Anthony was preceded by Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Field Foundation; Harold C. Fleming, President of the Potomac Institute; the late George S. Mitchell; and Guy B. Johnson, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

A native of Lynch Station, Virginia, Mr. Anthony received a B.A. degree from the University of Miami, and an honorary doctorate from Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Anthony, 43, joined the Council staff in 1956. He served as Executive Assistant and Director of Field Activities before coming Executive Director. Only one other Director, Mr. Mitchell, served longer than Mr. Anthony. In keeping with the tradition of limited tenure, Mr. Anthony stated in his letter of resignation that the SRC should not be "personality oriented" and that no Director should serve more than five years.

Under Mr. Anthony's directorship, the Council's budget and staff doubled and its activities increased correspondingly. Among his personal honors and responsibilities, Mr. Anthony served as a delegate to several White House Conferences and was a member of the Planning Committee of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." He is a member of the Advisory Committee of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House as well as the National Council on Children and Youth. A Wilton Park Fellow (an honor conferred by the British Government), he has served as Vice-President of the American Friends of Wilton Park.

Mr. Anthony will remain with the Council until his successor has been chosen, continuing to develop programs recommended by a special review committee that recently affirmed the objectives and rationale of the Council, and proposed additional areas of operation.

In a letter to Council Members, Mr. Anthony stated that "I do not consider that I am leaving the Southern Regional Council. No one committed to its purposes ever does." In duscussing his plans for the future, he expressed his intention to "put into writing some of the experiences of past years."

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, President of the Council, issued the following statement:

"Paul Anthony has served the Council and the people of the southern region with loyalty and devotion and deep personal commitment. I regret that after six years of providing us with that kind of leadership he finds it necessary to resign.

"He leaves the Council at a time when the prospects for the future of the organization are indeed bright. We have an unusually well-informed and active board and executive committee, a talented staff, and new and exciting plans for applying our special skills and concerns to the problems of the southern region during the 1970's.

"Paul Anthony leaves a valuable legacy for his successor."

****

PERSONNEL DIRECTORY

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ROBERT E. ANDERSON _ MANAGING EDITOR, SRC PUBLICATIONS

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JANE DELUNG - SECRETARY, LABOR PROGRAM

MELVIN TRAYLOR - CLERK, MAILROOM

ELLEN BOREY - VEP SUMMER

ROBIN CAUTHEN VEP SUMMER

MARGARET JENNINGS VEP - Sect. Marvin Wall

JERILYN McGHEE - VEP - Secty.

See Personnel / Gen.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

STAFF DIRECTORY

PAUL ANTHONY - EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JIM WOOD - EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

* * * * * * * *

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GLENDA BARTLEY - ~~RESEARCH ASSISTANT~~ Senior Research Asst

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Virginia Broion

BERNICE COOK - MAILROOM SUPERVISOR

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LUESTA KNOX - RECEPTIONIST

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MARGE MANDERSON - ASSISTANT TO MANAGING EDITOR OF NEW SOUTH

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BERNICE MORRISON - ~~RESEARCH ASSISTANT~~ Librarian

THAD OLIVE - ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

WARREN PRITCHARD - RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

DORIS REED - RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

MORRIS REED - CLERK, MAIL ROOM

BILL ROBERTS - ASSISTANT TO THE EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

WELDON ROUGEAU - FIELD DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

JANET SHORT - SECRETARY, RESEARCH & INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

JANET SMITH - CIRCULATION

MORELAND SMITH - DIRECTOR, URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

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MRS. M. E. TILLY - DIRECTOR, WOMEN'S WORK

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VIRGINIA BROWN - SECRETARY, URBAN PLANNING PROJECT, CRIME AND CORRECTIONS PROJECT

MARGARET JENNINGS - SECRETARY, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

PRISCILLA EDDY - ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mrs. Robin Ulmer

TEMPORARY

MRS. HELEN GRAPE
MRS. JOHNNIE B. BOOKER -
MISS ANNIE RUTH HARRIS

Social Work Trainees for PROJECT ON CRIME & CORRECTIONS - All are Graduate Students at Atlanta University

MEMORANDUM December 22, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

The first and unofficial report we have had on the contents of the Tax Bill as acted upon by the joint Senate-House Committee is very much like the House version of the Bill without some of the improvements made by the Senate. If this report is correct, presumably those concerns expressed in our initial testimony to the Senate Finance Committee will be fact as soon as the President signs the Bill.

We will have to wait to see the exact wording to determine what operational and program limitations this places on us here at the Council.

The most important concern for the moment is the matter of finances. Presumably, this will mean a loss to us of $400,000 next year from our present Ford Foundation grant. The seriousness of this loss is obvious.

My first concern is to see that we make every effort to raise enough funds so that there will be no cut-back in staff. Beginning immediately after Christmas probably as much as 80% of my time, for an indefinite period, will have to be spent on fund-raising.

Please do not misunderstand the following statement, but it is made because of the above circumstances and because in recent months several persons on the staff have raised with me the possibility of their leaving the Council for such reasons as returning to school, stopping work, and considering other job offers. If anyone on the staff plans to leave between now and June, it would be very helpful if I knew of this, since it would, of course, have an immediate bearing on our financial situation. Should any staff cuts be necessary, seniority will be a major consideration.

February 24, 1970

TO : SRC-VEP Staff Members

FROM: Paul Anthony
Executive Director

SRC has agreed to assist in a special short run project to study some of the problems confronted by poor whites in the Atlanta Metropolitan area. Special funds have been made available to us for this purpose. The project will be of a research nature and will combine the basic statistical data available with field interviews with residents of poverty areas and with people knowledgeable about low income white neighborhoods and the problems of those living in them.

For this project, which should not exceed three months, we have been fortunate to secure Walt Anderson as project director and Lois Copland as research associate. The project will be under the direction of the director of the Resources Development Center.

Anything that you can do to assist these special project people in their efforts will be appreciated.

-0-

April 14, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SRC Staff Members

FROM : Paul Anthony

SUBJECT: Vacancy (Part-time Editor and Writer)

On a part-time temporary basis, the Council will employ to work 2 to 2½ days a week a part-time editor-writer for the staff of South Today. Qualifications: Substantial experience in newspaper or magazine work, working knowledge of makeup, headline writing, photo cropping, copy editing and proofreading, and must be able to write for South Today and SRC special reports.

Salary open according to experience and amount of work time agreed on.

-0-

Make file
re SRC job openings

MEMORANDUM TO: SRC STAFF

FROM: KITTY GRIFFITH

NOTICE OF PART-TIME POSITION AVAILABLE

A clerk-typist is needed to maintain the Leadership Project's mailing list . In the beginning we estimate that this job will require 20 hours a week, but as the list expands more hours per week may be necessary. Pay will be $2 per hour.

An ability to type at least 40 w. p. m. is required for this job. Accuracy in handling details is also necessary.

If you know of anyone who might be interested in this position, please contact me at your earliest convenience. This job is particularly well-suited for a student, because flexibility in working hours can be arranged.

Jim Wood

MEMORANDUM April 30, 1969

To: The SRC Staff

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Attached are two documents which I want to share with all the staff. They are a memorandum from the Committee of Black Employees and my response to it.

This is a difficult situation for all of us, and a serious one. It is one in which each member of the staff can contribute substantially and positively, and this is my personal request to each of you that you join me in seeing that our thinking, discretions, and resolution of this matter be positive.

In our interchange I believe sincerely that the Council can be strengthened, that we have an opportunity for creating more understanding among our staff, and that we have an opportunity to improve and correct situations in the Council, particularly some related to administrative procedure.

For instance, it has been suggested to me that we are now sufficiently large enough to merit grievance procedures. I wholeheartedly agree. It has been suggested to me that we need a review of on-the-job training possibilities in order that persons who are interested can have an opportunity to up-grade their positions in the Council and their contributions to it. It has also been suggested to me that, on a more formal basis, the staff should have an opportunity to make suggestions on program. Again, I agree.

As I informed you earlier, toward these ends, which will need a great deal of thought and contributions from all of us, I am appointing later this week two committees -- each to consist of six staff persons.

The experiences within all of our society are proving how difficult human relationships are. To some degree, naturally, we reflect that society. There have been two things about the SRC of which I have been particularly proud: (1) our goal of integration and our efforts to practice it; (2) the quality of our staff and the sincerity

with which it feels a part of the Council and wants to contribute to it.

I believe through this process of interchange, thought, and discussion, we can, indeed, make more contributions toward our goal. I believe there is no agency in this country, public or private, that can match the quality of this staff, and I look forward to serious efforts that can offer an opportunity both to increase staff competence and to provide opportunities for all the staff to participate more fully in the Council's operation.

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MEMORANDUM April 30, 1969

To: Members of the Committee of Black Employees

From: Paul Anthony

Earlier, when I asked for further written explanation of your reasoning on official recognition of the Black Committee, I promised that I would make every effort to explore this request. I have kept that promise. Beyond the time which I have thought about this matter, a number of persons -- most of them outside SRC -- have been consulted. (Most of those with whom I have talked have been persons understanding of the rationale of the Committee.) In the process of talking and thinking, I have learned a great deal. So much, in fact, that I wish every person involved could have had the benefit of these considerations and discussions.

In asking official recognition of the Committee you have raised a matter of Council policy which is beyond my authority. However, I believe we are well on the way to resolving this on the staff level, and I feel strongly that we should make every effort to do this together.

There follows my thinking and reaction to your memorandum of April 21, 1969, which is being shared with all the staff.

There are two reasons why I believe it would be unwise to officially recognize the Black Committee and give it the powers you indicate.

(1) For a select group or part of the employees to have a special status and unique functions would be both unfair and dangerous. It would be unfair to those employees not represented. It would be dangerous for those who were. As you have indicated, there are faults in our present administrative set-up. It is my intention to see that they are corrected. I particularly hope an effective instrument can be devised for a grievance system. But, I am convinced any system based solely on race would be dangerous to those involved. That danger would begin with the matter of individual identity.

I recognize, accept, indeed applaud, efforts at group identity, togetherness, and pride. Indeed, such efforts are essential for a healthy society. But, I urge you to create such efforts in a framework that will protect the individual and allow for persons as well as people to exist.

(2) I readily accept the group's sincerity in endorsing the Council's basic principals and goals and am grateful for this. I accept, too, your sincerity in stating the belief that your request is consistant with that endorsement.

I will seriously consider any suggestion that will improve the involvement of the staff and work toward the benefit of the staff. But, as Director I must, in my own loyalty and for the Council's integrity, think not in terms of the "black staff" or the "white staff," but in terms of the "staff."

We do, indeed, live in a new world. Not as new as it ought to be, but radically different from even a few years ago. Whites will have as much difficulty as blacks adjusting and continuing to change. Both groups have the glory and the limitations of being composed of human beings. Neither is infallable.

As never before whites must recognize blacks as blacks, as well as individuals. It is essential. None of us is so open-minded, "liberal," or free of our societies' burdens that we can pretend that race is not race. But, for a group -- white or black -- as knowledgeable and as involved as the Council staff, that observation is elementary.

I try to reflect now whatever I have learned during the past week of my post-graduate course in human relations. What is not elementary is the incredibly complex situation of living together as this generation goes through that inevitable period from what was to what will be. The SRC staff can contribute to these difficult times. What we do or do not contribute will attest to our quality.

I ask you now -- all who read this -- whatever your conclusions to make as sincere an effort to understand my response as I have your request.

-o-

TRUE COPY TRUE COPY

April 21, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: The Committee of Black Employees

RE: The Necessity for Official Recognition of the Committee of Black Employees.

Every individual is a product of his unique environmental experiences. It is obvious that black people, given the nature of this racist society, have shared an experience distinct and apart from that of white Americans. This holds true on the societal as well as the group level.

As black employees of the Southern Regional Council, we have come to recognize the fact that we have a common consciousness distinct and apart from the white employees of the Council. We would like to assert that we do not believe this situation is totally the result of intransigence on the part of white employees of the Council. We recognize the fact that many of the problems which accompany our presence here are directly related to the racism which permeates every aspect of contemporary American life.

Nevertheless, we do find it necessary as a result of our awareness of certain common problems to demand that the Council officially recognize the Committee of Black Employees. We see this as a positive development which, if interpreted properly, will lead to an increased rapport, relevance, and efficiency upon both the working and programmatic levels. We recognize the fact that some members of the Council will see this demand as a negative development contradictory to the primary stated goal of the Council -- integration. Those persons must recognize the fact that integration should be a means to the acquisition of equality. Problems which beset this region and the whole of American society transcend the negative consequences of segregation which in many instances is little more than a tactic used by ignorant people to justify and camouflage other anti-humanitarian and exploitative relationships. We see the Council's official recognition of the Committee of Black Employees as an act of mature individuals who have come to understand another aspect of the struggle

for that equality -- a kind of EQUALITY which transcends race and class.

We feel it is essential for the Council to recognize the Committee of Black Employees because "intentionally or unintentionally, we have for too long been made to feel that we play only a secondary role in the affairs of the Council -- we are like an island watching the waves pass. Consequently, we have reached a state of grievous and harmful alienation which, if left to continuously seethe without redress, can only exacerbate the present polarization of races. This alienation stems primarily from the Council's failure to adequately and expeditiously resolve past grievances and its refusal to play a more meaningful and relevant role in the affairs of the region."

Now, you ask how have we been alienated. We have been alienated in many ways:

...in terms of salary discrepancy when compared with the professionals or whites with equal educational qualifications;

...by the Council's refusal to redress grievances by blacks;

...by being relegated to deadend or entry-level jobs;

...by the Council's failure to provide the opportunity to be considered for employment in newly created staff positions and staff vacancies;

...by the Council's most recent hirings of <u>only</u> whites for top-paying positions and <u>only</u> blacks for low-paying and bottom-of-the-ladder positions;

...by the basic structure (racial make-up of the Board: The Executive Committee, the Nominating Committee, and Life Fellows) of the Council in terms of balance of power;

...by the Council's failure to be more responsive and relevant to the basic needs of the region and its people;

...by the presence of an all-white staff on the new Leadership Project (we certainly hope that blacks will be employed by this project);

...by our lack of voice (advisory or otherwise) in the affairs of the Council;

...by the Council's failure to give more of its business (travel, printing, insurance, small group gatherings, etc.) to black-owned businesses.

Consequently, when the Council takes the position that an official committee has to be interracial (on a physical basis) or, as the Director stated in his meeting with the Committee of Black Employees, "representative of the staff," when the Council takes the position that the existence of a black committee is against the Council's policies, it is obvious that the basic point of the Committee's original memorandum has been misinterpreted. WE REPEAT: The Committee of Black Employees supports the policies of the Council in regard to an integrated society and equal opportunity, but the Committee does not support and cannot accept many of the practices of the Council in regard to equal opportunity and an integrated society. (And when we speak of "equal opportunity and an integrated society," we speak of equal educational and equal economic opportunity in particular, for physical integration (the sharing of lunch, conversations and ideas, offices, neighborhoods, etc., with the opposite race), though a step forward, is insufficient and irrelevant to the basic needs of black Americans. On the other hand, economic integration, the realization of equal opportunity in employment, and the market place, through educational preparation and competitive examination, is extremely and totally relevant to the basic needs of black Americans. It is for this reason that the Committee has been formed. The Council's practices, not policies, have in the process of alienating blacks, forced them to unite and form a Committee which is (and this is very important) totally relevant and responsive to the welfare of blacks at the Council and which, in the final analysis, hopes to be positively responsive to the welfare of all Council employees and, therefore, the Council itself.

Moreover, reluctance and/or refusal to accept the Committee on an official basis because of its blackness

implies a serious and intentional misinterpretation of the group's purpose, for if the Council understands that the Committee is, in a very real sense, its own creation as a result of its failure to practice its policies -- policies which the Committee only seeks to implement, not destroy -- it cannot in spite of its blackness reject such a group because to do so would be in effect to say to us blacks -- we have not only failed to recognize you as a part of an integrated society (on a meaningful and relevant basis, that is), but we blatantly refuse to recognize you in all your blackness despite your sincerity and devotion to integration.

And, my friends, this is exactly what America has done for all its poor and colorful minorities, including the real Americans, the Indians. It has failed to recognize them as part of the "integrated society." But, when Americans with common experiences, particularly black Americans, unite and form groups limited to a select membership, particularly black membership, they get tremendous recognition -- mostly the wrong kind, a distorted image, etc. -- but they get recognition. And, whenever they open their mouths, reporters not only print out of context what they say but interpret it to mean just the opposite. In other words, in the process of looking at their blackness, they miss the whole point they are trying to make.

We want recognition, but we don't want the kind the press gives the Panthers. We want recognition as human beings. We want equal economic opportunity. We want salaries commensurate with our duties, performance, talents, experience, and degrees. We want our grievances to not only be heard, but also -- and most importantly -- redressed. We want to become an active part of SRC, not lost and isolated employees. We want a voice in what goes on at the Council, if only an advisory one. We want the Council to be more involved in alleviating the problems of the poor Southerner, because his problem, like ours but to a much greater degree, is basically being accepted on a meaningful basis in the "integrated society." He too needs a helping hand from those persons and organizations which are sensitive (relevant) and responsive to his basic needs which are primarily economic in nature.

In summary, then, we still feel our initial statement (part of which has been repeated here) upon which we have elaborated here, places our demand in the proper focus. We are hoping that this action (second memo) on our part is received and interpreted in a manner consistent with the constructive nature of our original presentation.

-o-

March 25, 1969

MEMO TO: Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

FROM : The Committee of Black Employees

We, the Black employees of the Southern Regional Council, feel that in order for a human rights organization such as ours to work effectively to create a society based on justice and equality for all, the Council must be an ideal, democratic model of veritable justice and equality. The Council must give foremost consideration and effort to making its internal and external practices a model of its principles. Realizing that at present the Council, like other social entities in America, suffers from some of the same maladies related to race, the Black employees, in a spirit of deep concern and fair play, officially notify the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council that they have unanimously approved the formation of the Committee of Black Employees.

Fortunately, we do not come together at a time of crisis involving Blacks in the Council; neither do we come together to shout or bitterly condemn since the time for shouting has long passed. And, needless to say, people sensitive to their humanity need not shout or beg. Instead, we come calmly as human beings who are Black and do not reject the pains and discomfort of that Blackness,

seeking to assert our voice in the interpretation, analysis, and practices of the policies of the Council.

Intentionally or unintentionally, we have for too long been made to feel that we play only a secondary role in the affairs of the Council---we are like an island watching the waves pass. Consequently, we have reached a state of grievous and harmful alienation which, if left to continuously seethe without redress, can only exacerbate the present polarization of races. This alienation stems primarily from the Council's failure to adequately and expeditiously resolve past grievances and its refusal to play a more meaningful and relevant role in the affairs of the region.

To help provide and facilitate effective action on matters relating to all employees of the Council and to encourage a recommitment to an authentic relevancy to the affairs of the region (Deep South), we envision ourselves as a necessary entity of the Council structure---The Committee of Black Employees feels that it can help to stimulate and engender what does not presently exist: genuine Black-White relations. Needless to say, we cannot deny this deplorable state of staff relations, for to do so would be an insult to the dignity of all employees. Furthermore, to be committed is to unconditionally respect the humanity of everyone. Unfortunately, at the present time,

we doubt whether Whites (some Blacks, too, for that matter) in the Council want to face the issue of race in all its dimensions, because for Whites to do so would be first to acknowledge a less than liberal attitude---perhaps the most painful but essential aspect of the solution and unfortunately the most dangerous threat to the existence of the Council---and secondly to admit the need and have the volition to make great improvements in their relationships to Blacks. On the other hand, for Blacks to admit the seriousness of the problem in all its dimensions would be the painful experience of reliving the history of the gross exploitation of Blacks in America, "the land of the free," and then, worst of all, slavery in its most subtle form which is more painful than the unbelievable injustices of our predecessors. Then, too, to objectively confront the real problem here, Blacks as well as Whites must admit their own tendencies to exemplify less than desirable attitudes relating to race; and they must also be willing and make an extra effort to cease exemplifying such undesirable character traits. With this in mind, we, the Committee of Black Employees, feel that we can help everyone to confront this, the most serious issue of our time.

We also feel that we can discourage what seems to be the Council's quasi-approval of inaction on pertinent

matters in the region. We are cognizant of the limitations of our policies, yet we feel and know that we have not expounded the various opportunities our policies afford. As a human rights organization, allegedly committed in principle and practice to insuring equality of opportunity in all democratic institutions, we cannot and we must not do one-half of one per cent less than what our policies permit. We must foremost of all be totally relevant to the problems of the region. It is mandatory that we speak out against undemocratic ideas and for needed reforms in the region. If for no other reason than our exposure of hunger in Mississippi, we should encourage the abolishment of the AFDC freeze. We must speak affirmatively and relevantly to the affairs of the region.

To this end, we make the following recommendations:

1. That the Committee of Black Employees become the official grievance committee for Black employees of the Southern Regional Council.
   a. That COBE will be a regularly meeting body which will not assemble on SRC time.
   b. That COBE will have a flexible structure, having no chairman or officers but alternating representatives and discussion leaders, thereby guaranteeing the opportunity for maximum feasible participation of all Black employees, regardless of status.

c. That COBE will be a mechanism through which problems between Black and White staff members (even between Blacks and also between Whites) will be discussed and that honest attempts at resolution---and hopefully resolutions---will be made.

2. That the staff manual be updated to include the following:

a. Organizational Chart.--Immediate attention should be given to drawing up an organizational chart which should show the formal structure of the Council and indicate the lines of hierarchial authority established to regulate the conduct of the Council. The chart should also locate present and anticipated personnel.

b. Job Descriptions.--For each slot on the organizational chart, an adequate job description should be provided, setting forth requirements and limitations.

c. Placement.--Employees should be assigned to a job and a supervisor where they will be most effective.

d. Transfer.--The transfer process is related to placement, but is broader in objectives. In addition to achieving placement objectives, transfer is highly desirable as a means for an employee to gain broader experience and different perspectives in order to aid his self-development.

e. Promotions.--If we are to ever achieve a just society, the Council must get over its hang-up that Blacks are only qualified for entry level or dead-end jobs. Promotion is an important part of equal opportunity.

(1) We encourage the promotion and the upgrading from within the Council to all new and available jobs. We discourage bringing in outsiders and placing them above insiders of equal efficiency.

(2) We encourage the promotion of all employees as rapidly as is justified and possible.

f. Pay Policy.--Salary scales should be revised to insure a more equitable distribution.

g. Training.--There is today general acceptance of the importance of training. Training implies orientation to the new job, development of knowledge and skill needed for the present work, and growth for future responsibilities. If the Council is to reach greater effectiveness, it must supplement informal training with planned programs of employee development. We define training as the conscious effort on the part of the Council to give assistance and direction to the employees in learning their jobs and their occupational development.

h. Evaluation.--Better methods for the evaluation of performance are central to the successful operation of the Council. Methods are needed to inform the employee of how he is doing and to help him improve his work to serve as a basis for pay raises and promotions, and to identify training needs.

i. Appeals and grievance system.--The availability of grievance and appeal procedure is essential in employee-management relationships. Yet, such procedures have limited value unless there are safeguards against preemptory removals, with

Union

knowledge of the reasons so that there will be opportunity to defend oneself against charges.

j. Leave and vacation.--It should be clearly stated that employees should not take advantage of leave and office time by:

(1) Not turning in leave slips;

(2) Taking time they don't have;

(3) Habitual tardiness to work,

(4) Over-extended lunch hours; and

(5) An over-abundance of personal telephone calls, incoming and outgoing.

k. Retirement.--The minimum age at which one can retire should be sixty-two (62), and sixty-five (65) should be the maximum age of an employee. At or after 65, retirement should be compulsory. This should be applicable to future employees and present employees under the age of sixty two (62).

3. That SRC become more involved in and more relevant to matters in the region.

4. That the activities and project undertaken correspond to the basic needs of the region and to the expressed needs of the people.

5. That every effort be made to publicize the work and services of the Council in the region so that this will be known to all citizens in the region.

6. That the Council take a "good, long, hard look at itself."

7. That the Council be officially closed on April 4th, this year and hereafter, in respect to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., nonviolent leader of the Civil Rights Movement.

8. That all employees refrain from using terms which might indicate racist attitudes: Blacks must refrain from using such terms as "redneck," "honky," "cracker," or any other expression which might offend Whites; Whites, in the same light, must cease using terms such as "boy," "Nigra," or any other phrase or word which might offend Blacks.

We hope these recommendations will be received as they are given: in good faith. Just and affirmative action on these suggestions, we feel, is essential to the effective operation of the Council. We hope the Executive Director will welcome the opportunity to give an early response to the recommendations herein proposed, keeping in mind the recommendation for the Council to be closed on April 4th in respect to Dr. King; and we, in turn, cordially invite

MEMO TO: Paul Anthony -- 10.
March 25, 1969

the Director to discuss with the Committee these and other related matters. Any Black member of the staff will be happy to set up a meeting date between the Director and the Committee of Black Employees at the convenience of the Director.

* * * * *

ALEXANDER, John Stanley

BOONE, John O.

COOK, Bernice C. (Mrs.)

HARRISON, Antonio

HINTON, Jesse, Jr.

JACKSON, Barnetta (Miss)

JOHNSON, Mildred (Mrs. H. D.)

JORDAN, Vernon E., Jr.

LEWIS, John

MEEKINS, Joyce (Mrs. J. S.)

MORGAN, Nobbie (Mrs. L. B.)

OLIVE, Thad

POOLE, Gwendolyn (Miss)

REED, Doris (Mrs.)

ROUGEAU, Weldon

SHORTT, Janet (Mrs. T. O.)

MEMO TO: Paul Anthony -- 11.
March 25, 1969

Robert L. Terrell

TERRELL, Robert

Mozell Varner

VARNER, Mozell (Miss)

Ruth H. Vick

VICK, Ruth House (Mrs. Victor)

Maaza Woldemusie

WOLDEMUSIE, Maaza (Miss)

COPY COPY

May 19, 1969

Mr. Weldon Rougeau
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Weldon:

After reading your letter of May 15 requesting a meeting with the Executive Committee on Friday, June 13 before its Executive Session, I conferred by telephone with John Wheeler.

We are in agreement that it will be rather difficult to comply with your request. As you know, our members are widely scattered and have had no opportunity to confer with each other or to have any detailed briefing on the series of events that have led up to the request for a meeting. On the other hand, your Committee has had frequent occasion to meet together and talk with each other.

To meet with you without any opportunity to talk together in advance will be placing the Executive Committee at a disadvantage which would not be fair to them and we cannot approve it. Further, both John Wheeler and Paul Anthony will not be able to reach Atlanta before late in the afternoon of the 13th and I am unwilling to convene such a meeting without their being present.

I can assure you that a short evening session of the Executive Committee, held privately before the open meeting, is not going to jeopardize our ability to hear you with open minds and close attention.

All of us are aware that SRC is not perfect and that there is opportunity to make it a stronger and more effective organization. We shall be intensely interested in any observations that your group can make which will help us attain these objectives. I, and those other Executive Committee members with whom I have talked, believe that out of this exchange of views will come a level of understanding and communication which will

have positive value for us in the future. I hope that all of us, staff and Executive Committee members, can agree that the Southern Regional Council, as a particular organizational entity, has no value as such and has no mandate for continued existence. It's true worth lies in the strength of its commitment to its ideals and its objectives and in the contribution it can make to society.

Our plan now calls for an open meeting of the Executive Committee to begin at 9:30 a.m., June 14. All members of the staff of SRC are invited to attend as observers. Active participation will be limited to members of the Executive Committee, members of the senior staff -- as is our usual custom -- and the three designated spokesmen of COBE.

I hope that these plans are acceptable to you and your Committee. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

SIGNED: RAYMOND M. WHEELER (by mmj)

Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman
Executive Committee

RMW/mmj
cc: Executive Committee Members
The SRC Staff

E.L. Otto Lucas

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
STAFF MANUAL
AND
EXPENSE GUIDE

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

1 Copy staff manual
sent to Country Sideoff-
to be returned

Sept 24 '62

SRC STAFF MANUAL
1962

HOURS OF WORK

The Council office is regularly open from 9:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m. Monday through Friday.

SALARY PAYMENTS

The staff is paid by check on the fifteenth and the last day of the month. Whenever the fifteenth or the last day of the month falls on a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday, pay checks are written on the day preceding.

OVERTIME

The Council does not pay for overtime for professional personnel.

For other personnel, additional compensation at the individual's regular rate will be made at the next pay period. If the individual chooses, and if work schedules permit, compensatory time may be taken rather than additional pay. In either instance, a written record of the time worked and the preference of pay or compensatory time should be given to the Secretary-Treasurer immediately following overtime work. For all overtime work, permission must be obtained in advance from the employee's supervisor.

EXPENSES

Travel

Staff will be reimbursed for travel and actual expenses in connection with field work for the Council. Per diem in lieu of hotels, meals, tips, taxicabs, and related costs may be authorized.

Members of the Council will also be reimbursed for travel and actual expenses when attending official meetings or carrying out other duties as requested by the Executive Director of the Executive Committee.

Attached to this Manual is an SRC expense guide.

Incidental

If any member of the staff has to incur other expenses in connection with his or her official duties, the cost will be paid by the Council.

Moving

Where arranged beforehand, the Council may be responsible for moving expenses for furniture and household effects,but not personal transportation costs, for permanent employees one-way from point of origin to Atlanta. No moving expenses are paid by the Council on termination of employment.

For temporary employees, by prior arrangement, the Council may be responsible for transportation expenses to and from point of origin at the beginning and end of employment, but not moving expenses for furniture and household effects.

HOLIDAYS

The office of the Council is closed on the following holidays:

New Years Day
Good Friday
Independence Day
Labor Day
Thanksgiving Day and the Friday following
Christmas Day and, whenever practical, Christmas Eve.

Whenever a holiday falls on Sunday, the following Monday may be taken. Holidays falling on Saturday may be observed upon the Friday before the holiday. Other special religious holidays may be observed by persons upon authorization.

VACATION AND SICK LEAVE

General: Each employee of the Council who is serving in a permanent status earns both vacation and sick leave at the rate of one and one-half work days for each full month of service. Vacation and sick leaves are not granted to temporary employees. A temporary employee who subsequently is employed on a permanent basis will be credited with any accumulated vacation or sick leave he may have accrued from the date of first employment.

Records are kept by the Secretary-Treasurer of all absences from the office on work days. A specific form is provided for this purpose. The individual employee, not the Secretary-Treasurer, is responsible for presenting written records of all absences on the first day of work following any absence. No charge will be made against vacation for absences on holidays, Saturdays, Sundays, or other non-work days.

An employee who is absent from the office on official business, or who is taking prearranged compensatory time, is not considered on leave.

Vacation: Employees of the Southern Regional Council may take vacation at any time that will least interfere with the efficient operation of the office. Requests for leave of any duration should be made in writing in advance to the employee's immediate supervisor and if approved, should be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer. Requests for leave of more than two days should, if at all possible, be made in writing at least 10 days ahead. This will allow time for securing approval.

If not taken, vacation may accumulate up to 24 work days. Accrued vacation in excess of 24 days will be forfeited.

If an employee who has accrued maximum leave (24 days) takes a vacation, the amount of time taken will be subtracted from the total and additional vacation time will be earned at the regular rate of 1½ work days per month. (For instance, if an employee with 24 days accrued leave takes a 10 day--two week--vacation he will then have 14 days accrued leave remaining and will need to work thereafter for 7 months before his maximum accrued leave has again been reached.)

No vacation time and salary therefor--to be earned following vacation--is advanced under any circumstances.

If an employee resigns or is asked to resign from his position he is entitled to receive pay for all of his accrued vacation which has not been taken (up to 24 days) up to and including the date of his leaving.

When employment is terminated, if accurate and full records are not on file with the Secretary-Treasurer, no accrued leave will be paid.

Sick leave with pay is allowed whenever an employee is incapacitated due to sickness, injury, or when some member of his immediate family has a contagious disease, is seriously ill, or dies.

Notification of absence on account of sickness shall be given to the Secretary-Treasurer as soon as possible on the "Record of Leave" form provided.

Sick leave may accumulate up to a total of 48 work days. Untaken sick leave beyond this total is forfeited.

If an employee has a serious illness which keeps him away from the office for a period of time beyond the sick leave accrued to his credit, the Executive Director may approve either of the following plans:

1) Leave without pay, after all accumulated sick leave and vacation are exhausted.

2) Sick leave advanced, up to 20 work days, with the understanding that the employee will remain with the Council until sick leave has been earned, or that adjustment will be made in final salary.

When sickness occurs within a vacation period, the period of illness may, upon written authorization, be charged to sick leave, and the charge against the vacation reduced accordingly. Applications for substitution of sick leave for vacation shall be made immediately after the expiration of the vacation period.

When an employee resigns, all accrued sick leave is forfeited at the time of resignation.

Maternity Leave: In cases of maternity leave, the Executive Director may grant leave of absence without pay for a period not to exceed eight months after all accrued sick leave and vacation have been taken.

Leave Without Pay: Leave without pay, for reasons other than sick leave, may be granted with approval of the Executive Director.

An employee returning from leave of absence without pay will be credited with any accumulated sick leave he had accrued when granted leave of absence.

Termination of Employment: If an employee resigns his position with the Southern Regional Council, a minimum notice of two weeks will be expected; if it is necessary to reduce staff, the employee laid off will be given at least two weeks notice. In instances of dismissal, where it seems advisable for the employee to leave immediately, he will be paid for the notification period.

As stated above, an employee whose services are terminated voluntarily or involuntarily will be paid for all of his accrued vacation at the time of his leaving. Any accrued sick leave is forfeited.

OTHER MATTERS

Where questions arise on any items not covered in this manual, the employee is invited to discuss them with the Executive Director. No information pertaining to official policy should be accepted from persons other than the Executive Director or his authorized representative.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL EXPENSE GUIDE

The following requirements and suggestions are given as a guide for SRC staff and others who incur expenses to be paid by the Council. The guide is not established to create severe restrictions or to curtail efficiency. Rather it is a reminder of our responsibility to use the funds available as effectively as possible.

TRAVEL:

Automobile: Reimbursed at the rate of .08 per mile. This amount includes all travel costs related to the use of the automobile except items as parking and tolls. Private automobiles should not be used unless common carriers would be more costly or not available or would not permit fulfillment of duties.

Air: Tourist accommodations whenever possible. Except in unavoidable circumstances, first class fares will not be paid between points where frequent tourist service is available.

Train: Coach accommodations on short and day trips. Minimum adequate Pullman accommodations for overnight travel.

Bus: For short trips, bus schedules should be checked. Frequently these schedules are as convenient, and no more time consuming, than available air schedules.

Airport Limousine: Should be used at all times rather than taxicabs, except in unavoidable circumstances.

Auto Rentals: Should be used as little as possible. Except for those persons with SRC auto rental credit cards, this service should never be used without prior permission.

Hotels: Reservation requests should always stipulate, "minimum available rate." Generally, room service charges, laundry, and like expenses will not be honored.

Taxicabs: Please use this service as sparingly as possible. However, note that heavy use of taxicabs where necessary is often cheaper than car rental.

Meals: No set formula. Generally, $1.50 for breakfast, $2.00 for lunch, and $3.50 for dinner are considered maximum-adequate amounts. It is recognized that costs in, e.g., New York may be somewhat higher and those in a small southern town or city may be somewhat lower.

OTHER:

Travel costs or any portion thereof for spouses are not honored.

Hotel bills, tickets, and other available supporting data should always be submitted with expense accounts.

Entertainment of others is not encouraged.

Requests for reimbursement of expenses should be made on the regular SRC expense form. If this is not convenient, the request should indicate the purpose, destination, and date(s) expenses were incurred and similar information.

Travel advances are available on request to the Secretary-Treasurer.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 5, 1963

STAFF OF:

To: SRC & VEP From: VEJ,Jr. VJ.

Subject:

A substantial majority of SRC and VEP employees voted to discontinue Good Friday as a Council holiday and substitute therefor the national Memorial Day, May 30. Therefore, in 1964 and years following, subject to another referendum, Good Friday will be observed as a regular work day and Memorial Day (May 30) a holiday.

MHJ ✓
N.M.
P.A.
LK
RH ✓
MG ✓
MM ✓
E.O.G.R. ✓
MA ✓
BP ✓
JH ✓
BCC

See Staff memos.

5/30/63

THE STAFF - VEP LWD

I am inclined to think that we should discontinue Good Friday as a Council holiday. It is a decidedly religious holiday and perhaps, therefore, inappropriate for us to observe it.

I wish you would give Vernon Jordan ~~and~~ or me your views about this. If you agree that we should discontinue the observation of Good Friday, I wish you would also suggest another holiday as a replacement which you think would be most appropriate for our observation or which you would prefer. ~~&a&~~

Just as a reminder, the Council now takes the following:

New Year's Day

Good Friday

July 4th

Labor Day

Thanksgiving Day and the Friday following

Christmas Day, and whenever practical Christmas Eve.

MEMO TO VERNON JORDAN:

All five VEP employees would like to see a discontinuance of the observance of Good Friday as a Council holiday and would like to take this holiday time on Memorial Day in lieu thereof.

WAB

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 5/30/63

To: THE STAFF - SRC From: LWD

Subject:

S.C.C. — Good Friday
B.P. — Mem. Day
~~MA~~
MET — Good Fri
MMS — makes no difference

I am inclined to think that we should discontinue Good Friday as a Council holiday. It is a decidedly religious holiday and perhaps, therefore, inappropriate for us to observe it.

I wish you would give Vernon Jordan ~~and~~ or me your views about this. If you agree that we should discontinue the observation of Good Friday, I wish you would also suggest another holiday as a replacement which you think would be most appropriate for our observation or which you would prefer. &&&

Just as a reminder, the Council now takes the following:

1. Good Fri
NM — 2. MEMORIAL DAY
R.B. Memorial Day May 30

New Year's Day

Good Friday

July 4th

Labor Day

Thanksgiving Day and the Friday following

Christmas Day, and whenever practical Christmas Eve.

MA - no preference
SDB - MEMORIAL DAY
JT - No preference
RH - No preference
RHA - Memorial - May 30.
MG - ~~[illegible]~~ January 27
MM - No preference; however, I do think the holiday should fall about half-way between New Year's Day + July 4th.
PA: God Friday - it always comes on Friday!
JK - Couldn't care less which to choose
VEJ — Memorial Day and Decoration Day - Maggie

file - staff - Nancy

MEMORANDUM March 16, 1964

To: SRC STAFF
VEP STAFF (Please initial and return to MMJ)

From: LWDunbar

This is just to remind you that Good Friday is not an office holiday. According to your vote last year, Good Friday has been discontinued as a holiday, and Memorial Day (May 30) replaces it.

Inasmuch as Memorial Day this year falls on Saturday, we shall take Friday, May 29 as a holiday.

Manual SRC

Hours of Work

The Southern Regional Council office is open from 9:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m., Monday through Friday.

JM ✓
MB ✓
DM ✓

- - - - - - - -

Overtime

It is not the policy of the Southern Regional Council to pay for overtime. For clerical personnel, where overtime is authorized in advance compensatory time off is earned but should be taken within about a week, work permitting. Special circumstances for a professional person should be discussed with such person's superior.

- - - - - - - -

Salary Payments

It is the policy of the Southern Regional Council to pay the staff by check on the fifteenth and the last day of the month. Whenever the fifteenth or the last day of the month falls on a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday, pay checks are written on the day preceding that Saturday, Sunday or holiday.

If a payday should fall within a vacation period, then check for that pay period may be given to the staff member on the day he leaves for his vacation, if that is preferred by him.

- - - - - - - - - -

Travel Expenses

It is the policy of the Southern Regional Council to reimburse the staff for travel and actual expenses in connection with field work for the Council.

Ordinary travel is paid on the basis of six cents per mile if travel is by automobile, and for the actual cost of ticket if travel is by train, bus or plane. Actual expenses are paid for hotel, meals, tips, etc. in connection with official duties while on field trips.

Per diem in lieu of hotels, meals, tips, taxicabs may be authorized.

It is the policy to reimburse members of the Board of directors and members of the Executive Committee for travel and actual expense when attending official meetings at Council headquarters or at some other designated place.

All expenses should be itemized on the expense voucher provided by the Council and presented to the Secretary-Treasurer for reimbursement before the last day of the month.

If it is necessary to secure an advance toward travel, request should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer as far as possible in advance of the time the check is needed.

Incidental Expenses

If any member of the staff has to attend a luncheon or dinner in connection with his official duties, the cost of the meal will be paid by the Council.

- - - - - - - - -

Holidays

The office of the Southern Regional Council is closed on the following holidays:

New Year's Day

~~Good Friday~~ Memorial Day - May 30

Independence Day

See Lind memo of 5/30/63 + Uy's memo of June 5/63

Labor Day

Thanksgiving Day and the Friday following

Christmas Day and whenever practical, Christmas Eve)

Whenever a holiday falls on Sunday, the following Monday may be taken. Holidays falling on Saturday may be observed upon the Friday before the holiday. Other special religious holidays may be observed by persons affected upon authorization.

General Policies

Each employee of the Southern Regional Council who is serving in a permanent status earns both vacation and sick leave at the rate of one and one-half work days for each full month of service. Vacation and sick leaves are not granted to temporary employees. A temporary employee who subsequently is employed on a permanent basis will be credited with any accumulated vacation or sick leave he may have accrued on the date of permanent employment.

Records are kept by the Secretary-Treasurer of all absences from the office on work days. The attached form (SRC 8) is used for this purpose.

An employee will be charged with vacation or sick leave only for absences on those days upon which he would otherwise work and receive pay. No charge will be made against vacation for absences on holidays, Saturdays, Sundays, or other non-work days.

An employee who is absent from the office on official business is not considered on leave.

Vacation

Employees of the Southern Regional Council may take their vacations at any time that will least interfere with the efficient operation of the office.

Requests for leave of any duration should be made in writing in advance to the Secretary-Treasurer and requests for leave of more than two days should be made in writing at least ten days ahead. This will allow time for securing approval.

If not taken, vacation may accumulate up to 24 work days. Accrued vacation in excess of 24 days will be forfeited.

If an employee resigns or is asked to resign from his position, he is entitled to receive pay for all of his accrued vacation which has not been taken, up to, and including the date of his leaving.

Sick Leave

Sick leave with pay is allowed whenever an employee is incapacitated for performance of duties due to sickness, injury, or when some member of his immediate family has a contagious disease, is seriously ill, or dies.

Notification of absence on account of sickness shall be given to the Secretary-Treasurer as soon as possible on the first day of absence. On the first day of work after illness, employee will turn in "Record of Leave" to the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sick leave may accumulate up to a total of 48 work days. Untaken sick leave beyond this total is forfeited.

If an employee has a serious illness which keeps him away from the office for a period of time beyond the sick leave accrued to his credit, the Executive Director may approve either of the following plans:

(1) Leave without pay, after all accumulated sick leave and vacation have been exhausted.

(2) Sick leave advanced, up to 20 work days, with the understanding that the employee will remain with the Council until sick leave has been earned, or that adjustment will be made in final salary.

When sickness occurs within a vacation period, the period of illness may, upon written authorization, be charged as sick leave, and the charge against the vacation reduced accordingly. Application for substitution of sick leave for vacation shall be made immediately after the expiration of the vacation period.

When an employee resigns, all accrued sick leave is forfeited at the time of resignation.

Maternity Leave

In cases of maternity leave, the Executive Director may grant leave of absence without pay for a period not to exceed eight months after all accrued sick leave and vacation have been taken.

Leave Without Pay

Leave without pay for reasons other than sick leave, may be granted with approval of the Executive Director.

An employee returning from leave of absence without pay will be credited with any accummulated sick leave he had accrued when granted leave of absence.

Termination of Employment

If an employee resigns his position with the Southern Regional Council, it is expected that minimum notice of two weeks will be given; if it is necessary to reduce staff, the employee laid off will be given at least two weeks notice. In instances of dismissal, where it seems advisable for the employee to leave immediately, he will be paid for the notification period.

As stated above, an employee whose services are terminated voluntarily or involuntarily will be paid for all of his accrued vacation at the time of his leaving. Any accrued sick leave is forfeited.

File

LWD:

.....a long overdue matter. On mileage: ADL ~~pay~~ pays .10; National Council of Churches pays .07; New York Times pays .10. Haven't checked the others but personally feel .08 is fair and adequate. Since PR raised the question see no reason not to let it stand unless some SRC job carries with it the responsibility of constant travel by automobile. .08 does not pay all expenses for regular use of car, it is more than commercial travel for occasional trips.

PA

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

file SRC Manual

File Copy

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL EXPENSE GUIDE

The following requirements and suggestions are given as a guide for SRC staff and others who incur expenses to be paid by the Council. The guide is not established to create severe restrictions or to curtail efficiency. Rather it is a reminder of our responsibility to use the funds available as effectively as possible.

TRAVEL:

Automobile: Reimbursed at the rate of .08 per mile. This amount includes all travel costs related to the use of the automobile except items as parking and tolls. Private automobiles should not be used unless common carriers would be more costly or not available or would not permit fulfillment of duties.

Air: Tourist accommodations whenever possible. Except in unavoidable circumstances, first class fares will not be paid between points where frequent tourist service is available.

Train: Coach accommodations on short and day trips. Minimum adequate Pullman accommodations for overnight travel.

Bus: For short trips, bus schedules should be checked. Frequently these schedules are as convenient, and no more time consuming, than available air schedules.

Airport Limousine: Should be used at all times rather than taxicabs, except in unavoidable circumstances.

Auto Rentals: Should be used as little as possible. Except for those persons with SRC auto rental credit cards, this service should never be used without prior permission.

Hotels: Reservation requests should always stipulate, "minimum available rate." Generally, room service charges, laundry, and like expenses will not be honored.

Taxicabs: Please use this service as sparingly as possible. However, note that heavy use of taxicabs where necessary is often cheaper than car rental.

Meals: No set formula. Generally, $1.50 for breakfast, $2.00 for lunch, and $3.50 for dinner are considered maximum adequate amounts. It is recognized that costs in, e.g., New York may be somewhat higher and those in a small southern town or city may be somewhat lower.

OTHER:

Travel costs or any portion thereof for spouses are not honored.

Hotel bills, tickets, and other available supporting data should always be submitted with expense accounts.

Entertainment of others is not encouraged.

Requests for reimbursement of expenses should be made on the regular SRC expense form. If this is not convenient, the request should indicate the purpose, destination, and date(s) expenses were incurred and similar information.

Travel advances are available on request to the Secretary-Treasurer.

Mrs. Carlos Montoya
345 West 58th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Mr. John R. Walker, Manager
Population and Enrollment Section
State of Washington
Office of the Governor
Insurance Building
Olympia, Washington 98501

Mrs. Marilyn Craigie
Assistant to the Secretary
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd St.
New York, N. Y.

A. J. McLemore, Librarian
Savannah State College
State College Branch
Savannah, Ga. 31404

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Avenue
St. Louis, Miss. 63105

Mr. George A. Chauncey
Secretary for Church & Society
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
801 East Main St.
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia 23209

Sears-Roebuck Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Annual Reports & Audits

Bill Archie, Babcock-Reynolds
Randolph Compton, Compton
Edi Evans, Carnegie
Norman McLeod ~~Thomas Lenagh~~, Treas. - Ford
Howard Dreyner, Secty. - Ford
Geo Esser
Mike Sovridoz
Basil Whiting
Les Dunbar
Herman Eagle
Mc George Bundy

January 2, 1957

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Since I wrote you the other day, I have found that I am to be in New York February 21 or 22. If this isn't too late for your purposes, perhaps we could get together then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

December 29, 1956

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

I was glad to get your letter of December 19, and to learn that you were hoping to do some writing in depth on the South and integration. We have read with admiration one or two of your articles on the subject, notable "The Schools that Broke the Color Line", reprints of which we distributed.

I would welcome the chance to sit down and discuss your ideas with you, and I think it might well be mutually helpful. Unfortunately, I have no early trip to New York scheduled. But I have occasion to go up very often, and there is every likelihood that I will be in New York sometime within the next couple of months. It would be fine if Adam could sit in with us at that time.

If this prospect is too vague or longranged for your planning, perhaps you would find it possible to come down here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

December 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing at the suggestion of Adam Yarmolinsky, of the Fund for the Republic. I spent some time with him yesterday continuing a discussion of several weeks ago about my desire to spend some time in the South investigating patterns of integration. It was his feeling that a meeting between the two of us, perhaps when you are next in New York, might bring what is, as of right now, a rather vague idea for a project to a more definite plan.

I am a free lance writer and have been for the past four years. Prior to that I was article editor of the Woman's Home Companion and before that, a member of the fiction staff of the Ladies' Home Journal. In the past four years, much of my work has been in the field of magazine articles, and I have written for McCall's, Look, Redbook, Collier's, Ladies' Home Journal, Cosmopolitan, Coronet, This Week and other magazines. I have just completed a book about The Experiment in International Living which Lippincott will publish this spring.

Much of my writing for magazines has been in the area of race relations, a field in which I have had both practical experience and a long and continuing interest. In the course of it, and particularly since the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools, I have come to feel strongly that far too little information is available to the general public on the broad subject of how integration is proceeding and how the opposition to it is being organized. My own thought is that a survey, the results of which could be published either as a regular trade book or a magazine series (or possibly both), which would report on some twelve to fifteen towns or cities, selected to give the widest possible representation from complete and successful integration to adamant refusal to integrate might well turn up some principles of integration as well as a wealth of information about the general trend in the South on this important question.

I have in mind, being convinced that such information is most valuable when most widely distributed, a series of articles which would probe these questions in terms of interviews with

a large number of people in each locality, articles which would deal with the problem more in terms of individual people than with statistics or sociological studies. I have had some success in explaining these questions in precisely these terms in a number of magazine articles, and I would hope that each of these pieces might have great interest for the average reader not specifically or professionally interested in the subject of integration as such.

The problems of such a project as this are, of course, many. First, few magazines would consider taking on such a series as this on speculation. Second, probably no magazine could publish that many articles on the same general subject. Third, I would want to have enough freedom to be able to move outside the specific subject at hand if the occasion seemed to warrant it. The answer would seem to be some kind of grant from some such organization as the Fund for the Republic.

I wonder if you could let me know the next time you are planning to come to New York so that we could discuss this whole subject further. I live in Pelham and can get to New York easily. I think it might be well to include Adam Yarmolinsky in our meeting, though I leave that up to you. My chief purpose in wanting to see you is to discuss the practicality of this plan with you and to get whatever ideas you may have on the subject.

To list some of the magazine articles which I have written on this and related subjects may be of some help to you, and I do it below. I look forward to hearing from you and hope that we may be able to meet soon.

Cordially yours,

William Peters

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

"Race War in Chicago," New Republic, January 9, 1950;"What Is A Security Risk" (the story of the Radulovich case), Redbook, March, 1954; "We Dared To Marry" (the story of an interracial marriage), Redbook, August, 1954; "The Schools That Broke The Color Line" (integration in Delaware), Redbook, October, 1954; "Our Weapon Is Love" (Martin Luther King and the Montgomery bus boycott), Redbook, August, 1956.

To HCF

February 20, 1957

[AS A REMINDER
EAB]

Copy to HCF 2/22/57
via EFV

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

At last my schedule has jelled sufficiently for me to write you. I am to be in New York most of the week starting Monday, February 25th. I will be seeing Adam Yarmolinsky and will raise with him the possibility of the three of us getting together while I am there.

You may expect to be hearing from me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

January 4, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your two recent letters. I'm delighted to hear that you will be coming to New York in February, and I hope that we can have time to talk then. If you'll just let me know when the date is definite, I'll put it on my calander. Perhaps you, Adam and I could have lunch.

I'll look forward to hearing from you when your plans are definite and to meeting you soon. Thanks again for your letters.

Cordially yours,

William Peters

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

1201

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

:AB788 SYA804

SY NCA319 NL PD=PELHAM NY 9= 1957 DEC 9 PM 10 12

:HAROLD FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

ARRIVING CAPITOL AIRLINE 1210 NOON TUESDAY WILL TELEPHONE YOU ON ARRIVAL=

WILLIAM PETERS=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

February 12, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Harold asked me to send you this material before he left for New York. Sorry it is not as complete as I know you would like. We do not have the complete text of the first speech Roy Harris made in Little Rock, but we are mailing you what we have. The second speech made there is paraphrased rather fully in the clipping from the Augusta Courier, which is enclosed.

Enclosed you will find a clipping from the Atlanta Constitution giving Harris' background. If this is not full enough, please let me know and I will try to dig up some more material. The other material is self-explanatory.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

Encls. Ms and copy of Negro Voter in the South

April 10, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Thanks for the copy of your manuscript. Four of us here have read it with interest and admiration. Sorry to be this long responding, but it took awhile for this many readers to finish it and comment.

As to overall reactions: The consensus was that the MS is eminently useful, readable, and generally accurate. One staff member feels that parts of the piece make the picture seem too bright; he specifies page 11, as oversimplifying the ease with which Southern whites will acquiesce in desegregation. Some merit to this.

I felt that the potential effect of the growing Negro vote didn't get the attention it deserves; even now, this is a tremendously important factor in cities like Atlanta. I'm sending our voting study in case you don't have it. Less importantly, the NAACP comes in for scant mention, considering the central role it plays; but maybe this is an inevitable consequence of your approach.

More specific comments, by page:

Page 6. A flyspeck, but the flattering reference to Mayor Mann is misleading. The school

board and other anti-Faubusites had little or no respect for Mann because of his prior performance as mayor. He was "retired" by a governmental reform backed by the Arkansas Gazette and others who played a moderate-to-liberal part in the school controversy. Not suggesting you go into all this, but the reference as it stands would cause knowledgeable people to discount your understanding of the local scene.

Page 8 - 9. You name virtually all the places where school desegregation has been met with mob action. Why suggest that there were substantially more?

Page 13. Note spelling of Keith.

Page 14. The reference to the Montgomery Advertiser probably originated with us. We got a strong kickback from the editor, Grover Hall, who claims that he modified his position, because of respectable people who joined WCC, but that he continues to be critical of it. It would be correct to say he greatly watered down his criticism.

Page 35. Small technical point: Emory University is not in Decatur, but near it and near Atlanta, in DeKalb County.

Page 38. Women are now serving on some juries in Alabama. Correct to say that, until recently, they couldn't serve in Alabama or Georgia.

Page 53. We like the plug for SRC. But we have a small embarrassment about the affiliates, the result of our giving you out-of-date material. Not long ago, we changed the relationship from affiliation to a less organic tie. The slight changes indicated in the text would help us.

Page 65. Will the uninitiated understand that traditionally Negro nursemaids have been allowed to ignore segregation rules when shepherding their white charges? Maybe so, but I thought the question worth raising.

Page 73. Roy Harris' term as a Regent expired not long ago, and the governor failed to reappoint him. Better say, "until recently a member," etc.

Page 89. A quibble at the characterization of Hartsfiled as "mild-mannered." Though mild in

appearance, Hartsfield is often far from mild in manner; in fact, at times the only way to describe him is "irascible." (A good man, for a' that.)

Page 90. The central point of the county unit system is not undue rural representation, but weighting of the actual votes cast in the Democratic primary. It is "like" the electoral system, except that the distribution of county electoral votes has no proportionate relationship to the distribution of population. The easiest way to show its meaning is to point out that Fulton County (Atlanta), with 14.5 per cent of the state population, has only 1.46 per cent of the unit voting power.

Page 90. John Orr is not dark, but fair.

Page 93. As I understand it, Killian's role was simply to produce objective findings on the state of public opinion in Florida. The last complete sentence on this page seems to imply that he was a sympathetic party to the plea for delay, as formulated by Ervin. Knowing Killian, I think this most unlikely.

Pages 95 - 96. The 24 cities ended bus segregation before the successful o utcome of the Montgomery protest. An earlier court ruling had put the hand-writing on the wall.

Page 105. Very doubtful that it is middle-class whites who cling most ferociously to segregated schools. The middle class is more influential in public policy, but the lower economic group has a higher degree of prejudice and would be willing to go to greater lengths to block desegregation.

I hope these comments, many of them minor, arrive in time to be of some help. We'll be looking forward eagerly to the publication of the piece, and hopefully favorable word on book publication.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

March 28, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here, as promised (or threatened, depending on your viewpoint), is a carbon of the first draft of the McCall's piece. It is unquestionably longer than they can use it, but I wanted them to have a share in the cutting. I've also sent a carbon to Adam Yarmolinsky, at Doubleday, for their consideration. I told Adam that I thought Doubleday should decide strictly on the basis of this, plus a knowledge of the other material I have, whether or not they wanted a book. I don't really think that there's much possibility of getting firm promises from a long list of agencies to take copies of a book they haven't seen. If Doubleday says no, I'll try elsewhere. Meanwhile, though, notes from you and/or anyone else there to Adam might help.

I do hope you will have a chance to go over the manuscript carefully, along with anyone else there who's interested, and that you will feel absolutely free to make whatever suggestions or corrections you feel will help the piece. Your overall views will also be helpful. And don't forget that any additions, as well as corrections, will be valuable to me, too.

Thanks again for your help and that of the other members of your office which made a strenuous job less strenuous and more enjoyable. I'd appreciate it if you could get the manuscript, together with any notes, corrections, etc. you may have, back to me within a week or so. Just make whatever corrections you have on the ms. itself. This is an extra carbon.

Thanks again.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

May 1, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

We are in the process of securing the information on federal employment in Atlanta and of doping out the best way to secure similar information elsewhere.

The only approach that makes sense is to have a knowledgeable person in each community sound out someone who is responsive and familiar with each agency. We feel that a direct survey of the agencies would be unproductive.

I plan now to be in contact with persons in about eight cities other than Atlanta. These would include Richmond, Charlotte, Miami, Birmingham, New Orleans, Dallas, Nashville and Louisville. This would give a good scatter and include deep South and border states. I do not hold out any promise of complete reports on all these places.

If the persons we hope to have do the updating in Atlanta can get to work soon we should have that report in a matter of ten days. Those of us who have looked the 1956 report over feel it holds true for now with the addition of changes in the post office.

It would aid me some to know what kind of a deadline you want us to meet. My feeling is that this information needs to be quite reliable and representative of any locality we look at. This probably means it will take a few weeks to get it pulled together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/pa

May 2, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks a lot for your letter of yesterday and the word that you are at work in Atlanta and elsewhere on the survey of federal employment. I can't tell you how much I appreciate your help and particularly the promptness with which it is given.

Your plans for surveys, if possible, in Richmond, Charlotte, Miami, Birmingham, New Orleans, Dallas, Nashville and Louisville are wonderful, and I really hope that a good proportion of them come through. You should know, also, that during my travels through the South for McCall's I asked a number of individuals to conduct similar surveys for me if possible. Since I had heard from none of them a few weeks ago, I wrote them all repeating my request and thus far have heard from two. There is no possibility of conflict with your surveys with two possible exceptions, but for your information, I'll list details on them below. Incidentally, I should add that I am not at all confident of the results in any of these surveys which I have requested and would therefore hope that you would continue to try to get results on your own.

The following individuals have been requested to conduct surveys similar to your 1956 study in their own cities:

Mr. John H. Wrighten and Mr. J. Arthur Brown, Charleston, S. C. (Wrighten wrote me recently with the results for five federal agencies: U. S. Customs House, Internal Revenue Service, Justice Department -- including the Federal Court and other branches of the judiciary -- the Post Office and the U. S. Navy Yard. I've written for more information about other agencies.)

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala. Here is one of the possible conflicts. Shuttlesworth writes that he has requested Tuskegee Institute and Miles College to conduct the survey and that, if they can't, he will go ahead on his own.

I'm fairly skeptical of getting anything usable here, though, at least in time to use it. Therefore, if you can arrange for someone else to do the job in Birmingham, I wish you would.

Mr. Edward A. Dawley, Norfolk, Virginia. A young Negro lawyer, he should do a good job if he can get the facts.

Mr. Medgar Evers, NAACP, Jackson, Mississippi. No word yet on results.

This man knows legal party strategy, their organizational strength.

~~[illegible]~~ Mr. A. P. Tureaud, NAACP, New Orleans. I haven't heard from him yet, and knowing how busy he is, I question the results I'll get here. This is the other possible source of conflict with your list.

Mr. L. Christopher Bates, Little Rock, Arkansas. No word yet.

Mr. Junius Bowman, Urban League, Jacksonville, Fla. No word yet, though I seriously doubt that, understaffed as they are in this office, they'll be able to do a job.

If from your attempts and mine we can get reliable and complete reports on six of eight cities, I'll have all I need. This, of course, will include the Atlanta study which you are now up-dating.

As for my deadline, it's rough. But if we could aim at having the material by May 26 -- that's about three weeks from now, it would be wonderful. I could start working with whatever I had then and still use anything which came in the following week or two. Let me know if this seems possible.

And again, thanks for your help. I don't know what I'd do without the Southern Regional Council and all its fine people.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

May 23, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks a lot for your note and the enclosed copy of your memo. I received it on my return yesterday from a trip to Florida.

As for the deadline for the material about the Southern cities, keep extending it, if necessary, to get the material. My response from those who indicated an interest in gathering this material in the other cities has been virtually nil to date, and I do need information about at least five or six cities in order to make my point in the article.

Thanks again for your vital help in this. I haven't seen the publication of the President's Committee to which you refer, though I do have a former one which includes Mobile and is equally uninformative. I supose I'll get a copy of this later version when I go to talk with them in Washington after I've gathered all the material for this article.

I'll look forward to further word from you on the surveys when you have some news. Let's hope it's good news.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

June 9, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

The reports on federal employment are coming in slowly. Atlanta is nearly complete; Greensboro is complete; Birmingham and Knoxville are committed to be done. Nothing else at this point.

I will be out of town for about ten days. Would you like to have piece-meal reports as they come in, or let me send you everything we have compiled as of a given date?

I hope the other phases of your project are going well. We consider employment practices and federal agencies of a great deal of importance and I am distressed that information is coming in so slowly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:ls

June 10, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

Just a note to let you know that I raised the question of tax audits at the last Southern Interagency Conference. Representatives of about fifteen agencies operating in the field of human relations in the South were asked to pass on any information they might get on this point. So far, no returns.

I have also asked Emory Via to give you a progress report on the Civil Service question.

I hope your projects are progressing satisfactorily and that you will drop us a note as the various publication dates get scheduled.

I keep hearing that LOOK is trying to work up something on the performance of Southern police chiefs, but I take it that this is somebody else's baby.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Peters

PElham 8-2720

Call him

April 17, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I've just had time for a quick look through my notes of people interviewed in the course of gathering material for the McCall's piece, so this information is not complete. But below are the names of some of the people with whom I talked whose income taxes have been audited recently. I've included also organizations engaged in race relations work to give a fuller picture. Naturally, I'll be interested in your reactions.

Alabama

I actually talked with few people in Alabama who might have been affected, but I'm asking the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and Dr. Martin Luther King to canvass the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to determine how many in these groups have been audited. Dr. Abernathy told me that while he had not been audited, some of his colleagues had. I'm getting the details on this.

Arkansas

The only person in the state with whom I talked who might have been audited was Mr. L. Christopher Bates, the husband of Daisy Bates and publisher of The State Press. He reported that both his personal and business income tax returns were audited in March, 1957, coincident with the appointment of a new Internal Revenue agent from Louisiana. Previously, the former agent had helped him make out his returns and had told him of (and shown him) anonymous letters suggesting an audit. He had, of course, ignored them. While undergoing the audit in 1957 by the new agent, Bates reported seeing on his desk another such letter which the agent promptly concealed when he saw Bates reading it. The 1957 audit went back three years and resulted in numerous disallowances, though a subsequent check by the state income tax people (apparently routine after a federal audit) resulted in little change.

Georgia

Southern Regional Council -- All I know is what you've told me.

Harold C. Fleming -- ditto the above.

Dr. George S. Mitchell -- ditto the above.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Office, NAACP, Atlanta. Ruby confirmed to me what she had told you.

The Rev. Robert B. McNeill, Ist Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Georgia. Dr. McNeill says that while he had not been subjected to a formal audit, he had had continuing difficulty with his federal income tax returns beginning three years ago. We didn't go into detail, but he was publicly identified as being opposed to segregation at that time.

The Rev. Mr. L. H. Pitts, executive secretary, Georgia Teachers Association, Atlanta. I can't find in my notes his comment, but unless my memory is wrong, he did report having been audited recently. You might check this with him.

Kentucky

James Crumblin, NAACP, Louisville. I didn't speak directly with him, but I was told by a friend that he has been audited recently. Am checking.

Mississippi

Mr. Medgar Evers, Field Secretary, NAACP, Jackson. Medgar told he he'd been audited in 1956 and had to pay $1.73 instead of receiving a rebate he'd expected. He also reported about the following two cases.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, president, State Conference NAACP, Jackson. Audited recently.

Albert L. Powell, Commander William Walker Post of the American Legion (the post recently thrown out by the Mississippi American Legion purportedly for integrationist activities). Audited recently.

Hodding Carter, publisher Delta Democrat-Times. Carter reports an audit of both his personal and business returns has been going on for at least a year now. The audits begin with his returns for 1953-1955 and go on through 1956 and 1957. At one time during the past year, he had an internal revenue agent in his newspaper office for three consecutive months.

South Carolina

Arthur Locke King, one of the authors of South Carolinians Speak, of Georgetown. His 1955 return was audited following publication of the book. Because they found a genuine $600

error (in his deductions, I think), he's convinced it had nothing to do with the book. I'll comment on this later.

John H. Wrighten, Charleston (the young Negro attorney for whom the new law school at Orangeburg was built). He was audited in 1954, the first year of his law practice. Since then, he has made out tax returns for many of his clients and reports that many of them have been audited, he thinks because his name is on them.

J. Arthur Brown, president Charleston chapter NAACP. Audited for the first time in his life in 1957.

Dr. J. A. Bacoats, president, Benedict College, Columbia. Audited in 1956. Only disallowance - a $1.00 contribution to the NAACP.

Virginia

Spotswood W. Robinson, III, Southeastern Regional Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Richmond. Audited in 1957 for both his personal and real estate firm returns for 1956. He, too, is convinces it was not harrassment.

New York

The National Urban League -- is still awaiting word of tax status after an exhaustive five-year audit unlike anything they have ever experienced before.

It is my understanding that the NAACP national office, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee were audited in the same way at the same time. Checking further on this.

Few of the people I talked with had made the connection between their activities in race relations and the audit. Some were sure that, because the audit did reveal something genuinely wrong -- or at least debatable -- that it was a genuine audit. But the facts, as I understand them, are these. Below a certain -- and very high -- income, returns are audited only on a spot-check basis, one out of every thousand, for example. Aside from such a spot-check, these returns are audited only when the office receives information leading them to pull a specific individual's return and look it over. Otherwise, these returns are simply checked for mathematical accuracy.

It is also true that virtually every return can be challenged for proof on some basis. In other words, the question is not whether some error was found during the audit, but why these people were selected for audits in the first place.

There are, as I say, more than these, but I'd have to comb my notes more thoroughly to find them. These, incidentally, were turned up merely by my asking, when I remembered to ask, whether individuals I interviewed had been audited lately. I've made no systematic check of officers and employees of the Urban League, the NAACP or the associates of the Southern Regional Council, though perhaps that might be a good idea.

You'll notice that South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia produced the most, which seems reasonable, and I feel sure that a rigorous check in Alabama would reveal the same thing.

Let me know what you think.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

June 11, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for your letter of June 9. I think it would be easier for me if you would let me have the reports on the various cities as they are completed, rather than hold them all for delivery together. I may have questions on some of them and this will give me more of an opportunity to attempt to get answers.

I can't tell you how valuable your help is in this. With the exception of an incomplete report on Charleston, none of the individuals who volunteered to do this job for me in other cities has yet come through with anything. I'm prodding, but I must say it's difficult to get even an answer from some of them. Jackson, Mississippi, where Medgar Evers agreed to try to get this information, has fallen through completely. He did try, but he reports that none of the federal agencies would cooperate. Apparently, he approached them directly for the information.

I have, meanwhile, added some to my information about federal income tax audits, and you may want to pass this on to Harold. On a recent visit with James McBride Dabbs, I learned that he was audited following a request for a refund in connection with the grant from the Fund for the Republic for his book. He, like most of those who have been audited, felt there was no harrassment involved. An unofficial check of Urban League employees in the South reveals that none in Florida have been audited recently. This agrees with my findings in Florida.

None of the Urban League people in Georgia reported audits, either, and this is in contrast to the audits of Georgians about which we already know. Two Urban League employees, one in Memphis and one in New Orleans, did report recent audits, however. These are the first two I have learned about in those cities, primarily because I had asked no one in either city previously. At a recent meeting of labor leaders from the South, held in Washington, I am told that this subject

Bill Peters

was brought up by an Urban League employee from New York who had been looking into it for me. He reports that several of the labor leaders admitted having been audited within the past two years, though none had thought of it as possible harrassment. All were returning to their homes with the idea of looking further, inquiring of their colleagues, and reporting back soon to my informant here in New York. In addition, the NAACP has agreed to conduct a survey of its Southern officers and employees. From all of these, we ought to get a better picture of what is really going on.

Incidentally, of the cities which you mentioned in your letter of May 1, as possible sources of these reports on federal employment, it occurs to me that most important of those which have not yet reported to you is New Orleans. If I had to be satisfied with only five, the four that you mention -- Atlanta, Greensboro, Birmingham and Knoxville -- plus New Orleans would be a good selection. So that if you can put any extra pressure on your people in New Orleans to complete the survey, even if it is late, please do so.

Thanks again for everything.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

June 30, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

It was my good fhat kept the inclosed materials from you. Sorry.

The information on Greensboro, Birmingham, and Atlanta is all that I have done. These are the organizations. I would like them back when I could make copies and send them on to you.

I think you understand that none of the names appearing on these letters should be used publicly. Harold will send some information that came in regarding the Charleston Navy yard. It is my understanding that Herb Hill has some further information about Charleston which he will probably release in the near future.

In Birmingham there about twenty-eight governmental agencies. The enclosed letter deals in one way or another with about eleven of them. My guess is that these agencies most likely to have Negro employees have been covered.

In Greensboro the memorandum is supposed to be exhaustive of all Negro employees, of the type in which we are interested, of the federal agencies of that city. Attached to the memorandum is a hand-written list of governmental agencies in Greensboro.

In Atlanta we have thus far uncovered only the following changes of the 1956 report of which you have a copy: under the department of the Army at Fort Mac Pherson there seems to be one Negro woman clerical employee. The circumstances of her employment seem somewhat specialized, and she may have been there since 1956; the Post Office has now at least two Negro supervisors and the possibility for more are there, without discrimination I believe, at least up to a certain number not yet reached. The Atlanta survey is not complete. We do know for sure that the situation in housing agencies has not changed.

I am hoping that even this week will provide some opportunity for uncovering new facts. I am sorry that it has been so slow and meager.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:lc

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

June 30, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

Following your phone call to Harold this morning, we have contacted Emory in Nashville. He has the information on Birmingham, Greensboro and Atlanta with him. This he is sending to you today via air mail special.

Enclosed are two letters received in the morning mail pertaining to the situation in Charleston. Emory has not seen them, but we thought, in light of conditions, you would like to have copies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

EV

July 1, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold and Emory:

Thank you both for the prompt response to my cry for help. I have made notes on the materials you sent me, Emory, and the originals are enclosed with this letter as per your request. I would appreciate your sending me copies when you have a chance, and I'd appreciate, also, your comments and observations.

Naturally, I'll keep the names of all individuals mentioned in all reports confidential.

Anything else you can dig up in any other cities, or any late reports on other cities will be most appreciated. I still have an outside change of getting a report from A. P. Tureaud, in New Orleans, which would be most welcome. The Atlanta report will undoubtedly be the most useful one of all.

I'll keep in touch about developments. I'll be in Washington next week talking to the various individuals involved in the article for Look, and after that, about July 14th, I'll actually start to write this piece. I'll check with you once more about using names in connection with tax audits before I go ahead.

Thanks again for everything.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

7/19/58

Mr. Bill Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

The final report on Atlanta is not so complete as I would like, but better authenticated. Go down the list of the agencies in the 1956 report; I have reports on only those I mention, which I feel are reliable.

Army- at least one Negro clerical person; probably no more.

Fed. Mediation and Con. none

Health, Ed., etc. two Negro tech.; also 2 or 3 Biologic Aids, one of whom is a GS-4; the others are GS-1 or 2. The 4 is very able and has the staunch backing of the man under hom he works. The other Negro employees are in menial classifications, no longer under Civil Service, known as "wage board" employees(work on an hourly rate). All of this section applies to the laboratory operation of the Dept.(out in Chamblee, GA., an Atlanta suburb).
It is reasonably sure that there are no Negroes employed in the Atlanta administarative offices of the Dept.

Housing agencies -- no change from '56.

Labor -- '56 report was probably in slight error. Now there are 19 employees one is part time, one is a manager, one senior employment interviewr, 10 employment interviewrs, 6 clerks. All of these are in the employment service. They work with Negro clientele.
In other sections of Dept. , No Negroes except on temporary assignment to do survyes, eg cost of living.

Small business Admin. No Negroes.

Post Office -- 2 Supt. of Sub station("Negro"); 2 supervisors in Fed. Annex which is downtown, but the depts. they work are at least 99% Negro.
The role of the National Alliance of Postal Employyees here is strategic and interesting. It was only 2 yrs. ago that they got rid of separate toliet facilities.

Penitentiary --- 13 Negro correctional officers(guards); 1 chaplain
2 Negro parole offic ers.

For the others, it is safer to refer to 1956 with no change indicated. In my own mind I would feel quite certain that the following have not changed: FPC, ICC, SEC, FCC, Federal Reserve System. There is some information to back up this "informed guess". With the possible exception of the armed services offices, I would guess that there is no change in the others as well.

I ommitted one in the listing: NLRB --- no Negores(I don't know what a Negore is but that's the way this machine types -- probably no more difficlut to define than Negro.)

I have the leads that would give me answers to about three or 4 more agencies, but I have not reached them yet and I am having to 1/ go out of twown for 2 weeks. Another day or so of work would turn up a bit more; if you can use it then, let me know.

The enclosure is a very good report on Knoxville; more of this will be coming in and I will leave directions for it to be forwarded to you.

Are you using as one line the fact that in some areas the practices of state agencies are better than those of the federal agencies. These are specialized incidents, of course, and usually reflect work with Negro clientele.

Hope this will do; I'm sorry that the whole project has been so drawn out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

answered 8/7/58

Suspended to Aug 18

July 31, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here is the Look piece. I'd appreciate your looking it over and letting Emory and anyone else there who should also have a look. Any comments, corrections, suggestions, etc. from all and sundry will be most welcome. You can make them right on the carbon, and then ship it back as soon as possible, since I'll want to get any changes to Look as soon as possible.

Beginning immediately, I'm plunging into the book. My deadline at Doubleday is the first or second week in October, and anything exciting that goes on in the South in the meantime should be included. So if you have any tips of things to come, I'd appreciate them. I'd also appreciate a statement from you for inclusion in the book on the results, whatever they may be, of the appeal in the Little Rock case as well as the effects on the South as a whole of Faubus' renomination. What I want is your opinion. Believe me, I value it.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

August 7, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Emory Via and I have both read your LOOK manuscript, and I hasten to return it to you with our comments.

The piece carries a terrific wallop. I would love to witness first-hand some of the reactions in Washington. I must say, I was impressed by the wordage. Is LOOK really going to run this much?

On page 1, I've marked a sentence which sounds self-contradictory and probably needs clarifying.

On page 11, we suggest omitting "liberal" before Mayor Hartsfield. The label is an over-emphasis, and your point comes through just as well without it.

On page 12, you have overstated Atlanta's virtue. The one Negro member on Atlanta's planning board is not so unusual among Southern cities; suggest you leave out "rare". The next sentence perplexes me completely; there are no Negro members of the Atlanta Junior Chamber. Several years ago Atlanta did play host to a national convention of the Jaycees, at which a few Negro delegates were in attendance; the convention was desegregated in some respects, but not in all.

Further on page 12, Emory points out that the category "social worker" in the last line should be omitted, since it is subsumed under parole officers.

On pages 38-39, I'm not sure your crack at the presence of Battle on the Civil Rights Commission is wholly justified. I fully agree that

it was a stupid appointment, but the total make-up of the Commission doesn't clearly support the charge that the Administration's motive was deliberate aid to the segregationists. Rather, I think it indicates lack of understanding of the nature of the problem and how it must be solved.

Otherwise, which is most-wise, we think you have done an extremely skillful job of presenting the findings - and in some cases it took a lot of skill to present them both forecfully and accurately. Let us hope and pray that the fact-finders in the several cities weren't off-base with any of their figures!

I'll be glad to send you a comment on the Little Rock developments as soon as the Circuit Court rules on the appeal from Lemley.

Meanwhile, call on us for any help we can give with the book.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. manuscript

Copies sent to Oscar Cohen + Curt Levin 9/2/58

August 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am, as you know, disturbed and unhappy that reference to the Southern Regional Council and its affiliates was somehow dropped from my article, "The Story Nobody Tells You About the South," which appears in the September issue of McCall's. I am sure you know, as do the many members of your organization with whom I have worked, that I feel strongly that the SRC is without peer among the interracial organizations in the South. This would be evident without my saying so from the simple fact that I have so often turned to you and your affiliated Councils on Human Relations for help in the preparation of national magazine articles about race relations in the South.

I have just talked with John English, Managing Editor of McCall's, who feels as I do that this inadvertent omission was regrettable to say the least. It is difficult to go back and reconstruct exactly what happened, but because the omission comes within two paragraphs of the end of the article, it is most likely that the phrase which I had included in my final draft of the piece was deleted at the last moment by the production department in order to make the article fit into its allotted space.

For your information, and that of anyone else who is interested, the third from the last paragraph in my own final draft of the article read as follows: "This, then, is the South of which few Americans are aware, the South of the white church women, the ministers, the youth and all the others who are lending their weight to a peaceful solution of the problems of desegregation. It is a South which, compared to the segregationists, seems unorganized, despite the chain of state councils on human relations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, the South's most respected and effective interracial organization. But here a lack of organization may be a positive virtue, for it keeps the effective workers working in their own communities rather than on a state or regional board of some kind."

That portion of this paragraph which I have underscored was somehow deleted. The last two paragraphs of the piece remained substantially as I wrote them, and because they listed a number of other organizations which are doing effective interracial work in the South, the omission of the Southern Regional Council is even more to be regretted.

This is, as I am sure you understand, the sort of thing which turns both editors and free-lance writers into old men before their time. In talking with John English, we discussed possible ways in which the omission might be remedied, though we both realize, of course, that nothing done now will ever fill the place that the original statement would have filled. Because McCall's does not have (indeed, has never had) a readers' letters column, the problem is difficult. Such a column would be the natural place to make the correction. However, John assures me that we may get together within the next week or so and try to figure out some way of redressing the wrong.

Meanwhile, and in any case, please be assured that my own opinion of the Southern Regional Council and its work is unchanged and that in the book which I am currently writing for publication next spring by Doubleday -- the title of which, incidentally, will be The Southern Temper -- I am including a section about the Council, its work, Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned which will give readers an appreciation of the yeoman service which you and your people have rendered to the South and the nation as a whole.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Sent to Bill Peters

September 8, 1958

(In reference to Federal employment of Negroes in professional, technical, supervisory, and clerical capacities.)

Immediately following World War II, there was an increased interest in the employment of Negro personnel in Federal agencies. A few new patterns were established. Since the early post war endeavors there has been no appreciable improvement, in the South, in the utilization of Negroes in federal employment. In a few situations internal pressure within an agency by Negro employees themselves - usually combining local and national effort - has led to some upgrading. Occasionally, an individual in government service dedicated to equal opportunity, will hire, or influence the hiring, of a Negro into a position under his supervision. Other than these two lines of action, I am not aware of any effective government activity seeking to implement its stated policy of equal opportunity in Federal employment.

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council

EFV:ls

---- Encl: Fact Sheets on Rear Adm. Crommelin (U.S. Navy)

September 18, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Harold is away from the office and in his absence we are answering your letter of the 15th since time may be of some importance to you.

Enclosed are two pieces of material on Admiral Crommelin which pretty much cover the field. These we secured from the local (Southeastern) office of the Anti-Defamation League. The New York office of ADL has quite a file on the Admiral. Possibly, if you need additional material or some human interest stuff as it might appear in newspaper clips, the ADL could supply it. Also, if you think it necessary, this might afford a good opportunity to become acquainted with the type of information available from ADL and the people there.

If we can be of further help, yell.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:mf

September 15, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Once again I come to you for help. Can you let me have some background information about retired Admiral John G. Crommelin, of Alabama?

I'd like to know where he lives, where he has showed up to make speeches, what organizations he's connected with, what his past naval duty was, and anything you may know about his background which gives a clue to his present activities.

I'm also looking forward, now that the Supreme Court has ruled in the Little Rock case, to a statement by you as to the probable effects of this ruling.

Thanks, as always, for your help.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

BARKAS AND SHALIT, INC.

Public Relations • 16 East 41st Street, New York 17, New York. MUrray Hill 6-8670

August 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I know you will want to see the enclosed advance tearsheets of William Peters' "The Story Nobody Tells You" from the September issue of McCall's magazine. I am sending these to you by Airmail, Special Delivery, for I am sure you will want to bring this important article on race relations in the South to the attention of your constituents.

By the way, this will be in the issue of McCall's that will be on the newsstands on Thursday, August 28. I am sending a copy of the magazine itself to you under separate cover.

If you refer to the article in any of your publications or in any bulletins or newsletters, would you let us know? We would appreciate this very much. And please let me know if we can be of help to you in any way in your own program activities.

Kind regards.

Cordially,

Esther Burke

Esther Burke

EB:BFG
Enclosure

JACQUES LOWE

Integration presents no problems to second graders at the F. T. Salisbury Elementary School, in Louisville, Kentucky

ADVANCE COPY
FOR RELEASE AUG 28 1958

"I wondered what would happen when my daughter brought a little colored classmate home from school. You know, I didn't go along with this integration business. Well, she was the sweetest thing, and they got along beautifully."—Nashville, Tennessee, mother

by WILLIAM PETERS

The story nobody tells you...

The world hears about prejudice and violence in the South, but another story has been kept a secret. Here is what McCall's reporter learned after traveling 9,000 miles and talking to hundreds of people who never before had a chance to make their feelings known

THE large church meeting room hummed with polite conversation in mellow southern accents. The women, seated in small clusters, twisted around on their folding chairs to chat with neighbors. Occasionally a voice stood out above the rest, reciting a recipe, conveying a compliment about a new hat, inquiring about the progress of the church's building fund. Then from the front of the room came a gentle tapping as a fragile-looking, silver-haired woman called the meeting to order. There was a scrape of chairs, a rustle of dresses, as attention was focused on the chairman of the women's study group.

"As you know, ladies," the chairman began, "our national headquarters has selected a new book by Dr. Liston Pope, *The Kingdom Beyond Caste,* as our current study project. I don't have to tell you that it's about Christianity and race relations. Because of that, as you heard at our last meeting, Reverend Martin has asked us not to study the book, fearing, as he said, that it might involve the church in controversy.

"You have asked your executive committee to resolve this problem," she continued after a deep breath, "and we have met twice. Out of deference to Reverend Martin's strong feelings in the matter, we have decided not to study the book." A murmur of voices welled up and then died down again as the chairman continued. "In fact," she said, with just a hint of fire in her eyes, "we have decided not to study *any* book during this study period." Once again there was discreet talk.

"Meanwhile," the chairman continued, "an informal group of us, which happens to be composed of the same ladies who make up your executive committee, has decided to read and discuss Dr. Pope's book *outside* the regular study group. Any of you who care to join us are cordially invited to meet with us next Thursday afternoon at the home of Mrs. Reese." Within ten minutes all the women in the room had joined the group which planned to read the forbidden book on race relations, and the meeting was adjourned.

At about the same time, in another city in the Deep South, the editor of a strongly segregationist daily newspaper chose a young woman reporter to cover an interracial meeting. The organization sponsoring the meeting had been bitterly attacked in the paper's editorial columns, and at this meeting the main speaker was to be a Negro prominent in the fight to end segregation. The editor assigned a male photographer to accompany the young reporter. Photographs would not be permitted, he knew, but he wanted the young woman "to have some protection." *(Continued on page 120)*

"I was as anti-Negro as the next Texan before I got acquainted with integration a few years back. But I can truthfully say I'm sold on it now."—Texas lieutenant colonel

"We know you can't be progressive and hate, and we're determined to find solutions to our problems without resort to violence."
—Georgia mayor

"I feel sorry for the colored children being so outnumbered. They look so lonely. Things will be a lot better when there are more of them."
—North Carolina schoolteacher

"They're all busy," she said sadly. "There's a dance tonight." She got a Joan-at-the-stake look. "You go on—have a good time."

There was nothing else to do. George was honking in the driveway. When we stopped by for the Carters, they invited us in for a drink. Alice was in a gay mood. Just wait, I thought, till her children get out of the toddler stage. She'll find out.

"I'll go say good night to the kids," she said when we were ready to go. "Not that they'll miss me! They're mad about the baby sitter! Come along," she invited me, and I followed her.

"How I wish my Nancy were still young like—" I began, and stopped dead in my tracks, mouth open. There in the Carters' kitchen, stirring oatmeal in a double boiler, a ruffled apron tied over his blue jeans, was—you'll never believe it—Freeway Ballew!

"Mommy, Mommy!" Betsy squealed. "LeRoy's going to read us *Winnie the Pooh!*"

"No, no, no!" screamed Teeny from his highchair. "Me want Peter Wabbit!"

"Now, now, darlings," Alice cooed. "Doris, this is LeRoy Ballew, the best baby sitter I've ever had. LeRoy, this is Mrs. Charles."

If I was thunderstruck, it was nothing compared to Freeway—er, LeRoy. He turned chalk-white, then beet-red.

"Now, LeRoy," Alice was saying, completely obliyious to the crisis under her very nose, "be sure that Betsy goes to the toidy before bedtime and put on Teeny's rubber pants!"

Freeway looked as though he might faint.

"I'll just run upstairs and get my stole," Alice said. "I'll meet you and the boys at the car, Doris."

IN A DAZE I started to follow her out of the kitchen. Freeway waylaid me in the hall.

"You're going to tell her, aren't you?" he said.

"I don't know. I—I really don't know."

"Well, go on," he said bitterly. "I wouldn't blame you."

"I just don't understand," I told him, still in a state of semishock.

"What's there to understand?" He shrugged. "I need the money. Mrs. Carter needs a sitter. I used to live next door to them. I study after the kids are in bed."

"But *you* of all people! All that talk about slime and filth—that fast, dangerous, no-stop-signals routine. You!"

He reddened. "Go on—have a good laugh! While you're at it, don't forget to tell her about this!" He tore off the apron. "I'll make it real simple. Freeway Ballew is just a character I made up. He doesn't exist. I'm really just a poor jerk named LeRoy." He grimaced. "A baby sitter in a ruffled apron, reading *Winnie the Pooh*, putting diapers on babies——"

"Please," I said. He looked so miserable I wanted to cry. "Please, there's nothing wrong with taking care of children. Wouldn't you like to tell me about it?"

"You might as well know the whole story," he said. "I was never big with the girls. I didn't care. I never saw one worth the trouble—until last summer. We moved out to the valley and I saw Nancy one day at the tennis courts. She never even noticed me, and I knew she never would. I had to do something."

"So you made up Freeway?"

"Sure. Why not? Nobody knew me in the new neighborhood. What did I have to lose? I took Bongo lessons. I held marbles in my mouth the whole month of August. I saw all the pictures with Brando and Dean and Elvis Presley."

"And you did all that—just for Nancy?"

He snorted. "I should have known it wouldn't work."

"But that's just it," I told him. "It did work!"

"I *thought* she was beginning to like me," he said wistfully. "That's one reason I wanted to make some money. I'm saving for college, Mrs. Charles."

"Why, I think that's wonderful, Freeway—er, LeRoy—er, Freeway," I said.

"Sure, I know she goes for this Freeway bit now." He grinned suddenly. "They all do. Big deal! But sooner or later Nancy's going to grow up. She's going to want something better, and I want to be ready when that time comes."

"I think that's about the sweetest thing I ever heard," I said. Then I remembered something. "That party where she met you," I reminded him, "with all those artists. How in the world did you——"

"Chuck Fielding fixed it. I did Chuck's whole biology notebook for that."

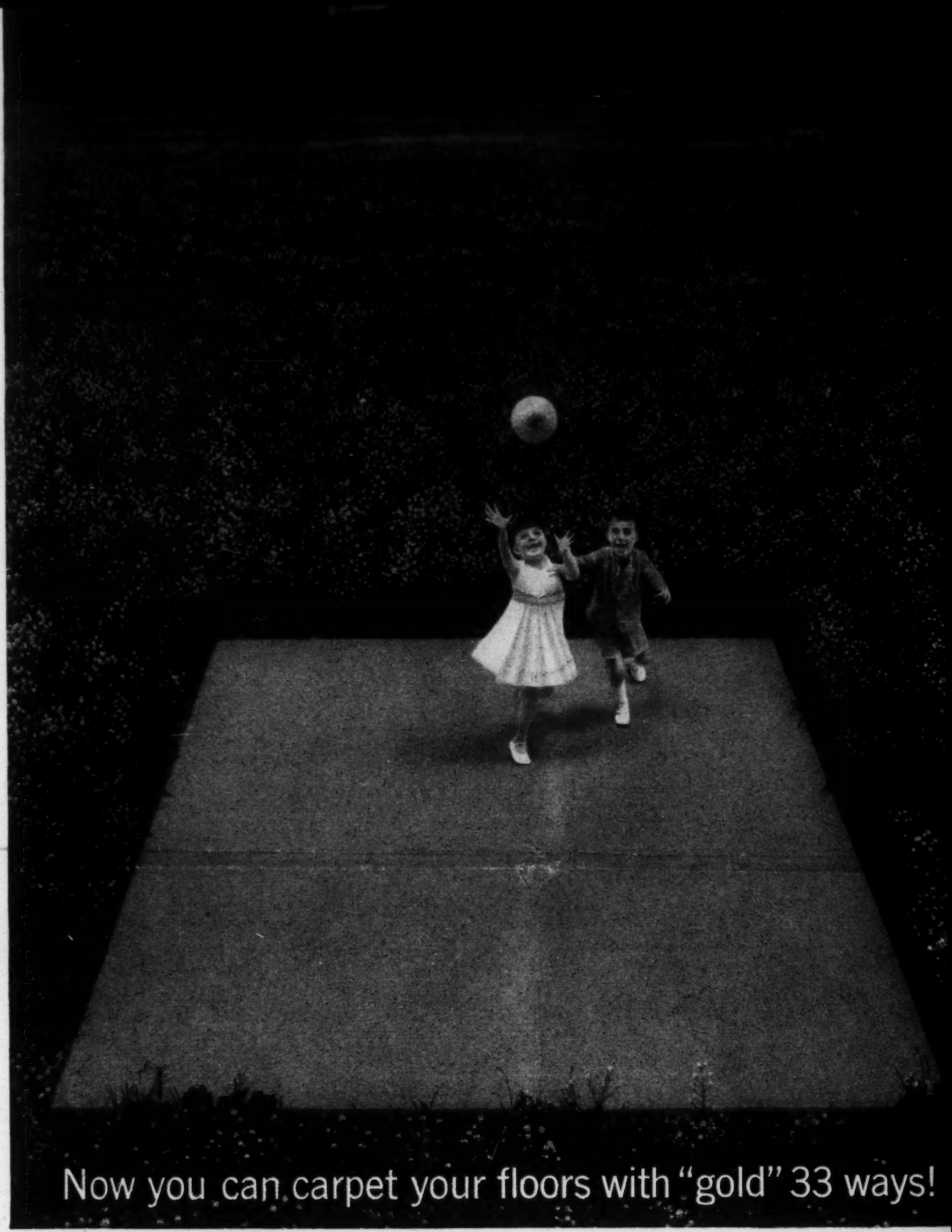
"Weren't you afraid he'd give you away?"

Freeway grinned. "Not Chuck. He needed that biology grade. One word from me—" He sliced a finger across his throat descriptively.

I laughed. "I have to hand it to you," I told him admiringly. "You didn't miss a trick." I sobered, remembering Nancy at home eating her heart out.

"But why have you stayed away so long?" I asked.

(Continued on page 120)



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(Continued from page 119)

"I've been busy," he said grimly. "The Carters are very social."

"You could at least have called," I chided him.

His face hardened. "You have to keep 'em guessing—that is, you do if you're Freeway Ballew. Besides, I've been a little sore about that dinner party." He looked at me accusingly. "You made me look pretty silly."

"That was the idea," I admitted ruefully. "But if I'd known . . ."

"I guess I don't blame you," he said. "That Freeway is strictly a bum."

"Look," I said impulsively, "I'll make a bargain with you. I won't tell Nancy any of this if you'll promise me I don't have to worry about—well—anything."

His look reproached me. "I wouldn't do anything to hurt Nancy."

"Neither would I," I said. "That's why I'm not going to tell her."

He sighed with relief. They began to honk for me out front. I'd have to make up a story about losing a glove or something. Thank goodness George hadn't come into the kitchen.

"Just one more thing, Mrs. Charles," he said, walking with me to the front door. "Don't be too nice to me! I mean, it won't hurt to go on fighting it a little!"

Nancy was radiant the next day. "Freeway called last night," she announced at breakfast. "He's coming over this evening."

George groaned. "Oh, no! I thought we'd seen the last of that retarded Romeo!"

"Well, I suppose if that's what Nancy wants . . ." I said patiently, trying not to smile.

"Well, it is!" she cried. "And what's more, when he comes I want you both to be polite to him!"

George threw up his hands. "The lord knows it won't be easy."

"Now, George"—I frowned—"if I can stand to feed him and let him loll all over the furniture, the very least that you can do is put up with the Bongo drums!"

"All he needs is a little understanding, a little love!" Nancy said emotionally.

"What he needs is a good swift kick in the pants!" George said.

"Really!" Nancy cried, standing up and throwing down her napkin. "You'd think a person's own friends would get a little consideration in a person's own home!" She stalked out.

"Rot!" George said, and stalked out in the opposite direction.

It was wonderful. Everyone was so beautifully normal again! I jumped up right there in the kitchen, dirty dishes all around me, and clicked my heels together like a ballet dancer. Then I composed another chorus of my song.

Dear Dr. Spock—Dr. Gesell,
Please forgive me if I raised a little hell.
I'm no longer in a stew
'Cause I trust Freeway Ballew.
Nancy's happy now and everything is swell!
Dr. Gesell—dear Dr. Spock,
My behavior must have given you a shock—
But I promise, gentlemen—
I won't flip my wig again—
You're a wow, dear Dr. Gesell!
Take a bow, dear Dr. Spock!

THE END

The story nobody tells you

Continued from page 35

At the meeting the Negro speaker told what the interracial organization had accomplished in the few years of its existence. He spoke eloquently of its efforts to help Negroes register and vote. He talked about the role of Christianity in the Negro's battle for full citizenship, mentioning the Negro's need to love the white man even when that man opposed Negro freedom. When the meeting ended, the young reporter asked her escort to wait. Then she walked to the front of the room and joined the organization.

Some months later, in still another Deep South city, a young schoolteacher poked her head into the teachers' lounge at the white elementary school where she had been teaching about a month. Through a haze of cigarette smoke and chatter she caught the word "nigger." Withdrawing quickly, she walked back toward her classroom. She had successfully avoided all discussion of the desegregation question thus far, and she was not going to get involved now if she could help it. Though born and reared in Alabama and a graduate of a southern college, she felt strongly that segregating Negroes from whites was wrong. She felt equally strongly that her sentiments, if known around the school, would cost her her job.

At lunch that day she sat with an older teacher who was obviously upset. "You should have been in the lounge this morning," the older teacher said. "We had quite a conversation." The new teacher took a tight grip on her emotions. I mustn't comment, she told herself, one way or the other. "That Dawson woman," the older teacher continued, "is the absolute end. She comes right out, you know, and uses the word 'nigger,' and she's always saying we'll never have integrated schools in this state. Well," she went on, nodding her head sharply, "this morning we let her have it. Her kind of talk doesn't go very well with the rest of us."

These three incidents involving southern white women occurred in Deep South states which so far have refused to begin the public-school desegregation ordered by the United States Supreme Court in its momentous decisions of 1954 and 1955. Far from isolated incidents, they are accurate reflections of a trend, a process which, beginning long before the Supreme Court's decisions, has grown stronger in the past few years. Increasingly throughout the South, quietly and usually without fuss, white women—and more particularly white church women—are lining up on the side of desegregation.

Often they are surprised, as the young teacher was, to learn how many there are in their swelling ranks. For as Sarah Patton Boyle, a petite, gray-haired University of Virginia faculty wife, points out, "the South-wide conviction that everybody else is prejudiced is like a sodden blanket over each individual's impulses toward democracy." Unusual in her outspokenness, Mrs. Boyle was converted to the cause of desegregation by the successful struggle of Gregory Swanson, a twenty-seven-year-old Negro, to become the first of his race to enroll at the university Jefferson founded.

With credentials as a southerner which include one grandfather who served as General Robert E. Lee's personal scout and another as a colonel in Stonewall Jackson's command, Mrs. Boyle lives in a small, old, white clapboard and stone house on the outskirts of Charlottesville. In a prominent place in her small living room stands a cellophane-wrapped, charred, six-foot cross of wood which burned briefly in her front yard following the appearance in a national magazine of an article she wrote favoring desegregation. Atop the cross is a printed card, reminiscent of a thousand garden-club identification tags, which gives the visitor an immediate sense of Mrs. Boyle's attitude toward her southern opponents. It reads: *Illegitimis Non Carborundum* (a motto similar to one used by General Joseph Stilwell, which translated roughly means "Don't let the enemy grind you down").

This revolt of white church women against segregation is a side of the South with which few northerners and not many southerners are familiar. Yet it is only one aspect of a wider revolution in which more and more southerners are taking part.

The *segregationist* South is the South everyone knows. It is this side of the South which makes the headlines and which holds as willing or unwilling captives the politicians who make news. Since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, most Americans have read of the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, of the use of such terrorist weapons as the burning cross and the dynamite bomb and of the sudden appearance in mass quantities of racist pamphlets and publications. Most of us have heard, too, of the white "Citizens Councils" which are behind much of this propaganda. And most of us know that southern state legislatures are sponsoring more and more measures that are designed to forestall the desegregation of their public schools.

But few Americans realize that these white Citizens Councils, for all their noise and seeming success, are surprisingly small groups; that they lack even the passive support of the majority of southerners.

Still fewer of us have stopped to recognize that, as Harry S. Ashmore points out in his recent book, *An Epitaph for Dixie*, for all the angry voices, there have been no race riots. "Mean talk, yes," Ashmore writes. "Isolated acts of individual violence, as in the Till case; an occasional mob such as the one that formed to bar Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama, or the one at Little Rock which, after three weeks of solicitation by Governor Faubus, overwhelmed the local police at Central High School; a stick of dynamite tossed on a Negro leader's porch. Deplorable as this may be, it falls far short of organized forays into Negro neighborhoods to burn, pillage, and murder on a wholesale scale. With far more real provocation than existed a generation ago when such affairs were commonplace, there has not been a single lynching in the grand manner—the sort of fiesta where an entire community gathers, children and all, to watch the crosses burn and the limp body sway at the end of the rope.

"It might be contended that this is negative," Ashmore continues, "that the difference is only one of degree and that the distinction is between physical and spiritual torture. Yet it is a matter, I think, of considerable significance. For what it means is that the power structure of the South had declared outright violence and sustained disorder intolerable and will use its great weight to prevent it if it can, and to curb it if it can't."

What the average American has not yet realized, in other words, is that the seemingly powerful groups working to prevent desegregation in southern schools are actually *minority* groups who know that they are fighting a losing battle.

But, you may ask, if this is true, if the people who are making all the trouble are really in the minority, how does it happen they're so effective? There are several answers to this question. One lies in the headline-seeking techniques of the segregationist groups. In every place where school desegregation has met with violence since the Supreme Court decision, the mobs have been led by representatives of these groups. In no case has the mob itself involved more than a tiny fraction of the white community. Yet a mob is news; a peaceful majority is not. Another answer lies in a seldom considered but significant segment of the population of the South that is neither passionately for nor against segregation. These are the white people in the middle—a majority of southerners who are for the most part passive in their racial attitudes. In the question of segregation, as in most questions, they tend to accept whatever exists. What exists today is segregation. But with assurance that desegregation is permanent, backed by law, that it squares with religious principles, moral precepts and democratic ideals, and that the "best people" seem to be going along with it, these same citizens will as passively accept it. Meanwhile, they give the active segregationist minority the illusory appearance of an entrenched majority.

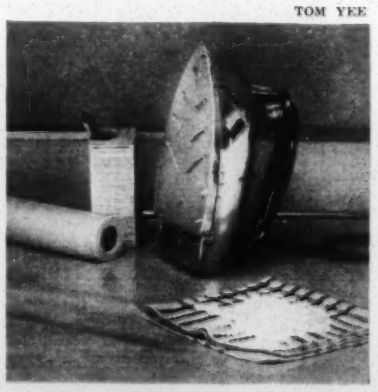
A more immediate threat to segregationist minorities, however, is the surprising number of men and women in the South who are not waiting to have their minds changed for them but who are already taking new positions because of a human and idealistic response to what they see happening all around them.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, for example, a white teacher who had opposed last year's limited desegregation says, "I feel sorry for the colored children being so outnumbered. They look so lonely. Things will be a lot better when there are more of them." In Nashville, Tennessee, where first

TRY THIS

to remove starch from your iron

TOM YEE



After iron has partially cooled, sprinkle baking soda on a damp cloth and rub soleplate to remove stains. Wipe off with clean, damp cloth. Run iron over waxed paper

grades were desegregated last year, a white mother says, "I wondered what would happen when my daughter brought a little colored classmate home from school. You know, I didn't go along with this integration business. Well, she was the sweetest thing, and they got along beautifully. When I drove her home I met her mother, a fine, well-educated woman. Now my daughter goes over there to play sometimes." And there is the segregationist leader elected to the school board of a newly desegregated school district on his promise that he would fight to resegregate the schools. After several months of struggling with problems—presented mostly by the people who had elected him—he suddenly began defending his desegregationist colleagues on the school board against the accusations of his former supporters.

There are also indications throughout the still-segregated parts of the South that many of those who continue to talk in favor of segregation—particularly women—are at the same time quietly preparing for the inevitable time when desegregation will be a fact. A white woman from the North who has lived nearly forty years in the Deep South tells of one of many such clues. "Everyone here knew how I felt about the race question from the moment I arrived," she said over tea and fruitcake with a visitor recently. "I took a job teaching at a Negro college. Still I was accepted, after a while, by my neighbors and the local women's clubs. For more than thirty years, though, most of the southern women I've known have carefully avoided raising the race question with me. It was obvious that they thought this was necessary to preserve our friendship.

"However, since the Supreme Court decision, and particularly since the President sent Federal troops to Little Rock, these same women have been coming to me, singly and in small groups, to ask tactfully *why* I feel as I do. And you know," she said, leaning forward, "you can see in the way they ask that they are looking for the answers which they themselves will use to defend the views they know they soon will hold."

This is the battleground—the minds and hearts of white southerners: it is here, rather than in the angry surge of a "mob" in Little Rock, that the outcome finally will be decided. And it is precisely here that the activity of thousands upon thousands of white southern women, organized in local churches or in national religious groups, is having its effect. In June, 1954, just a month after the Supreme Court's original decision, representatives of the Christian Social Relations Department of an organization known as United Church Women met in Atlanta, Georgia. These women, representing fifteen southern states, adopted a statement on segregation. "Because of our high calling of God in Jesus Christ," it began, "we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit. We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principles of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. . . ."

To anyone who knows the history of southern church women this statement is no surprise. It was a similar group in 1930 that played a major role in reducing the number of lynchings in the South to a fraction of what they had previously been. These women also met in Atlanta. There were only twenty-six of them, but they all were influential civic and church leaders. Their object was to learn the facts about lynching in the eight preceding years. Of the 211 persons in this country lynched in the years 1922 to 1929, they learned, all but seven had met death at the hands of southern mobs. Fewer than twenty-nine per cent of the 211 were charged with crimes against white women, despite the traditional idea that lynching is mostly a means of protecting white women from Negro men.

The twenty-six women denounced in a resolution this traditional excuse for lynching, and twelve of them became the nucleus around which a newly formed Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching grew in six years to more than 32,000 members, scattered over 1,033 counties of the South. Their methods—to study and report the facts about lynching; to investigate and condemn publicly each new lynching, regardless of the crime alleged against the victim; to demand vigorous investigation by state and county officials. During periods of calm the women worked to enlist the support of other groups, and secured the signatures of civic leaders, county officials, preachers, teachers and church men and women to swell the protest. When a lynching was threatened, they called on sheriffs, deputies, mayors and other officials to demand action against the incipient mob. The statistics on lynching tell the story of their effectiveness; in eight years from 1939 to 1946, 29 lynchings were recorded, as against the 211 in the eight years before the association's birth.

Like those courageous women twenty-eight years ago, women today are having a profound, if quiet, influence on the South in general and on ministers and churches in particular.

"Until a year or so ago," says the Reverend Harrison McMains, president of the Atlanta Christian Council, "the church and the ministers in the South were on the defensive on the question of segregation. The politicians had put us there. Today we are on the offensive, and it is literally true that many individual ministers have taken the offensive and made their first public statements on the subject primarily because of the constant prodding of their own church women."

With or without prodding, the recent performance of southern clergymen is impressive. It is also sometimes remarkably effective, as in the case of Bishop Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr., of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta.

"My first public performance in this situation," he says, "is one I would gladly have avoided. It happened during 1955, when the state Board of Education made a statement of policy about terminating the employment of any teacher who even 'condoned' the action of the Supreme Court. I waited a day or so for some statement to be made opposing this preposterous position by somebody who had deeper roots in Atlanta and was better known in our city, where I had been resident for only two years. But none appeared and I felt compelled to say something about it."

Bishop Claiborne said, among other things: "If newspaper reports of the proposed action are true, then the state Board of Education seems to be taking its place in line with those subversive

(Continued on page 122)

Circa '60

New meaning of contemporary . . . a quietly elegant parquetry buffet that goes beautifully in any room, with most any décor. It's genuine walnut, with a glowing natural or neutral shell finish.

For a booklet showing more of this large Circa '60 collection of distinctive furniture for every room, send 25¢ to Henredon, Dept. M9, Morganton, North Carolina.

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fine furniture

CUSTOM QUALITY AT A PRACTICAL PRICE • Factories at Morganton, High Point, N. C.; Grand Rapids, Mich.

(Continued from page 121)
organizations that seek to change our government by force." Within weeks the board had rescinded its action.

In South Carolina five Protestant ministers persuaded twelve citizens of twelve different communities to contribute chapters to a paper-bound book called *South Carolinians Speak: A Moderate Approach to Race Relations.* Ideas from the twelve citizens ranged from a Columbia lawyer's proposal to desegregate buses but not schools to the suggestion of the wife of a Gaffney physician that gradual school desegregation begin with the first grade.

With 15,000 copies of the book in print, the Reverend John B. Morris, one of the ministers, reports that letters are running ten to one in favor of the book, with newspaper editorials in the state favorable by more than two to one. In November, 1957, however, less than a month after the book's release, the home of Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders, the Gaffney doctor's wife, was blasted by a dynamite bomb—the only known retaliation against any of the authors. Condemnation of the act was swift and all but universal, and five Gaffney members of the Ku Klux Klan were soon arrested and charged with the bombing.

Not all the ministers who have opposed the segregationists, however moderately, have been able to remain at their posts. One church official reports knowing of at least a dozen who have been removed from their pastorates. The Reverend John S. Lyles, one of the five ministers who sponsored *South Carolinians Speak*, was eased out of his Presbyterian church in Marion because of his connection with the book. Like virtually all the other "displaced parsons," he has found another church in the South.

THE list of southern white ministers who have publicly identified themselves with desegregation or have protested segregationist activities without losing their positions is far longer than that of the displaced ones. It includes the Reverend Robert S. Graetz, Jr., of Trinity Lutheran Church, in Montgomery, Alabama, the white pastor of an all-Negro congregation, whose home has twice been bombed because of his participation in the Montgomery Improvement Association, the group which directed the successful boycott of Montgomery's buses. And it includes the Reverend William B. Abbot, of the Oakdale Presbyterian Church, in Norfolk, Virginia, who preaches that "Christ's Church is color-blind" and who is still at his post despite a recent storm following his public endorsement of a Negro candidate for Virginia's House of Delegates.

"I learned that some members were circulating a petition asking for my dismissal," Abbot recalls, "but at least two thirds of the membership refused to sign it. There were some resignations of elders and deacons, five of which were accepted. Attendance and offerings have not changed, and not more than a dozen members have left the church. Some have let me know of their support."

For himself, Abbot admits that every move he has made toward what he calls "the basic Christian doctrine as it applies to race relations" has been made with fear and trembling. "I grew up like most southerners," he said, "and I've arrived at my present convictions slowly. It isn't easy sometimes to live by your principles, though it gets easier with practice. In the long run, it's a lot harder to live with a guilty conscience than to face the opposition."

Just as Protestant ministers in the South have assumed leadership roles in the struggle against segregation, so have Roman Catholic priests. In most southern states, Catholic colleges and universities, as well as parochial schools, have moved steadily toward desegregation.

In Louisiana, where three Catholic colleges accept Negro students and where the only Negro Catholic college in the country takes white students, the Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, took the first step toward parochial-school desegregation with a pastoral letter on "The Morality of Racial Segregation" in February, 1956. This letter, stating emphatically that "racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful," coupled with the announcement that New Orleans's schools would be desegregated, provoked the formation of an "Association of Catholic Laymen," led by Emile A. Wagner, Jr., an organizer of New Orleans's white Citizens Council.

The association, composed of Roman Catholic men and women "of the Caucasian race" and with a stated purpose "to seek out, make known and denounce Communist infiltration, if any there be in the integration movement," came under immediate attack by the archbishop as "unnecessary, ill-advised and capable of causing much scandal, confusion and dissension among our Catholic people." After a month's exchange of letters and meetings between association officials and the archbishop and other archdiocesan authorities, Archbishop Rummel decreed that the organization "shall be entirely discontinued" under pain of possible excommunication. Wagner promptly informed the archbishop of his "intention to prosecute an appeal to the Holy See."

It was not until August 8, 1957, however, that Wagner acted on this intention. On that date he made public a letter asking Pope Pius XII to stop racial integration in the church, to request Archbishop Rummel "to take no further steps" toward integration of white and Negro Catholics, and to decree that segregation was not morally wrong and sinful.

Two days later *The New York Times* quoted a high Vatican source as saying that the Catholic laymen had committed a grave error. "They apparently think it conceivable," he continued, "that the Holy See could declare itself against integration." This could never be, it was pointed out, because the Church is "concerned with souls and all souls are equally dear to her." It follows, the Vatican source stated, that the Church is completely and unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination—in New Orleans as much as in the Union of South Africa.

Since this statement from the Vatican, active antagonism to the proposed desegregation of parochial schools in New Orleans has largely subsided.

PRIESTS, ministers and white church women are unquestionably leaders in the struggle for southern desegregation, but they are far from alone. In many more places than most northerners realize, southern newspapermen also are raising their voices. In Gainesville, Georgia, there is Sylvan Meyer, the young, Georgia-born editor of the *Times*. "I decided a long time ago," Meyer says, "that a newspaper editor needs a set of standards for guidance on this issue. You ought to be able to reduce your position in every case to some fundamental beliefs on which most people will agree."

Under his own set of standards Meyer has opposed all the new segregationist legislation proposed in Georgia. When Dr. Guy Wells, President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women, was stripped of his title and threatened with loss of his pension by Georgia's Board of Regents after he urged that white and Negro leaders sit down together and discuss mutual problems, Meyer wrote a sizzling editorial denouncing the move as a "travesty on American freedom. . . . Small and petty men," he wrote, "self-seeking men would deny him both honor and livelihood because he has spoken his mind as a free man in a free country. . . . In this whipped-up frenzy over the colored man are we to destroy everything we hold dear and emerge with nothing of value but our white hides?"

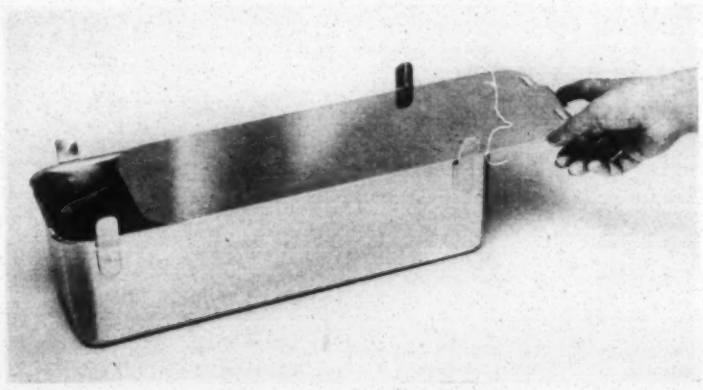
In other cities, other newspapers and other editors have taken similar stands. In Greenville, Mississippi, where Hodding Carter's *Delta Democrat-Times* has conducted a running battle with the white Citizens Councils, which he early labeled "uptown Klans," the newspaper's policy has been to endorse desegregation at the college and university level, to describe the Supreme Court's decree as helpful in this country's relations with dark-skinned peoples throughout the world, and in keeping with the democratic and Christian ethic.

In January, 1957, Buford Boone, publisher of *The Tuscaloosa News*, addressing a meeting of the white Citizens Council of West Alabama, told an intermittently jeering audience, "I believe the Supreme Court decision had to come and that it was morally right. Nothing in it is inconsistent with my conception of democracy, even though a background of southern living, southern custom and southern tradition tells me it will be strange to see colored faces at the University of Alabama. But I believe we should prepare ourselves to accept this development, since it has been ordered as rightful and just by our courts. . . ." Like Harry Ashmore, executive editor of Little Rock's *Arkansas Gazette*, Boone has received a Pulitzer Prize for his editorial writing on desegregation.

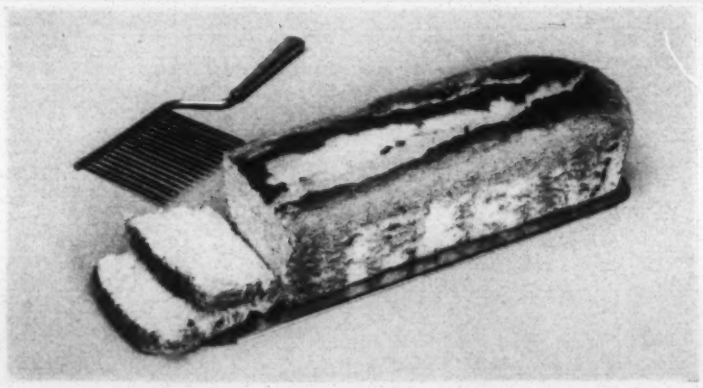
NO SAMPLING of antisegregationist newspapers of the South can be complete, however, without a look at two small journals which have never received any national awards or recognition but which in their own odd way have had a surprising impact. One, the *Carolina Israelite*, is published in Charlotte, North Carolina, by Harry L. Golden, a short, stout, gray-haired man who chews cigars and talks with an undiluted New York accent. The *Carolina Israelite*, a monthly, has a circulation close to 15,000, which includes Harry Truman, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Carl Sandburg, Thomas E. Dewey, Adlai Stevenson, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and, as Golden puts it, "just about everybody of any consequence." Jammed with small advertisements from the Carolinas, the paper is devoted exclusively to what its editor happens to think. Segregation, Golden happens to think, is immoral, and he says so regularly, though often in a most unusual way.

Born in New York, a graduate of City College, Golden worked for two New York newspapers before taking a promotion job with *The Charlotte Observer* in the late thirties. He began his own newspaper more than fifteen years ago, feeling, as he still does, that the South contained "the greatest running story of our generation." When North Carolina's Pearsall Plan, which embodied bills to abolish public schools and aid students to attend segregated private schools, was before the state legislature, two individuals spoke against it in the hearings. Harry Golden was one of them, and it was here that he outlined what he called the "Golden Vertical Negro Plan."

it's handy to make a loaf angel cake



LEN SIEGLER



Aluminum pan for loaf angel cake has slide-on cover for convenient carrying and storage. Legs facilitate cooling; cover doubles as a serving plate. The oblong shape is easy to cut, ice and serve with toppings. By West Bend, about $4

Pointing out that the South had all but eliminated "vertical segregation," Golden went on to say: "The white man and the Negro stand at the same grocery and super-market counters, deposit money at the same bank teller's window, pay phone and light bills to the same clerk. It is only when the Negro 'sets' that the fur begins to fly." Golden's solution to the public-school problem: desegregate the schools and take out the seats. The solemn legislators burst into laughter.

Golden's parting shot was even more barbed. Facing the group squarely, he warned that if they didn't do something constructive about complying with the Supreme Court's directive, he would form an organization of his own: The Jewish Society for the Preservation of Christian Ethics.

With all his acid thrusts at the "Southern Way of Life," Harry Golden is one of the most-loved men in his community and throughout the region. "I'm a member of three minorities," he explains, "a Jew, a Yankee and a radical. Everyone knows where I stand, but they laugh both with and at me. At the same time, of course, they are laughing at themselves and the segregated society they cling to."

Can a man like Harry Golden have any influence? He can and does. It is, for example, literally true that few community leaders of Charlotte would think of marrying off a daughter or burying a loved one without inviting him. Last year Golden was one of three speakers at the annual Good Fellows Club Christmas program, one of Charlotte's leading charity funds. About the same time, after differing openly with Governor Luther H. Hodges on the segregation issue and asking him at a press conference how it felt to be governor of a state where one third of the population was embittered, Golden opened his mail to find a printed scroll signed by the governor honoring him as an "Ambassador of Good Will for North Carolina."

The *Greensboro* (North Carolina) *Daily News*, in an article about the Golden Vertical Negro Plan, referred to its author as the "South's Jonathan Swift" and the man who "is doing the best editorial writing in North Carolina." It spoke also of another Golden brain child known as the "Golden White Baby Plan," which the tireless editor of the *Carolina Israelite* had suggested as a solution to the problem of segregated movie theaters. Noting that several Negro teachers had been admitted without question to a "white" theater when they took along the children of white friends, Golden wrote: "Eventually the Negro community can set up a factory and manufacture white babies made of plastic, and when they want to go to the opera or a concert, all they need do is carry that plastic doll in their arms. The dolls of course should all have blond curls and blue eyes, which would go even further: it would give the Negro woman and her husband priority over 'whites' for the very best seats in the house." The Greensboro newspaper added: "If Harry Golden isn't careful, he may laugh segregation right out of existence."

Golden's feelings about gradual integration or "gradualism" are illustrated in his "Golden Out-of-Order Plan." A department-store manager in Charlotte, persuaded by Golden to hang an "out-of-order" sign on the drinking fountain labeled "White," discovered in a few days that whites and Negroes were happily sharing the "Colored" fountain. "It is possible," Golden wrote of this incident, "that whites may accept desegregation, if they are assured that the segregated facilities still exist, albeit 'out-of-order.' My key to the plan is to keep the sign up for at least two years. We must do this thing gradually."

That Harry Golden has managed to get away with slyly humorous attacks on segregation in North Carolina is not as remarkable, perhaps, as the fact that a young editor named P. D. East has survived in Mississippi using the same weapon. Born in Columbia, Mississippi, East, a big, prematurely graying man, had no thought of getting into the segregation fight when he started his county weekly in the town of Petal, just outside Hattiesburg, in 1953. "I've never analyzed my attitude on race," East says. "All I know is that I grew up with *people* around me—not Jews or Negroes or Italians, just people. I can't get upset over a thing I can't visualize, and I can't visualize a 'race.'"

The Petal Paper began as a newspaper. "It isn't any more," East says. "I don't fool with local news at all now. The paper is devoted exclusively to my viewpoint." The change came when the Mississippi State Legislature passed a bill to abolish the public-school system as a last resort against desegregation. "That made me angry," East says. "It was sheer stupidity. The Supreme Court isn't going to let you do indirectly what you can't do directly. Well, I got religion and I wrote an editorial against the bill. It turned out there were only two sides to the question. Either you were for the bill or you were a 'nigger-lover.' I opposed it. The paper, which had a circulation of about twenty-three hundred, fell off to nearly one thousand at one point. Today it's back to a little over two thousand, but it's no longer local. While most of my subscribers are in the South, only about twenty-five per cent are in the county."

When a white Citizens Council was to be formed in Forrest County, where East lives, he published a full-page ad, donated, as he put it, "in behalf of liberalism, fairness and progress." With a headline which read: "Yes, YOU too, can be SUPERIOR," he urged readers to "Join The CITIZENS CLAN and BE SAFE From SOCIAL WORRIES." Among the ten freedoms he listed as offered "To White Folk Only" were: "Freedom to interpret the Constitution of the United States to your own personal advantage," "Freedom to wonder who is pocketing the five dollars you pay to join," "Freedom to take a profitable part in the South's fastest growing business: Bigotry," and "Freedom to be superior without brain, character or principle."

Commenting on the automobile tags popular in Mississippi during and after the Emmett Till case, tags which read: MISSISSIPPI, THE MOST LIED ABOUT STATE IN THE NATION, East wrote: "We agree with the tags. Unfortunately, the lies are not necessarily being told by persons out of the state."

Besides canceled ads and subscriptions, East's battle of words has brought other forms of harassment. Sitting in the cluttered room in his home which he uses as an office, he recently enumerated some of them. "The people who print the paper had a cross burned in front of their shop. My wife has been followed in her car, and of course we've been told off on the telephone and by mail."

Meanwhile he keeps writing what he thinks: "It appears to be something of a rat race in the South today to see which state can first attain complete

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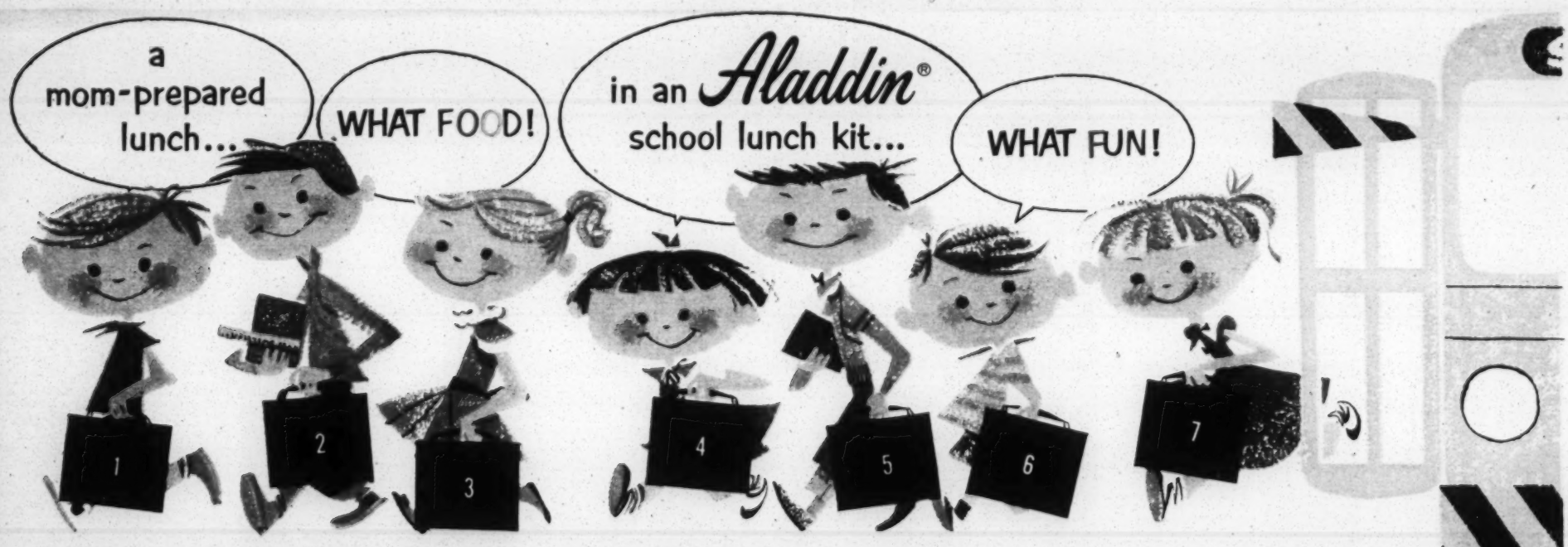
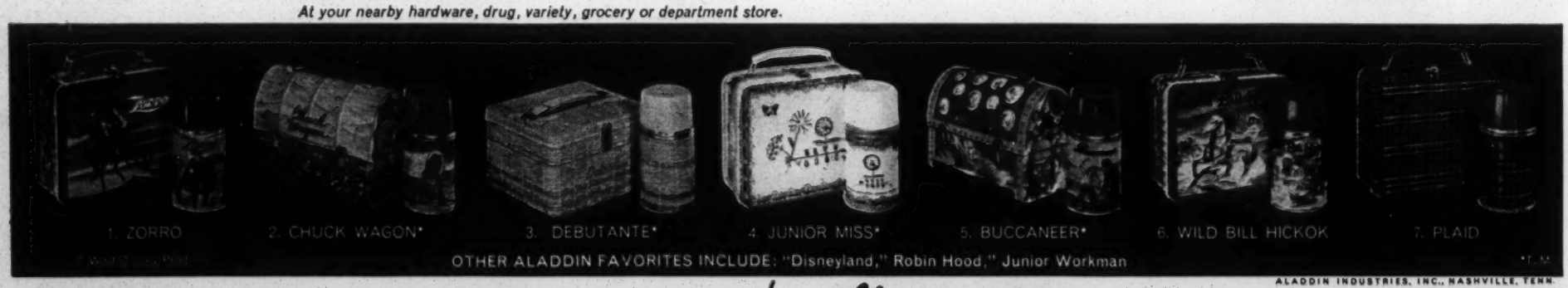


Small-fry love carrying wholesome home-prepared lunches in shiny new Aladdin fun-time kits. *Ten* imaginative themes to delight *every* youngster, from kindergarten right through to their first diploma! All have matching ½ pint Aladdin Vacuum Bottles – GUARANTEED to keep their lunchtime beverages steaming hot or frosty cold.

Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping · COMMENDED by PARENTS' MAGAZINE · USE-TESTED by McCalls

At your nearby hardware, drug, variety, grocery or department store.



ALADDIN INDUSTRIES, INC., NASHVILLE, TENN.

MOTHER: Rainy-day fun for pre-school tots.
Cut out the Aladdin kits and paste them in the hands of the happy children

Aladdin first with everything new

(Continued from page 123)
and total assdom." As for regrets, "I have no regrets when I do anything to help add to the dignity of man, whatever the expense in money," he says, adding thoughtfully "—if I have the money."

HUMOR, an effective weapon with many people, is not successful, unfortunately, with fanatics. For these are the people whose attitudes spring from conflicts so deep that they themselves are unaware of them. What the average southerner supports tacitly, the fanatic defends with a violence that often seems close to insanity. Many attempts have been made to understand the origins of violent racial feeling. One of the most eloquent explanations come from a southerner herself. In her book *Killers of the Dream*, Lillian Smith leans heavily on the theory that sexual exploitation of the Negro woman by the white man explains much of the southern white man's fear of the Negro.

"What a strange ugly trap the white race made for itself! Because these slaveholders were 'Christian,' they felt compelled to justify the holding of slaves by denying these slaves a soul, and denying them a place in the human family. Because they were puritan, they succeeded in developing a frigidity in their white women that precluded the possibility of mutual satisfaction. Lonely and baffled and frustrated by the state of affairs they had set up in their own homes and hearts, they could not resist the vigor and kindliness and gaiety of these slaves. And succumbing to desire, they mated with these dark women whom they had dehumanized in their minds, and fathered by them children who, according to their race philosophy, were 'without souls.' . . .

"The race-sex-sin spiral had begun. The more trails the white man made to back-yard cabins, the higher he raised his white wife on her pedestal. . . . The higher the pedestal, the less he enjoyed her. . . . Guilt, shame, fear, lust spiralled each other. Then a time came, though it was decades later, when man's suspicion of white woman began to pull the spiral higher and higher. It was of course inevitable for him to suspect her of the sins he had committed so pleasantly and often. . . . And when he did that, a madness seized our people. . . ."

A noted southern psychiatrist confirms Miss Smith's views. "We know," he says, "that sex outside of marriage, particularly in a puritanical religious environment, creates feelings of guilt. And to that was added the guilt, in many cases, of knowing that the white man's attentions had been to some extent forced on the Negro woman. Add to that the guilt stemming from contact with a being believed to be something less than human, and you have a powerful dose of it. The largely unconscious feeling of guilt in these white men is projected as fear—fear that the Negro man wants only to have this same access to the white woman. We often hate or fear in others that which we unconsciously feel is shameful in ourselves. And this would certainly help to explain the fears of many of these men of desegregation of any kind."

A Negro woman who has traveled widely through the South for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says that the most frequent question asked by Negro audiences is: "Why are the white men who have had Negro mistresses and often had children by them always the worst racists?" She continues, "And you know, it's often true. One of our Negro members in a Deep South state told me that the loudest segregationist there is a close relative of his. And it's general knowledge among Negroes and even among some southern whites that many of the South's most fanatical white-supremacist politicians are in this category."

Certainly the folklore of the South reinforces the idea that what the segregationist fanatic guiltily fears is Negro male retaliation for the white man's abuse of Negro women. The inevitable question of the segregationist, for example, is always: "Would you want your daughter or sister [never your son or brother] to marry a Negro?" Some psychologists have even suggested that the Ku Klux Klan's white bed sheets and pillowcases may be unconscious symbols of this very problem. The suggestion does not seem so far-fetched when we recall how often the lynching of Negroes has been preceded by sexual mutilation of the victim.

OBVIOUSLY the fanatical segregationist will not change his attitude, much less the underlying guilt and fears that have produced it. What seems encouraging, however, is the radically decreasing number of racial fanatics in the younger generation of southerners. This may be explained in part by the fact that because of the improved economic situation of Negroes and a more realistic relationship between white men and women, sexual exploitation of Negro women is far less frequent than it once was.

But whatever the explanation, an increasing gap between parents and children on the question of race relations is one of the most hopeful signs in the South. One has only to visit the campuses of southern colleges and universities to see what is happening.

At the University of Virginia, polls of students over a period of nine years have shown larger and larger majorities favoring the admittance of Negroes to the university's professional and graduate schools. In dozens of other southern colleges, similar polls have brought similar results. Fourteen Negro students last year were housed on the campus of the University of North Carolina, were permitted to take part in university functions and even—for many southerners, close to the ultimate in racial mixing—shared with whites from both the school and town of Chapel Hill the university's swimming pool.

At the University of Georgia, in Athens, strong pressures on the faculty and administration from a bitterly segregationist legislature have kept Negro students from being admitted; faculty members must sign loyalty oaths and security questionnaires. Some students and teachers charge that informers sit in classes to report to the Georgia States' Rights Council what is being taught.

And yet, even in this seemingly hopeless and embittered atmosphere a professor will tell you in the privacy of his home that a majority of the faculty favors desegregation. And a student, walking along a campus path with his books under his arm, says, "I think most of the students here would accept Negroes without a word of protest."

At Louisiana State University, in Baton Rouge, with forty-nine Negro students on the campus last year, "White Only" signs suddenly made an appearance. Almost immediately students began to poke fun at these signs with signs of their own: "This blackboard for white chalk only"; "This tree for white dogs only."

Even at the University of Mississippi, in Oxford, from which thirty-one top-level faculty members have resigned since 1956, most of them protesting a lack of academic freedom, there are signs of soul searching on the question of segregation. In the fall of 1956 a group of ministers, including the Reverend Alvin Kershaw, who later won $32,000 on television's "$64,000 Question," were invited to take part in the university's Religious Emphasis Week. All, according to current requirements of the trustees of the university, had been "screened" by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion. Then came Episcopalian Kershaw's public announcement that he would give some of his TV winnings to the N.A.A.C.P.

In reply to threatening letters about his impending visit to the university, Kershaw stated that he would take part in the Religious Week program unless the invitation was officially withdrawn. The trustees, believing that he would speak only on religion and drama, voted not to withdraw the invitation. But shortly after that, in answer to a question from the student newspaper, Kershaw said that if asked, he would reply honestly to questions about race. The trustees withdrew the invitation. The reaction was immediate. Other invited guests, all of them with one exception from the South, wired their withdrawals too. Three days before the week was to begin, the sponsors voted to invite local ministers to fill in. All seven local ministers, plus the Hillel Foundation rabbi on the campus, refused.

At this point the young minister who served as director of religious life and of the campus Y.M.C.A. issued a statement inviting students and faculty to join him daily throughout Religious Emphasis Week in thirty minutes of silent meditation on the problems which had brought the university to this pass. For the next five days between three hundred and seven hundred students, professors and residents of Oxford filled Fulton Chapel, where an empty lectern before a drawn curtain symbolized the refusal of the ministers to submit to censorship by the university's trustees. Soon after the incident Dr. Morton King, head of the sociology department for twenty years, resigned in protest, calling it "the last straw."

Probably the greatest roar of indignation from segregationists in Mississippi came last March, when a group of thirty white students from Millsaps College, a coeducational Methodist school in Jackson, traveled across town to attend a social science class with the Negro students at Tougaloo College. The session, an exchange of views on race relations, was a success in spite of violent protest from the *Jackson Daily News* and the Mississippi white Citizens Councils. "So many of our people don't know anything about Negroes except what cheap politicians tell them," a coed announced at this interracial meeting. On the subject of the newspaper barrage, another Millsaps student said, "Someone is trying to take away my right to learn from whom I want. I resent it."

Despite occasional outbursts like this, however, the revolt of southern youth against racial fanaticism is in most places a quiet battle. With all that has been written about Little Rock's Central High School, for example, few Americans realize that, as sixteen-year-old Ernest Green, one of the nine Negro students, put it, "while the few students who were in the rioting were still out of school, almost all the others were friendly. Some offered to help with work assignments I'd missed during the three weeks before the Federal troops came, and at lunch the first day, a group of white boys and girls invited me to join them at their table. It was only after the others drifted back that things changed."

EVEN fewer Americans know the most important story about successful integration—the story of the thousands upon thousands of young white southerners who served in the desegregated Armed Forces.

What happened to these young men as a result of living and working with members of another race? The answers to that and many other questions concerning desegregation in the military services are locked in the vaults of the Pentagon, in Washington, D.C. The only complete study of desegregation in the Armed Forces was made in 1951 by the Army. The results of the probe, known as "Project Clear" and conducted by staff workers from three university and civilian research agencies under contract to the Army, fill three thick volumes stamped "Secret."

"With school boards and local and state officials throughout the South facing the new experience of desegregation, this work could be one of the most valuable reference sources that exist," a Defense Department official says privately of Project Clear. Why, then, has it been kept secret?

Lee Nichols, who has documented the whole dramatic story of service desegregation in his book *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, reports that a senior Army general staff officer, explaining the absence of publicity attending Army integration, said, "We were afraid that if there were a lot of stories in the papers, southern congressmen would have to get up on their hind legs and oppose it. We wanted to get it done without fanfare—then tell about it."

WAIT!

DID YOU REMEMBER THE ZONE?

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Telling about it has, unfortunately, not included the declassification of Project Clear. Here, however, are some of the contents of that significant study. The conclusions reached by the social scientists who conducted Project Clear were based on thousands of interviews and questionnaires, with the field of inquiry ranging from combat units in Korea to training units in all sections of the United States. Officers and enlisted men, white and Negro, from both segregated and integrated units, were questioned. In summary, the conclusions were that a large majority of both officers and enlisted men with experience in integrated units considered them just about equal to all-white units. Eleven to fifteen per cent of the officers and men rated mixed units superior in morale to white units.

The researchers found that soldiers in all-white units, however strongly opposed to integration, indicated they would show no hostility toward Negro replacements. The attitude of these whites became more favorable toward serving with Negroes as a result of the actual experience. Further, integration of military units led to satisfactory off-duty relationships; many soldiers were found to spend time with soldiers of the other race.

In the United States, seventy-three per cent of 1,158 northern whites and sixty-five per cent of 572 southern whites in integrated units reported having friends among the Negro soldiers in their units. In Korea, a sizable majority of white soldiers favored sharing post exchanges with Negro troops and a smaller majority favored sharing rest areas. Of 1,730 white trainees in the United States in integrated units, nineteen per cent reported spending off-duty time with Negro trainees *off as well as on* the post. Fifty-nine per cent of the Negro trainees questioned reported similar associations with whites.

THE remarks of southern whites interviewed tell a more intriguing story of the breakdown of prejudices. A second lieutenant from North Carolina, remarking that he wouldn't care to go to social functions with Negroes, added that this did not apply to one Negro—a soldier he'd slept next to in Army school. "Maybe if I got to know more Negroes, I'd like them more," he said. A sergeant from Virginia said he was one of many who hadn't liked it when Negroes were integrated into his unit. "In about two weeks, it wore in," he said. "See the fellow at that table?" he asked, pointing to a Negro. "I think as much of him as of any man in the outfit. . . . I slept with a Negro beside me in boot camp, resented it at first, but it's all in your mind. Some whites are worse than any colored."

A captain reported: "I had all the reason in the world to be against the nigger, and my being from Tennessee didn't help any. But you are listening to a man who had a complete change of mind." A lieutenant colonel said, "I'm a Texan and I suppose I was as anti-Negro as the next Texan before I got acquainted with integration a few years back. But I can truthfully say I'm sold on it now."

When a Negro and a white trainee were questioned together at one southern Army post, they were asked what happened when they went to town together. The white soldier answered, "We ride together in the bus until the gate. Then he moves back." The Negro added, "When we get to town, we're buddies again." Asked what happened in town, the white replied, "We do all the things together that they let us. We can't eat together or go to the USO, but we buy things, window shop, maybe get a bottle and drink in the park—you know." The Negro added, "They don't care if you walk together."

The white soldier, being from Georgia, was asked to explain the friendship. "I don't go for that Jim Crow stuff," he said. "'Course I don't think they should marry one another, but that's all."

Summarizing part of their findings, the research team reported a "consistent pattern" in their interviews with senior officers in integrated units in the United States. Those who believed integration would work reaffirmed their judgment on the basis of experience. "Those who did not believe in the feasibility of integration before its introduction now report a change of judgment on the basis of their experience." These judgments, they added, were as common among southern as northern officers.

Obviously the southern attitude toward race relations is changing. But even if this were not true, even without the brave voices of the church, the press, the educators and the younger generation, there is one hard, practical fact which cannot be ignored—the financial cost of maintaining segregation.

Already some southern businessmen are painfully aware of the growing economic importance of the Negro as a consumer. In Rock Hill, South Carolina, for example, last December the Star Transit Company suspended operation of its two-bus line after a six-month boycott by Negroes over segregated seating. In Tallahassee, Florida, beginning in May, 1956, a Negro bus protest has resulted in repeated interruption of bus service and a consequently heavy loss of income to the

(Continued on page 128)

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PHILLIPS' TABLETS

(Continued from page 125)

bus company. The year-long Montgomery, Alabama, bus protest reportedly cost the local bus company between $3,000 and $3,500 per day. In Tuskegee, Alabama, a Negro boycott of white merchants had by last winter resulted in the closing of ten white-owned stores, with at least five more expected to follow.

Harry Ashmore makes the point in *An Epitaph for Dixie:* "The average Negro income is still well below that of the whites, but it is high enough to make an increasing number of colored people good customers of almost any establishment along Main Street. . . . Indeed, proprietors of shops which once barred Negroes or asked them to ease in through the alley door are likely these days to be out hustling colored customers in off the sidewalk; I know one clothing merchant who considers his membership in the Urban League a better investment than his Chamber of Commerce dues."

In some states and cities in the South, business and industrial leaders have made their influence felt upon the politicians, who, as Governor Faubus of Arkansas demonstrated, often hold the trump card in the decision on desegregation with or without violence. In others, the politicians still have the upper hand. And it is not unfair to say that among the white people of the South, politicians have been the slowest, as a group, to move toward the goal of desegregation. Even here, however, there are heartening exceptions like Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta, who last fall was elected to his sixth term by an overwhelming majority over bitter racist opposition. An extremely effective politician, Hartsfield is known throughout the South for his progressive views on race relations. When Atlanta was ordered to desegregate its public golf courses, he studied other cities which had done so, then quietly had the showers removed as possible sources of trouble. He had a part in scheduling the move on Christmas Eve, hardly a propitious time for violence. There was no trouble.

"We are a business town," he says, "a crossroads, and we have too much stake in the future to stop for bitterness over the race issue. We know you can't be progressive and hate, and we're determined to find solutions to our problems without resorting to violence."

Back in City Hall, Mayor Hartsfield explains that his formula for better race relations is a meeting of the leadership of both races. "Through such a liaison," he says, "we can often explain to the Negro people that they are taking us a little too fast. And they can explain to us injustices we never knew about. I know I've been charged with pandering to the Negro vote. It's not true. I've slanted my race relations, if at all, toward the better element of the white population. And I've found when I please them, I please the Negroes too."

In Florida in 1955, when the state legislature passed a memorial to Congress condemning the Supreme Court decision, one of the three members who voted against it was Representative John B. Orr, Jr., of Miami, another atypical southern politician. In July, 1956, after the handsome, thirty-six-year-old attorney had been renominated in the Democratic primary, a special session of the legislature passed a series of bills designed to resist school desegregation. Orr was the only man there who voted against all of them.

The voting over, he took the floor to explain his action. "I believe segregation is morally wrong," he said. "The existence of second-class citizens is repugnant to our great democratic principles. The fact that the custom is of long standing makes it no less wrong. Surely not many of you would argue today that slavery was morally justifiable, and yet this was a custom of long standing. . . . For us to set an example of hypocrisy and deceit—of disrespect for our laws—will surely do more harm to our children than will result from their being seated in a classroom next to one whose skin is of a different hue. . . ."

"All hell broke loose," Orr reported later. "There were telephone threats against me and my family, and one radio commentator talked of little else. But the overwhelming bulk of my mail was favorable." That fall Orr was reelected, and in a press poll after the 1957 session, he was runner-up to the man selected the most effective member of the Florida House of Representatives. In May, 1957, the *Daytona Beach Journal*, under the title "A Man of Integrity," said editorially: "The stand Orr took last summer against the . . . segregation laws only enhanced his prestige among the members of the House. Whether they agree with him, as many secretly do, or not, they admire him for his personal and political integrity. . . ."

This, then, is the story nobody tells us about the South and these are the forces that are lending their weight to a peaceful solution of the problems of desegregation. It is a South which, compared to the segregationists, seems unorganized. But a lack of organization may be a positive virtue, for it keeps the effective workers working in their own communities rather than on a state or regional board of some kind.

Working as individuals, through their churches and other organizations, through Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s, the American Friends Service Committee, the Urban League and even the N.A.A.C.P., these white southerners have aligned themselves with the new, young and intelligent southern Negro leadership which is rapidly remaking the South. The question of how long it will take is that of the outside observer, for time is the one thing which inevitably runs in these workers' favor, and they have no thought of leaving the South.

In any case, the movement has begun, and it is propelled by forces which, having their roots in history, cannot be turned aside. It is even possible, as one southerner speculates, that fifty years from now the South will have moved further toward equality for the Negro than the North. For, as he puts it, "with the backlog of guilt for its past treatment of the Negro, the South, once it begins to move, may build up a momentum which carries it far past the North. After all, where can you find a more aggressive worker for any cause than a recent convert?" THE END

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August 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Hotel Roosevelt
Madison Avenue at 45th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Welcome to New York!

Here are the details for the tape recording for Nightline on the NBC network in connection with "The Story Nobody Tells You" in the September issue of McCall's.

Will you please plan to be at NBC, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 493 at 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, August 27. Please ask for Doreen Chu. I plan to be there, too, and I am looking forward to meeting you.

I am having this delivered to you at the Roosevelt because I know you will be making plans and appointments for Thursday, and I did want you to know the time that had been set for the tape recording.

By the way, Miss Esther Stamatz of the United Church Women will be on the program with you, and I am sure it will be an excellent one.

Thank you very much for your help - and kind regards.

Cordially,

Esther Burke

Esther Burke

EB:BFG

October 2, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Nothing seems to be simple in this mixed-up world. There are some complications about our list of agencies which are only partly remedied by the revisions made on the enclosed copy. To wit:

(1) Our list was not necessarily meant to be comprehensive; its original purpose was to serve as a directory of those groups participating in the informal and off-the-record interagency meetings held in the South. Most of the groups have regional staff members in the South working, to some degree, on human relations programs. Some of the groups have no full-time staff based in the South, buth through national staffers or lay leaders carry on activities in the region.

(2) Except for the state Councils on Human Relations and one state Council of Churches, our list does not include state and local organizations -- only those regional in scope. Thus local Urban Leagues, YWCAs, Catholic Interracial Councils, etc., are not listed.

(3) Characterizing the list as it stands is a bit tricky. Not all of the groups would want to be described as pro-integration, pro-desegregation, or even as being primarily engaged in race relations.

This is one reason why the interagency meetings are off-the-record and confidential.

(4) A complete list of organizations concerned with human relations would have to include a good many more national groups -- religious, youth-serving, unions, private and official intergroup relations bodies, CORE, FOR, etc., etc. Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (who serves as secretary of an informal national coordinating effort called the Consultative Conference on Desegregation) is supposed to be compiling a comprehensive list; but if he has one available, it too should be approached with caution.

(5) Practically everybody who does anything in this field is attacked as "leftwing," of course. But all of the organizations on our list are, in my opinion, completely defensible. Groups like the Southern Conference Educational Fund and Highlander Folk School are viewed by many as less easily defended; but a public listing such as you contemplate that failed to include them would certainly be protested. Perhaps such a protest would be justified, since, whatever one thinks of them, these organizations do exist and are active in the field of race relations. Again, I think the answer must lie in how you characterize your list.

I'm sorry to give you such a dismally complicated answer, but these are factors I think you should take into account. You are certainly free to draw on our list, but you will have to go beyond it and I would prefer to let any "credit" go.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 26, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'm nearing the deadline for my book ms. to be completed (October 15), and I've decided I'd like to include as an appendix the list of organizations and personnel engaged in human relations activities in the South which you people issued on November 26, 1957. I have several questions:

1. May I?

2. Is it reasonably complete as far as state and national organizations go?

3. Should it be up-dated?

4. How come the Catholic Interracial Council isn't included?

5. Are any of these organizations attackable as left-wing, etc.?

6. Should we (of I) include those that are, such as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, or whatever it is?

Your advice, counsel, answers, etc. will be most appreciated. Also, I'd really be intrigued to know anything in the way of response to the McCall's article that you've come across in the South.

Thanks again, as always, for your help.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

Many more nat'l gps

Catholic Interracial Councils
Local Urban Leagues
State Councils of Churches
Highlander, SCEF

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

October 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
60 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here's the manuscript of the book, with which I believe I threatened you earlier. It is going into production immediately in order to get it out in the early spring (late April, I think), so that the only chance I'll have to make changes will be on the galley proofs. That means that the changes will have to be minor -- additions and deletions -- and that I'll not be able to add anything of any size.

With this in mind, I would really appreciate it if you would read it and have anyone else there whom you feel could be of help do so, too. I particularly want Emory to read at least Chapter XIV, if he can't manage the whole book.

Then, I'd appreciate having comments and corrections on a separate memorandum, rather than marked on the carbon. I may have to use this carbon again. And naturally, since I never ask my friends at the Southern Regional Council to do anything except in a hurry, I'd appreciate having it all back as soon as possible.

I'm planning another trip South within a week or so, and I hope to hit Atlanta. This will be exclusively for the American Friends Service Committee project of finding magazine article ideas, and I'd like to talk with you if I can. I'll telephone you as soon as my plans are more definite, and maybe we can set a definite date in advance.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

November 13, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Sorry for the delay on your MS, which is going to you separately. Emory and Paul had it bogged down as we went through the turmoil of our annual meeting.

I shot my wad when you were here. What I said then and in my letter to Adam still stands untarnished.

As soon as I get an opportunity, I'll speak to Popham about the New York Times review and let you know his reaction. And if anything occurs to us in regard to your western trip in the next few days, I'll write again.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Answered 11-13-58

November 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

What happened to the manuscript and your suggestions and corrections? I'm still anxiously awaiting them, and while I know that the book is long, it's really not all that long. What worries me is that I keep thinking you must have spotted some real boo-boos and are embarrassed to say so after your wonderful letter to Adam, for which I thank you.

But my real reason for writing is that I've thought of a way to make sure (or at least pretty sure) that the New York Times reviews the book -- how they review it is, of course, their own business. I think I told you that the Times Book Review is probably the most important medium of reviews in the country, and that for them to ignore a book is something like sure death.

So -- what I had in mind was this: The next time you see or talk with Popham, you might tell him a little about the book, mention that it will be published by Doubleday on April 23rd, 1959, and perhaps suggest that he arrange with the Times Book Review people to review it for them. If he asks in advance for the opportunity to review it, it's almost a guarantee that it will be reviewed. I'll take my chances on Popham's review. Can you see your way to doing something like this?

I had an interesting fencing match with Tom Waring about which I'll tell you in detail next time we meet. Then I went up to Norfolk where the pot is really boiling. I predict it will be the first crack in the closed-school door. In a week or so I leave on my western trip: Nashville, Oklahoma City, Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Baton Rouge and New Orleans. If you know of anything exciting in these areas, let me know.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

Enc. HCF ltr. to Howard K. Smith dtd. Oct. 7, 1957

VIA AIR MAIL

November 20, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

We can't help much on the problem with CBS, I'm afraid, but here is the story for what it's worth.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Howard K. Smith asking for a script of the broadcast and permission to reprint it. Some time elapsed without a response. We were up against a deadline, so I asked John Constable to see what he could do by telephone. He called CBS and, finding Smith unavailable, asked for an official who could give publication permission. He was connected with such a person, who gave permission on the spot. Shortly thereafter a copy of the script arrived in the mail, unaccompanied by any letter of transmittal.

Since in our experience such permission is nearly always routine, the verbal consent plus the sending of the script in question left Constable in no doubt that we were justified in reprinting. Unfortunately, since all this took place over a year ago, John doesn't recall the name of the CBS person he talked with; and the telephone slip which might show it can't be located.

Hope this circumstantial account will help you work it out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

11/19/58

HCF:

Regarding CBS Smith manuscript: We have not been able to turn up anything which will substantiate our claim that we had permission.

If my reccollection will help any in answering Peters, here is how I remember events:

You wrote Howard K. Smith and received only the transcript with no covering letter. When deadline for New South was really pushing us, you asked me to call Smith. I called CBS and asked for Smith, but he was not in, then I asked operator to get someone on line who could give me permission to reprint a broadcast of Smith. The CBS operator got me someone, whose name I cannot remember, The official told me that usually CBS gave permission of this sort as a matter of course. I told him I was working against a deadline, and he said to proceed with having the material set and if there were objections he would call me back. I [redacted] talked with the same man again and was told to go ahead, and he asked me to send copies of the New South. Two copies, if memory serves, were sent to CBS; and I believe a number was sent to Smith, which is usual procedure we use in regard to contributors.

November 17, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A minor problem on the book: As you know, I used part of Howard K. Smith's Little Rock broadcast. I got it from New South, October, 1957, where, under Notes, it says: "This analysis is a broadcast by Howard K. Smith and is reprinted here by permission of the Columbia Broadcasting System."

When we asked for permission to excerpt from the broadcast from CBS, they said no. When we pointed out that such permission had already been granted to New South, which, because it is uncopyrighted, renders everything in it in the public domain, they said they could find no record of such permission's having been granted. That, at least, is the statement of Robert J. Dunne, assistant general attorney of CBS. He also claims to have asked Smith himself, and says that Smith did not give the permission.

Could you do two things for me? Find out (1) if permission from CBS was actually granted, and if so, how? (2) Send me a photostat of any letter of permission? I do want to use that piece in the book, and unless I can clear it with CBS, there may be trouble. Anything you can do to expedite this will naturally be appreciated, since we have a deadline on printing, and any cuts should be made within the next week or ten days.

Thanks a lot.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

December 17, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Enclosed is a copy of the article by Jim Montgomery which quotes Royster, editor of the Wall Street Journal, on the relations between social progress and economic progress.

This letter will summarize some of my comments on your manuscript. Unfortunately, I do not have the manuscript before me at the time of writing this letter, and I am not sure in every instance whether or not you answered some of my questions when you were here. For instance, on p. 346, the last sentence, I asked whether or not the figures quoted were the per capita incomes or individual earnings. There was a typo on p. 353, line 7 from the bottom: you need to strike the extra "with."

On p. 354, line 4, in referring to Jack Marion you should say, "past Executive Director." He has now been replaced by Paul Rilling.

On p. 358, line 2, you refer to 22% in 1957; I don't understand the bracket around 1957.

On p. 358 I challenged your figure of 22,000 new industries employing over fifty persons from 1939-1958. The reason for this challenge is based on SRC's study from 1946-1955 which should have been the period of greatest industrialization, where we found that 4,400 new industries of 25 or more were founded. Our figures excluded Florida and Oklahoma.

On p. 362ff you made no mention of the company's active role in the Sperry and Necco situations. In both cases the companies are northern owned and they actively used racist propaganda.

On p. 364, line 7, you indicate that the NLRB has declared the use of racial tactics unfair. They have issued warnings and an indication that they would take such cases under advisement, but as yet I do not think that they have found as an unfair labor practice the use of racial propaganda in an organizing campaign.

On p. 364, line 14, my note reads, "there are still programs, who knows when it was strongest?" I wonder if this refers to union programs relative to improving racial relations. If so, at least some of the current stuff such as what is done by the state labor bodies in most of the Southern states is perhaps above what was done at an earlier time. The international unions, although many of them are still doing good things, by an large are not as active as they once were. Of course, remember that the definition of the situation has changed greatly from 1954 to the present as compared to any earlier period. Working for public equality is quite different from just "bettering relations."

On p. 365 I note that I disagree that progress has stopped. I'm not sure of the particular referent but, again, in the past year a number of unions have found new ways to begin to give expression to their concern for equal rights. On that same page we finally agreed that it is perhaps true that most locals are segregated due to the large number of building trade locals scattered throughout the South; however, it is probably true that most union people in the South find themselves in some sort of desegregated situation. Even today it is possible to find banquets, picnics, and barbeques desegregated, and I know of at least some instances where there have been dances which were desegregated, even though there was no interracial dancing.

At the bottom pf p. 365 my note indicates that the "contract does not state how hiring is to be done." This is generally true, though I do not recall the specific referent. Typically, however, there is some form of non-discrimination clause in a union contract. However, usually this is a non-discrimination against union members clause. A few unions have written into some of their contracts a non-discrimination in hiring clause referring to race, national origin, etc.

On p. 366, though your point of a limitation of seniority to the Negro group is well taken, it is not fair to say that it is always so limited. For instance, the changes which you report elsewhere in ending dual seniority in some parts of the oil industry are important; of course some packinghouse plants have ended separate job classifications. There has been some stride in this direction in the Western Electric instalations in North Carolina, although the NAACP currently has a complaint filed there. A great deal of progress has been made at the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, even though I am sure some inequities continue to exist - upgrading, however, has taken place there. In at least one case in the Western Electric plant in North Carolina, I know that a Negro actually "bumped" a white from a job in exercising her seniority privileges.

On p. 379 I indicate that you need to make it clear that the Arts Festival in Atlanta was opened to Negroes and whites.

I trust the comments are of some use to you. I am sorry they are not in more refined shape, but time has just not been available, plus the fact that I let the manuscript get away before I sat down to write this letter.

Best wishes to you for a successful publication. I look forward to seeing it in printed form with great interest and with a feeling that it will be a real contribution to my own pursuits as well as to the field in general.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via, but signed in his absence.)

EFV:ls

VIA AIR MAIL

December 19, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

You are right in assuming that the few comments that I had on your manuscript were amply covered in our conversation when you were here. Emory has set down his observations in a letter which should have reached you by now. As I think you know, Emory is about to be off to a handsome new position at the University of Wisconsin and has been swamped with wind-up details here.

I talked to Popham about the New York Times review. Unfortunately, that's out. He says his position with the Chattanooga Times has removed him from the list of reviewers and commentators at least for some time to come. I do think it's important for you to stimulate a review in the Times. If you think of other persons down this way who would be good choices, I will be glad to try further. It does seem to me, however, that most people would want to have a look at the manuscript or in some other way get a clear notion of the book before making special effort to be selected as reviewer.

There is not much I can do to get you an invitation to the Civil Rights Commission's February

conference. I am not invited myself, and my understanding is that they are limiting the conference to educators and those who have some standing or specialty in the field of education. From what I know of it, you might be well advised to make some arrangement to attend in the role of reporter.

Maybe I am wrong about this. If so, you could find out through the AFSC.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 10, 1958

Dear Harold and Emory,

Thanks for the return of the manuscript. I presume because it came without your detailed comments that they are to come soon. Since I'll be getting the galleys around Christmas time, I do hope you can let me have them soon, particularly those which Emory promised me.

As for yours, Harold, I remember saying that I intended to try to put some of the stuff about the SRC into quotes for your lips. But was there anything else? Or will it be included in what Emory sends me?

Thanks again for your time, effort, and help. And do let me know, Harold, if you had any luck in persuading Popham to ask to review the book for the Times.

One other thing: is there any way you can swindle me an official invitation to the proposed Civil Rights Conference in February sponsored by the Civil Rights Commission? I know I could cover it as a reporter, but I'd much prefer to be where I might make some kind of a contribution, however minor. Let me know.

Cordially yours,

Bill

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

SR

February 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Copy to: The Rev. Robert E. Hughes

Dear Harold and Bob:

Over the past couple of months news has been filtering in to me about goings on in Montgomery. First, there was a copy of a confidential letter from a Marjorie Smith, of Montgomery, to Mrs. Tilley. Second a copy of an ad signed by the Montgomery Citizens Council which apparently appeared this month in the Montgomery Advertiser and the weekly Journal. The ad, which I'm sure you're both familiar with, was, in effect, a declaration of economic and social war on whites who in any way defected from the segregationist position. Third, a man named Lobman, who lives in New York but whose home is in Montgomery called to fill me in on the background of all of these events and also to tell me that Admiral Crommelin is running for Mayor of Montgomery.

As I get it, a meeting of the local Fellowship of the Concerned was the beginning, though Marjorie Smith mentions my McCall's article as having kicked off a local segregationist group devoted to ferreting out white desegregationists. I'm told that the Alabama Journal has published the names and addresses of all who attended the FOC meeting together with the names of husbands, husbands' employers, etc.

All of this is, of course, of interest to me as a possible magazine article, but I need a good many more facts before I can talk to editors. For example:

1. What kinds of pressure have been used?

2. Have any of the husbands lost their jobs?

3. Any violence directed against whites?

4. Is there a connection between this and Crommelin's campaign for Mayor?

5. Does Crommelin have a chance of being elected?

6. When is the election?

7. What, if any, connections are there between the Christian Laymen (ne Baptist Laymen) and the White Citizens Council?

8. Is this movement stictly against the white liberals or does it in some way involve the MIA and Dr. King?

9. What's the latest news about King and the MIA?

I could ask a great many more questions, but basically what I want to know is what the hell is really going on in Montgomery, is it unique (perhaps in that it is the first broad attempt of the Citizens Councils to go after a group of whites), and what particular appects of it can and cannot be told.

I'd appreciate anything you two can tell me. Incidentally, Redbook might be interested in this in connection with another look at Montgomery in general -- a follow-up on my piece for them about King and the bus protest movement. So if the Negro community comes into this more recent development in any way, tell me how and why.

I'll be in Houston, Texas, on a story for Good Housekeeping on Mrs. Charles E. White, the Negro woman elected to the school board until the end of next week, but if you could drop me a letter apiece which I'll have on my return, I'd really appreciate it. Perhaps, Harold, you might have Mrs. Tilley write me also with whatever she knows about it all.

I'll look forward to hearing from you. Thanks in advance for your help.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

2/9/59

HCF:

Here's the correspondence from Bill Peters. I suppose Bob Hughes told you Thursday that he is answering the letter, and Mrs. Tilly has agreed to try to get additional information next Thursday.

Atlanta Journal & Constitution
Sunday, May 3, 1959

The Southern Temper

DESEGREGATION DIAGNOSIS

THE SOUTHERN TEMPER. By William Peters. Foreword by Harry Golden. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 283 pages. $3.95.

Reviewed by RALPH McGILL

At the end of the last page of William Peters' fine book on the problem of desegregation in the South one feels as if one had just read, in excellent reportorial style, an exhaustive diagnostic report on a patient, including the psychiatric findings. There is, of course, a prognosis.

William Peters

It is a report at times repellent as one encounters the ugly malignant tumors and deep-seated infections affecting the patient. But the patient is not going to die. Diagnostician Peters reveals there is gradually increasing resistance to the several sources of infection. Indeed, the patient is himself developing new antibodies and will, in time, be well, even healthy.

It is the best organized piece of writing, or study, yet done on the progress of desegregation. The subject is a large one.

Mr. Peters is from the North. This is one reason, I believe, his book was so soundly written. The Southerner, bred and born in his own particular briar-patch, is too often emotionally involved. "The Southern Temper" is such excellent continuity of statistics, events, incidents and personalities as to be a fascinating story, not a study. It is not, in any sense, a rehash of things written before.

• • •

MORALITY AND LAW slowly are gaining adherents. Mr. Peters accurately sees the surge of bombings and burnings, the irrationally vicious McCarthy-like smears of all those who support processes of law as Communists, pinks and leftists, as a confession of impending defeat.

He makes other points in a new and fresh manner. The Negro is winning his rights of equal citizenship because he may now depend on the laws and the Constitution of his country, and not on the paternalistic cloak of a white friend or benefactor. There is a brief, yet adequate history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Peters also does a service in stating that both words and ideas have stood in the way of a clear understanding. The Supreme Court, as he makes clear, ordered not integration but an end to compulsory segregation. The proper word is desegregation. And what happens, says Mr. Peters with truth, when schools are desegregated is, typically, that a few Negro children apply for transfer. Integration means a deliberate order of mixing and this the court has not done.

• • •

MR. PETERS' STATISTICS on discrimination in employment, including that of the government, is a disturbing revelation. Discrimination has helped produce poverty, slums and ignorance. These factors, Mr. Peters says, are destructive of morals, health, faith and ambition.

Mr. Peters sees a gradual growth of the trend of the Southerners in the middle moving away from the segregationist extremists toward a new status quo offering some permanency. He is right not to predict the timetable. It cannot be, he says, more than "several years" away.

It is a perceptive and valuable book.

May 5, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

The enclosed review by McGill expresses my sentiments precisely -- and ought to give your publisher some useful quotes for promotion purposes.

We'll do what we can in our circles to help make the book known. Any hope for the NYT Book Review?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 13, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your letter and for trusting me with your copy of the New York Times Book Review. Just after I wrote you, it turned up here, and I realized that the Constitution job was merely an abridged version. I, too, have never seen a more lyrical review of any book -- certainly not in the Times Book Review by a reviewer of McGill's reputation. (Thank the good Lord for your last-minute deletions.)

As you know, however, McGill isn't the only one. Bob Baker of the Washington Post called me yesterday, and in the course of the conversation told me that the Post is thinking of serializing a condensation of the book. Have they propositioned you yet? According to Bob, his review was cut to bits; but even the fragment that survived elicited a good deal of concern from important figures in the Administration. The Post brass is delighted, and Bob himself was lavish in his praise. I hope you will get a chance to meet him sometime soon.

It looks as though you may have snagged the brass ring. I sincerely hope so.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. Incidentally, McGill's performance since we last talked has further strengthened the case for him, so you may consider justice as well as expediency served by your deletions.

H.C.F.

RECEIVED MAY 13 1959

May 11, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the copy of Ralph McGill's review in the Constitution. John Morris had already sent it to me, so I had seen it before.

But apparently you missed the real review. McGill wrote it for the New York Times Book Review where it appeared on page 3 on May 3rd. It was without question the most generous review I've ever read of any book. The review in the Constitution was a cut version of it, still good, but nowhere near as emphatic as the original in the Times. If I had an extra copy, I'd send it along. On second thought, I'll send my copy, if you'll please return it.

Meanwhile, there have been excellent to good reviews in the Kansas City Star, the Washington Post, Long Island Newsday, the New York Post, the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Dispatch and Star, and a stinkeroo in the Charleston News and Courier (not a complete surprise in view of what I said about Waring).

Naturally, there have probably been others which I have not, as yet, seen. P. D. East, as well as my brother, who runs a weekly called the Washington County News (Abingdon, Virginia), reprinted the McGill review from the Times, and I understand Harry Golden will review the book in a forthcoming issue of the Israelite.

So far so good. I keep thinking of what a hard time you had convincing me that I should delete my snide remarks about McGill. It was the last thing I did on the galley proofs. God knows what he would have said about the book had they remained! Anyhow, thanks for the excellent advice.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

TEXAS COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Affiliated With
The Southern Regional Council

~~GReenwood 6-3150~~
~~309 W. 31st Street~~
Austin, Texas

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Houston 35, Texas
August 7, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

$5.00
CR
pha

Dear Mr. Constable

Enclosed please find check for two copies of "The Southern Temper" - appreciate getting these at this reduced price.

Thought you would be interested in the enclosed release which has been widely distributed.

I would appreciate more copies of "New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock" - for distribution - have sent what I have to our School Board.

Sent & posted 8/10/59 BCC

Sincerely

Margaret B. Crate (Mrs. Jas. S.)

BCC
Send books
and about 50
copies of Little
Rock reprint (no chge for letter).

July 15, 1959

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

This is in reply to your letter of June 30, concerning THE SOUTHERN TEMPER. We have been informed by the publisher that it will probably be thirty days before shipment. As soon as we receive the order, we will mail a copy to you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

/c

Mailed 7/28/59

from the desk of:

Harry S. Jones

June 30, 1959

TO: John Constable

I haven't seen THE SOUTHERN TEMPER yet, so I would appreciate your sending me one copy for now. Will probably want additional copies after I read the book. Will appreciate getting them at a discount.

HSJ.

July 9, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter of July 8, and your check for six copies of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER. We have been informed by the publisher that it will probably be thirty days before shipment. As soon as we receive the order, we will mail your copies to you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

/c

Mailed 7/28/59

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 7, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We would like to have six (6) copies of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER by William Peters.

Check # 781 in the amount of $15.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely,

CR 7/27/59

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
Enc.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

July 8, 1959

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Thank you for your letter of July 8, and your check for two copies of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER. We have been informed by the publisher that it will probably be thirty days before shipment. As soon as we receive the order, we will mail your copies to you.

Sincerely,

/c

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

Mailed 7/28/59

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1745 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina
July 8, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Please be advised that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations would like to purchase two copies of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER for $2.50 per copy.

A check for $5.00 is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

rha
7/27/59

Alice N. Spearman
(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS:1

7/6 19 59

We acknowledge with thanks your order of ..... No. .....
The following titles cannot be shipped immediately for the reason noted below:

TITLE	Symbol	Probable Date
Louisiana Lumber	OS	30 da

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, Inc.
GARDEN CITY NEW YORK

KEY TO SYMBOLS

NFR: No Foreign Rights.
NOP: Not our Publication.
NYPC: Not yet published. Cancelled. Please reorder.
NYPR: Not yet published, or our edition not ready. On file.
OPSI: Out of print or out of stock indefinitely. Cancelled.
OS 30, **OS 60**, **OS 90**: Out of stock. Will ship within number of days shown after symbol.
OSTC: Out of stock temporarily. Cancelled. Please reorder.
PBOP: Out of print in prebound edition. Cancelled. Can supply in Trade Edition. Please reorder.

HCF ✓
PA

JC - will you get out a memo to state groups? HCF

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., Publishers 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

June 26, 1959

Mr. John Constable,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of June 23d with reference to the purchase, for resale, of 50 copies of William Peters': THE SOUTHERN TEMPER.

We are putting through an order for this quantity, as per your request. These books will be billed at a 40% discount with 60 days "protection". This means that at the end of the 60 days period you will be expected to remit for the copies sold and return any balance on hand for full credit. We naturally hope that there will be no necessity for returning any copies and that you will be calling on us for an additional quantity by that time.

All shipments are made FOB our warehouse in Berryville, Va..

We appreciate this order very much indeed and are happy to have the opportunity to serve you.

Yours very truly,
DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.

Dora Webster

Dora Webster,
Assistant to Director of Sales

DW/es

3.95
.40
1.58 00

3 95
1.58
2.37

June 23, 1959

Miss Dora Webster
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Webster:

William Peters, author of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER, informs us that officials at Doubleday have agreed that the Southern Regional Council may have copies of his book at a discount to sell to interested individuals. He suggests writing to you for details and/or orders.

We are interested in buying fifty (50) copies of THE SOUTHERN TEMPER if we are allowed the usual 40 per cent trade discount and if we are allowed to return unsold books without too much loss.

If these terms are satisfactory to Doubleday, please ship us fifty (50) copies of the book.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Please discuss with JC -
+ ask him to follow up -

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A talk with Doubleday reveals the following: that you can have books at a discount to sell; that while they no longer handle consignment orders, they will take orders in certain quantities which are returnable (though what the difference is, they were unable to tell me).

In any case, you should write to Miss Dora Webster, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. She will be able to explain any details and handle the order.

And my thanks to you for the suggestion.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

August 13, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

You might be interested in the suggestion advanced by Paul Rilling in the enclosed memo. Until he joined our staff recently, Rilling was executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations and worked closely with Stagg in the Front Royal situation.

Incidentally, his view that Stagg would make a good subject for a magazine piece is shared by Bob Baker of the Washington Post, who has also been close to the situation.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Stagg, Paul

REGARDING:

Rilling$$ recommendation: re article on Stagg experiences in Front Royal, Va.

DATE

August 13, 1959

(See)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Staff - Paul Rilling

MM ✓ WD ✓ MF (file)

RECEIVED AUG 21 1959

August 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

WD + Co.

Congratulations on your "Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60" which I just read through at a single sitting. It's the best thing of its kind I've ever seen, and it makes the stodgy, fence-straddling writing of Southern School News seem like that of an obscure medical journal. Whoever wrote it (and I suspect it must have been you) knows how to handle a difficult subject with sprightliness and dispatch.

I can't at the moment see a magazine that might go for a piece on Paul Stagg, chiefly, I'm afraid, because the general subject of ministers who have taken similar positions has been pretty well covered (mostly by me, I'll admit). But I'll keep it in mind in my future talks with editors on the general subject of race relations in the South. If something comes of it, I'll certainly let you know, but meanwhile if you think you have another way of planting it, by all means pursue it.

WD + Co.

I have a piece coming in Good Housekeeping (in September, I think -- if not, October) on Mrs. White, of the Houston School Board. Another, which I'm working on now, Redbook will do sometime this winter on John Wrighten, of Charleston. Both represent results of the AFSC project.

Joe Rauh and Congressman George McGovern (S. Dakota) are both working on Senator Humphrey to devote a speech and perhaps more to the chapter of my book dealing with the federal government. And I learned in Washington last week that a new man has been hired over the head of Jake Seidenberg of the President's Committee on Government Contracts to rehabilitate the committee and make it less of a political liability to Nixon.

Let's continue to keep in touch.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

October 29, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Harold, who is away from the office, has asked that I send you the enclosed material on Ace Carter. This includes the latest clips we could find and a rough report on Carter done for SRC in 1956; generally reliable but should be used with caution.

Neither we nor ADL know of the whereabouts of Carter at this time but we did feel that he is a strong contender for your purposes. If you are interested, we can make further effort to find him.

Harold returns to the office tomorrow and shortly thereafter you will hear from him further.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/sm

November 19, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

From Bob Hughes of the Alabama Council we have attempted to determine the whereabouts of Asa Carter. Bob has received, from what he considers a "very reliable" source, the information that during the past summer Carter was working on his father's farm at Oxford, Alabama. If he is still there, mail addressed to Oxford would probably reach him.

Bob has been told recently that a voice - identified as Carter's, though with another name - was heard on a Saturday morning disc jockey show over radio station WSUN, Tampa, Florida. This is purely hearsay.

As another candidate, what of Robert Shelton, Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan. You will recall that Shelton is a good friend of the Governor and has been quite active in Montgomery since the election. For some years he is reported to have been with the accounting division of Goodrich Rubber Company in Alabama. Since the election he has been with the purchasing department.

Harold continues to be out of the office more than in. But in time he'll start taking care of correspondence again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

CBS NEWS

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

November 10, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of October 29th, and the material on Ace Carter. I would like to know where he is now and of any recent activities.

Look forward to more material on other possible candidates for a TV interview.

My best to Harold.

Cordially yours,

Bill

Bill Peters

WP:mw

Summer - Fathers farm - Oxford, Ala.
Serv. as dir. WSUN - Tampa, Fla.
Robert Shelton - pr. agent - Gadsden, Tuscaloosa -

via air mail

December 10, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Further information on possible candidates for your TV show.

After considerable discussion between Harold and Art Levin, director of the Southeastern office of ADL, three likely candidates were selected. These are Bill Hendrix of Florida, J. B. Stoner, currently of Atlanta, and the brothers Richard and Robert Bolling. From the local ADL files I have selected the enclosed information on Hendrix and Stoner. The Bolling brothers are considerably younger, travel in the same circles as the above two, but have less colorful backgrounds and associations.

Between Hendrix and Stoner, I suspect you will find Stoner to be a more likely candidate. He has been active over a wider area and seems to be mixed up in everything from the Klan up. Stoner was very active in Miami in September, is currently working Georgia and the Carolinas, and may be organizing his "Christian Knights of the KKK" in Columbus, Ga., at this time as a competitor to Eldon Edwards. A group of that name is active there and taking part in an inter-Klan struggle here in Georgia.

The ADL office in New York will have very thorough files on these men. Art assures me that you will have no trouble in gaining access to them. And, at the same time, you can gain permission to use the material since all material of this type must be cleared through the New York office before being used.

Hope this is of some help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

March 29, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My lateness in responding is due to my frequent absences from home during the last few weeks. The television show is all shot now, except for an interview with a psychiatrist in Detroit which will be done in the next three weeks or so. The problem now -- and it is the biggest one so far -- is a wide, and wild, difference of opinion between myself and the producer -- one which will have to be resolved on a higher level. But enough of my problems. I'll tell you all about it next time we meet, if you're interested.

I, too, was sorry not to have seen you again while I was in Atlanta, but after the producer and crew arrived, I was simply up to my ears in work. We slipped out of town a few minutes after the last shooting, so I didn't even have time for a phone call to thank you for your help, sympathy, company, etc. Belatedly, thanks. And my best to your family.

Now as to the article possibilities of Mrs. Griffith. I really can't respond to this because I don't know enough. As you put it, considering all the new developments, I don't even know if a magazine might be interested in anything as "old hat" as desegregation of schools at the moment. They will have to come back to it, of course, because it is going to be a story for years to come, but the new sit-ins would seem to have copped the headlines at least for a while.

Do let me have anything more you may receive on which to make a judgement, though, either on the Yancey County idea or anything else. I'm nearing the end of my contract -- and my rope -- at CBS and hence beginning to look around for things to do. I still have the Life assignment to try, and incidentally, if you have any ideas about Congressmen, please let me know. I have two assignments from Redbook: the first eight years of an interracial marriage and a thing about County Medical Societies, so that the work is already beginning to pile up. But you know where my major interest is, so keep the information coming. Anything I can't do, I'll let you know and possibly suggest someone else.

I'm still waiting to hear from Look as to whether or not they might be interested in a re-do of the federal government piece.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

via air mail

November 29, 1960

Mr. William Peters
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

Delighted that you're willing to critique the Pollitt draft, which should reach you presently.

I had heard that you were advising the Kennedy camp and am glad to learn you're following through. Below are some suggested Southern possibilities for the Committee on Government Contracts. As for myself, I'm flattered that you should want to include my name. But I think there would be serious -- and probably valid -- questions about a civil rights agency staffer serving as a policy member of a Federal agency.

Anyhow, there are others who know a lot more about employment than I do. Among them:

John Hope, II, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Worked for F.D.R.'s FEPC, has studied and written extensively on employment opportunity.

John Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina. Also a lawyer, associated with NAACP, and member of SRC Executive Committee.

Prime mover in Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, leading Democrat. Has been very active on employment front.

Marion A. Wright, vice president and former president of SRC. Lives in Linville Falls, North Carolina. Member of North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee. Lawyer. Articulate and militant white Southerner.

David Scull, Scull Studios, Little River Turnpike, Annandalve, Virginia, long active in race relations with Quakers (he's one) and Virginia Council on Human Relations. As a small business man and an employer, would have some bona fides -- though his openly liberal sympathies would draw reactionary fire.

B. R. Brazeal, dean, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Also associated with old FEPC., and has written a book on the subject. Associated with SRC, and board chairman of Highlander Folk School.

You might consider recommending a Southern official of AFL-CIO. Our board members -- E. T. Kehrer, Atlanta, regional director of ILGWU, and Paul Christopher, Knoxville, regional AFL-CIO director, would be good choices.

These are a few off the top. If you need more, or more information on any of these, let me know.

Hope to see you soon.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VLWD -
Note + return
H.

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1960

November 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I can't tell you how delighted I am to know that you're making recommendations for executive action to Senator Kennedy and his new administration. I plan to do likewise on my own in specific areas.

And I not only would be happy to read and comment on the first draft of your recommendation, I am flattered to be asked. So send it along as soon as possible and I'll get my comments back to you pronto.

Now let me ask you a question: I am going to make a number of recommendations concerning possible appointees to a committee to replace the present President's Committee on Government Contracts. My own criteria for such an appointment include: (1) belief in a policy of enforcement; (2) basic belief in the right and duty of government to intervene in private business to the extent necessary to enforce the non-discrimination provision of the contracts; (3) membership in one of several groups: business, industry, labor, race relations or civil rights organizations, government; (4) evidence of long-term interest in race relations and civil rights; (5) dissatisfaction with a program based solely on complaints.

Could you let me have the names of some people you feel qualify for recommendation, together with a bit of background on each? And would you be willing for me to lead off my list with your name?

I'll look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

MAW
John Hope (H. Long)
John Wheeler
David Scull

Son labor guy
Brazeal

44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

February 10, 1961

Mr. William Peters
Associate Producer
WBC Productions, Inc.
205 East 67th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Bill:

We'll be glad to add your professional self to our mailing list.

I look forward to learning more about the show you're working on: "What's My Bias?" Perhaps? Or have you gone conventional?

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WBC Productions, Inc.

205 East 67th Street · New York 21, N.Y. · UNiversity 1-3000

February 7, 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 23, Georgia

Dear Harold:

For a couple of months now I have been working as Associate Producer on a new television show which will go on the air this spring. I wonder if you could put me on your mailing list at my office address for anything and everything you send out to anyone that might conceivably be of interest to us. This will include your regular publications, press releases, and anything that might go to editors, writers, and producers.

Please don't stop sending things to my home but make this an additional mailing.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters
Associate Producer

WP:ncc

May 25, 1962

Mr. William Peters
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Bill:

As I remarked when you were here, I don't usually believe in clobbering people, or even states, my own claims on virtue being as tenuous as they are. Also, we have problems enough in the South without lacing them with resentments and provincial patriotism deliberately provoked.

Nevertheless, I would like to see a documentary on Mississippi, even knowing that a documentary on that state can hardly be anything other than an indictment. The state is at a nadir anyhow, the story would be instructive and stiffening to the upper South, and in the confluence of certain civil rights and liberal movements now emerging in Mississippi might be helpful.

I think the starting point would be the estate of Mississippi, its position as the poorest American state, economically, educationally, and in other ways as well. You could select what indices you thought most suitable and illustrate them. I just now picked up some 1960 statistics which show, inter alia, Mississippi in 50th place in teachers' salaries, per capita federal income tax, per capita expenditure on schools, personal income, infant mortality, dilapidated housing, voting participation of voting age population (1956 Presidential), and just above Arkansas as a net loser of people through interstate migration.

This is the state -- and then you document how this state, with these gigantic problems, behaves. Your voting registration sequence is part of this. There could be an almost endless amount of other material to select from: police dogs in Jackson; the frenzied furor over Carleton Putnam; what are the history texts used in public schools like?; events and probelsm such as are typified by the enclosed clips, picked hurriedly from our recent files; the Till and Parker cases; etc., etc.

The above is all focused on the white side of the picture, not on the Negro protest. I would keep it that way; more on this later.

I would, in short build the program around a tragedy theme. I would treat the viewing audience as an audience, as spectators, and would not try to get them involved in the tragedy. I would present the state in its economic, etc. poverty (but, remember, it is also the state of Faulkner, Eudora Welty) and then show it deliberately choosing political reaction, barbarism, and intellectual sloth.

I would draw attention constantly to the Citizens Council. As I said to you when you were here, Governor Barnett's election brought the C. C. into a different kind of power: it parallels the state government, not as exactly as does the Communist Party in Russia, but about as effectively and equally expressive of the same political concept; viz. the ideological custodians must have control over the governmental apparatus.

I would keep the cameras either on events, or on the "leading men" -- not on red necks or men in the street. Try for Barnett, Sillers, Patterson, Simmons -- try for others such as Satterfield (now president, American Bar) or Campbell (former president, U. S. Chamber of Commerce). I would let Negroes and white liberals be a backdrop, a silent people. Perhaps a quick interview with just a couple, and they chosen in part for their sobriety, such as Murray Cox (chairman of the advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights) and Aaron Henry (NAACP leader).

If done this way, the story would be, I think, tremendously effective. It would also be doubly damning, and yet almost above any accusation of antagonism. You would concentrate on facts; you would get your comment almost exclusively from the responsible men; you would not have to editorialize -- they would do it for you unwittingly.

I am sorry these notes are scrappy. I ran out of time.

Best wishes and best luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures

FORD FOUNDATION

June 5, 1962

Mr. William Peters
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor,
New York

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are a few things which may help.

Some other things which you might wish to look up are:

(1) Gomillion vs Lightfoot by Bernard Taper, first published in the New Yorker beginning June 10, 1961;

(2) Articles by Wilma Dykemanaand James Stokeley, New York Times Magazine, September 21, 1961; Bruce Galphin in The Nation, September 23, 1961; Russell Middleton in Social Forces, March 1962; Pettigrew and Campbell in the Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1960; Emerson and Bondfield in The Nation, January 21, 1961;

(3) Several pieces about Fayette and Haywood Counties, including:
Ebony, September 1960
Ebony, March 1961
Ebony editorial, November 1960
Article by Fred Travis in The Progressive, February 1961;

(4) Articles in U. S. News and World Report, March 28, 1960 and June 11, 1962.

SEA FOAM BON

An article which I think you would especially want to see is by Charles McCord in the May 1962 issue of Interracial Review; it's about the current registration drive in New Orleans. A little piece by Elmo Roper in the Saturday Review of March 18, 1961 has some interesting background statistics about plain ordinary non-voting.

For your confidential use I am enclosing a copy of a brief report regarding the recently completed Atlanta registration drive.

Best wishes.

Sin

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SEA FOAM BO

SEAL FOAM BOND

Enclosures:

Atl. Journal, 3/25/62 - Margaret Shannon piece: "Negro Vote Strength Shifts Little (reproduction)

Ltr. and report from Jesse Hill, Jr. to Wiley Branton of May 21, 1962 re: All-Citizens Registration Committee's 1962 Voter Registration Campaign.

Revolution in Mississippi - special report by Tom Hayden Students for a Democratic Society publication

The Negro and the Ballot in the South - Margaret Price (1959)

The Negro Voter in the South - Margaret Price (1957)

HCF's article, "Universal Suffrage for Negroes" carried in Christianity and Crisis, May 29, 1961

"Studies of Negro Voting in 8 Counties of Georgia and 1 of South Carolina," Dean B. R. Brazeal (1960)

SEAL FOAM BOND

To be routed in order arranged

Date: _____

PLEASE CHECK & FORWARD ASAP

1. LWD
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   MMJ
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   NM
   BP
   JT
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   JS
7. LK
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   RB
9. VEP
   WB
   JM
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P.W.
S.R
F.G
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LM
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LK
FG
BS
MMJ

Rush!!

FILE -- - - - - - - - - _____

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WU TLX ATL

CBSINC NYK

TLX PD NEWYORK 3/13

LESLIE DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH ST ATL

TLX71 1121 CC

CBS REPORTS: FILIBUSTER--BIRTH-STRUGGLE OF A LAW WILL BE BROADCAST WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 18 AT 7:30 PM EASTERN TIME ON THE CBS TELEVISION NETWORK. HOPE YOU WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VIEW IT AND, OF COURSE, I WOULD WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS.

WILLIAM PETERS, PRODUCER.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WU TLX ATL

CBSINC NYK

NY File — Peters, Wm.

71 13 AM 11 32

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. WILLIAM PETERS
921 GRANT AVENUE
PELHAM MANOR, NEW YORK

RESERVATIONS FOR 27-28 AT PIEDMONT HOTEL; DINKLER WAS SOLD OUT.

YA'LL COME.

FRED

ADDED TO BOTH NEW SOUTH AND "L" LISTS

November 30, 1959

Professor Thomas Pettigrew
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

I enjoyed our conversation in Taconic's offices and am looking forward to resuming it when you are in Atlanta.

Meanwhile, I am sending you some of our recent publications, including our latest report on Negro voter registration in the South. I am also putting you on the mailing list for future publications.

Please convey my regards to Professor Allport. He contributed to my undergraduate indoctrination, and, while it's not his fault, that is one reason I'm in this field.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

sent separately:
Negro Voter
Private School Study
Background report
Director's report
L Reports 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12
latest New South

January 8, 1960

Mr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology
Harvard University
Emerson Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Thanks for your letter, and for the several articles you sent earlier. I've read your reports with interest and passed them along to Les Dunbar, our research director, as background for our hoped-for discussion this spring, or earlier.

We'd be delighted to have a New South contribution from you on the relationship of voting figures and demographic factors. Incidentally, some county-by-county figures for North Carolina (compiled by the N. C. advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission, with the aid of Matthews of UNC) are available. If you haven't got them and have need of them, I believe we have a set.

As to the human relations councils, the best I can do at the moment is send you the enclosed list of executives and chairmen of the Southern state councils. Most of the local councils are associated with the state groups, and we are now making an effort to compile the names of the local chairmen; the problem is the frequent change of officers. I'll send you a copy when it is done.

The stereotype about us captive Southern liberals occurred to me too at our last meeting. But the stereotype is vitiated by the fact that Southern governors,

college presidents, and industry-seekers clutter up New York offices more than we do. Added to which, I look toward the day when Yankee philanthropists will be our pawns, instead of vice-versa.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (List of State Groups)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I, too, enjoyed meeting you at last in New York last month. It was difficult for me to repress, however, the often-heard charge of segregationists that southern liberals are the pawns of New York wealth: there we were meeting for the first time in plush 5th Avenue offices overlooking the town!

I certainly appreciate you placing me on the S.R.C. mailing list; I should have been on it long ago. The first materials sent me were especially valuable - particularly so as I am now just embarking on writing up some of these findings. The industry data on Little Rock was nice to have (but we need control data from non-integrating southern cities of the same size during the same period to eliminate the possibility that the 1958 drop in Little Rock's and Arkansas's industrial expansion was largely a function of the recession). The voting article by Margaret Price was quite sharp, though most interesting to me were the official figures for 6 or 7 states in the appendix. I've been playing around with the demography of these patterns and believe some generalizations are emerging. If it looks good when done precisely, I may submit something to New South on it, if you are interested.

And could you tell me where I might get a list of the presidents of the many local Human Relations Councils. I would like to find out who they are, how they got that way, and, perhaps, meet some of them on my travels in March and April. Does your office have such a list with addresses? If you do, I would appreciate you having them sent to me when it is convenient.

I told Dr. Allport that he had influenced you in choosing your field, and he was surprised and pleased. He knew a great deal about your work with the Council, but he was unaware that you had taken courses with him. Looking forward to continuing our discussions.

Cordially,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/mam

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

February 27, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please excuse my recent delay in answering your January 8th letter; I have suffered a series of colds topped off by flu and my medical doctor wife would NOT let me twitch a muscle. My time has also been taken up lately with the writing of a speech for the Southeastern Psychological Association Convention meetings in Atlanta late in March. I have enclosed a couple of copies of an early draft of the talk in the event you may be interested. Ralph McGill is to be the discussant for the paper, which I find a great honor, but, given my deep admiration and respect for the man, also rather inhibiting. Any comments you may have on the speech will be much appreciated when I see you during the week of March 21st-24th (if you are in Atlanta then).

Thank you for your list of the state chairmen of the Human Relations Councils. I would like a copy of local officers when it is ready as I want to use them for a "liberal sample." In the meantime, on my nine-state Southern tour beginning next week, I plan to see your state heads and pick up any local names of officers from them. By the time I hope to see you in Atlanta, I will be able to assess my success at locating them.

Yes, I would appreciate getting North Carolina voting data by race when they are available. I have had some fair success working out demographic predictions of Negro voting for a couple of states and have turned the job over to some of my graduate assistants. Since they are unusually clever, I have hopes. The really fascinating problem raised by data from Ga. and South Carolina, say, is that very similar Black Belt counties side by side will have radically different Negro voting percentages. Is this McGill's "grapes of wrath" leadership? I hope to find out in a couple of selected counties we'll visit (one of them my father's home county in Va. where a Negro has never voted - according to record).

Incidentally, I found Will Campbell's piece last month in the New South very sharp and candid but surprisingly pessimistic. He seems to conclude, as opposed to Ernie and myself, that the best the Church can do is patch up the wounds but not lead. On the strength of that, I should support the Red Cross rather than the Episcopal Church!

Looking forward to seeing you soon...

Cordially,
Tom
Tom Pettigrew

Concept to LWD

March 11, 1960

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

I was glad to have your recent letter enclosing the draft of your forthcoming Atlanta speech. It's a fine job, and even McGill's discussantship shouldn't intimidate you.

I'm not sure whether or not I have written you that I will be away from the office that entire week, except for Monday the 21st. If I don't get a chance to see you, I hope you will plan to visit our office and to see, especially, Les Dunbar, our director of research. I am alerting Les and asking him to have available the additional information you mention.

Don't let Will's pessimism get you down. He was talking about the church institutionally, not as it works through inspired individuals. Read the ESCRU release and rejoice.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

May 17, 1960

Mr. Tom Pettigrew
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Many thanks for both your recent notes and your kind words about SRC and my Times piece. The latter was an unpremeditated bit of good fortune which I'll tell you about when we're together next.

It looks as though that will, indeed, be at the Phelps-Stokes conference. I hope you are definitely planning to be there.

Meanwhile, if you are in New York any time soon, why don't you give Jane Lee Eddy a ring? She was here recently and inquired about your activities with interest and evident regard.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 13, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Just a quick note to say how much I enjoyed your recent paper in the New York Times. I thought it finally said in clear and understandable terms what has been needed for quite sometime. The easy style for a most sophisticated thesis particularly impresses me; I have tried a couple of pieces with the Times with no success. I would like to rationalize that it was because they couldn't accept the point of view; now, if I'm honest, I have to admit my style has not really been up to it - since our points of view are amazingly similar.

I hope I will have the opportunity of seeing you again soon; perhaps, we'll meet at the Phelps-Stokes houseparty for liberals in Virginia next month. I hope so.

Sincerely,

Tom Pettigrew

Tom Pettigrew

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

April 27, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a quick note now that we are back in Boston to tell you how much we enjoyed and appreciated your hospitality while we were in Atlanta. Though I have admired the S.R.C. for a long time, my respect for it went higher as I had at last a chance to see it in action, subverting our dear Southland from its true destiny of bigotry!

What you mentioned to me in connection with how we in social science have too long overrated the wisdom of the influentials stuck; the more I think it over and talk it over with others, the surer I am you are right (Riesman, in particular, agrees with such a point). Give my regards to the members of the staff that I had a chance to meet, especially Les Dunbar. And thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Tom Pettigrew

Tom Pettigrew

P.S.: Mr. Dabbs was magnificant the other night on TV; did you see him? Together with three Negro leaders, he tore wild Jack Kilpatrick into small shreads!

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 20, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note of the 17th. I'm just dropping this quick note to say that I'll definitely be at the houseparty of Phelps-Stokes in June. Any chance to return to Virginia when Mr. Byrd is not looking is always welcomed.

Isn't Jane Lee Eddy the secretary for Currier? I believe so, and thanks for the tip; I'll shall write her shortly - as they came through with a little money for me not too long ago. By the way, the computer finally finished today with my demographic analyses on the border-states. I'm pretty excited about the results and will be fitting the formulae to the middle South soon. I'll send you a copy of the first report of it, if you are interested.

See you soon in sunny Virginia...

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/mam

LWD sgr ✓ not return

June 3, 1960

Mr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social
Psychology
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Your analysis of the mythical moderates is first-rate; it's both conceived and written with clarity and verve.

I agree with everything you say -- and, in the context of ESCRU, you say all that is needed. You explode the myth of the moderate as the leader or main reliance of reform. You also, properly, point out the danger of the moderate as a rationalizer of the status quo and an anaesthetist of conscience in the church.

From an operational point of view, the analysis might be pursued further with profit. If you assume -- as I do -- that the moderate (by your definition) isn't going to be allowed to call the shots, that his pleas to "leave us alone" are futile, and that he increasingly must adjust to circumstances created by the pressures he deplores, the relevant questions are: (1) Can he be used, and if so how? (2) Can he be converted through his vulnerability to "realism" and his addiction to economic and other conservative values?

I don't have the answers to these questions, and haven't even stated them well. But there is some evidence, I think, to support an affirmative answer to each, under some circumstances. What must happen in the South, and is happening slowly, is that people come to terms with the 20th Century in spite of themselves. The "moderate," despite his kicking and screaming, is especially vulnerable to effective pressures, for the very reason that he is not a racist or anything else on principle. And, I suspect, many moderates by getting involved from less-than-worthy motives -- e.g., to save the schools or to save the economy -- are in danger of liberal infection, of learning by doing.

All of this is no part of the central ministry of the church, but I'd like to explore such ideas further with you when we get an opportunity.

I enjoyed seeing Allport again, though I regretted that the discussion was of such nature that he had little chance to tell us about the work you and others are doing at Harvard.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 27, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a brief note in order to send along a copy of a piece I've just done for John Morris and ESCRU (you taught me those initials). I suspect we agree on "the moderates" in the South, but perhaps disagree on how to handle them. I would hesitate to push this type of attack on them across the borad at the present moment. But I think within Episcopal circles (it should be published in a Church magazine) the time has come to bare our souls.

Gordon Allport tells me how much he enjoyed meeting you again at the Field dinner; I trust the two of you talked Stevenson into running again. I'll see you soon at the Phelps-Stokes.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/mam

THE MYTH OF THE MODERATES: A CHRISTIAN DELUSION

LWD

Thomas F. Pettigrew

Few churchmen today will contest the fact that race has become the most pressing social issue facing Protestantism. At the higher levels, every major denomination has made it blatantly clear that racial integration is a Christian imperative. At the lower levels, omitting some outstanding exceptions, the Church offers a wide spectrum of discriminatory practices and segregated establishments.

The problem is pressing because the Church has deeply committed itself; if it fails to implement its ideals at the parish level, it will be correct to conclude that Protestantism has become largely a fraternal order, no longer an effective moral force in American society. And Reinhold Niebuhr reminds us that: "For every person who disavows religion because some ancient and unrevised dogma outrages his intelligence, several become irreligious because the social impotence of religion outrages their consciences."

In recent years, a number of observers have suggested a variety of reasons and remedies for the Church's gaping hiatus between pronouncement and practice. One often cited explanation emphasizes Protestantism's individualism. Ironically, one of our Church's great strengths — the dignity and responsibility conferred on the individual worshiper — is frequently a deterrent to effective social action. The racially prejudiced Protestant is free to ignore the Church's insistence on the unity of mankind.

Another explanation notes the Church's dilemma between principle and organization. The Church as an organization depends on money and members, the withdrawal of which can reduce the Church to

impotency. And the ways these organizational restrictions are used to stifle principle on race have now become legend.

But both of these structural barriers to parish implementation could be surmounted if the individual Christian grasped the full meaning of the Church's position on race. Currently in our Episcopal Church many communicants, North and South, do not understand the Christian imperative in regard to race. I would like to suggest that this is less a matter of naked bigotry than it is the natural resistance of a counter ideology - the ideology of moderation.

The Ideology of Moderation

The cherished southern idea of the middle-of-the-road "moderate" has become quite ambiguous in recent years. It is sometimes used to describe such an outstanding liberal as Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution and an Episcopalian; it is sometimes employed purposely by liberals to make their ideas more acceptable; and it is sometimes used by racists to appear more polite. But it is still primarily applied to white southerners who are mild - not wild - segregationists, who personally prefer the separation of the races though they are educated enough to suspect that the desegregation process is inevitable throughout the country. They have deep doubts about racial equality and serious reservations about the speed with which desegregation can and should be achieved. And they oppose Church intervention in the process.

Though the ideology has numerous variations, its basic framework and assumptions are quite simple. The moderate's most fundamental tenet is that he mans the lonely and unrewarding bastion between two equally dangerous camps of "extremists": rabid racists and impatient integrationists. Indeed, his two types of antagonists appear to him as virtual mirror-opposites. He sees himself as

a realist, neither demagogic nor idealist. He abhors both violence and force - the chief methods he perceives his antagonists as using. Time, he believes, offers the only solution; the hearts and minds of men are not changed by laws and entrenched traditions are not changed overnight. Open strife initiated by hoodlums and impulsive pronouncements initiated by liberals only make his task "more difficult."

Since he sees himself as being shot at from both sides, it is not surprising that the moderate is confused and bewildered. He sincerely longs for the "good race relations" of past years, and he deeply regrets the current "breakdown of communications between the races." Not realizing that there are many "moderate" counterparts in the North, the southern moderate resents any interference from the outside into "his problem."

The moderate has a genuine devotion to the status quo. "Why couldn't race relations just have stayed the way they were?" In hundreds of years, he concedes, it may all be worked out, but for the present we had better hang on to the system of race relations that we have had for centuries.

And the moderate shares with the racist real hostility toward the Supreme Court of the United States and the nine men in black who, he feels, in 1954 followed twentieth century sociology rather than nineteenth century law. He differs sharply from the racist, however, in how far he will go to resist desegregation. Moderation generally calls for no constructive action until the crisis strikes the particular community directly. But then moderation usually means hurriedly arranging some token desegregation in order to avoid closed schools and a business decline. In other words, economics frequently outweighs racial attitudes for the moderate, though not for the racist. Morality, however, has very little to do with this belated

leadership.

In the religious realm, the southern moderate wants to preserve the Christian fellowship at all costs: "Let the Church remain the Church." To do this, it is better not to invoke the moral imperative on race; rather, reconciliation without repentance should be stressed. "Segregationists and integrations can both be good Christians." Race relations, many moderates contend, is not a proper area for the Church to be operating in anyway. The lofty pronouncements of denominational conventions are frequently seen as merely the products of northerners who have no Negroes in their communities and so can be sanctimonious in criticizing the South.

Moderation as a Myth

The ideology of moderation is a myth in as much as its basic assumptions and conclusions are simply not valid. Worse, the ideology of moderation has become a Christian delusion, frustrating more than bald bigotry the attempts of organized religion to implement its ideals. And since moderation is primarily found among the well-educated, this delusion is widely held in our Episcopal Church -- both North and South.

Let us consider the moderate's assertions in detail. First of all, his self-perception as the realistic middle-man, squeezed in by extremists on both sides, is subject to serious qualification. Basically, there is no such thing as "moderation" in racial matters in the South, simply because the situation does not allow it. When every political, social, and economic question of a region is invariably colored by the racial issue, true middle ground is hard to find. The so-called moderate is actually a paternalistic segregationist, usually of a nineteenth century vintage. He does not stand between racists and integrationists, offering a workable and reason-

able compromise. Rather, he stands to the side, wringing his hands in despair over the conflict but unable to apply his outdated ideas to a "New South" he helped to create.

The moderate is thus less realistic than most integrationists, who at least see race relations in their 1960 context and propose positive action. While moderates and racists discuss the Civil War and why they do not like desegregation, integrationists of both races are tackling such real problems as, for example, how to assimilate educationally retarded Negro children into bi-racial schools.

The moderate's abhorrence of violence and force in the situation is also subject to scrunity. Violence has tended to occur so far in the desegregation process after moderates have abdicated their influence to the wild segregationists. Sometimes, before abdicating, moderates have indicated that if open strife should result, segregated schooling might return. Following this, hoodlum violence is merely the end product of the moderate's equivocal position; like the inactive bystander at a lynching, the moderate, too, is responsible for the terror tactics of the racists.

Moreover, the charge that integrationists wish to use force to achieve racial desegregation is not supported by the facts. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), for instance, has made mistakes to be sure, but it has never advocated the use of force. It has used the courts and the ballot box, not bombs and burning crosses. Yet in a widely distributed book one Episcopal leader in the South, a moderate, has equated the N.A.A.C.P.'s methods with those of violent white groups. Nothing said by a Church official in recent years has so offended Negro Episcopalians, a large proportion of whom are N.A.A.C.P. members.

The use of paratroopers in Little Rock was as distasteful to

integrationists as it was to moderates. But we should not forget that a moderate administration that has never had a consistent policy on desegregation ordered the troops in after Little Rock's moderates had meekly abdicated to the racists. In short, while the moderate's fear and dislike of violence and force are genuine, his actions, or lack of them, have been an important factor in bringing conflict about.

The proposed "solution" of more time for the South is tragically inadequate. Time is never a factor in itself; it is what is done with time that is crucial, and here the moderate has no suggestions. Since 1954, time has largely been used in the South to build up racist resistance -- hundreds of new state segregation laws, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klans, and the founding of the White Citizens' Councils.

But the moderate continues to cling to "time" in the abstract because of the reasonable argument that traditions cannot be changed overnight. But whoever said they could? Integrationists merely point out that southern culture has already changed. The moderate's beloved nineteenth century is no longer with us. Indeed, the moderate himself has been more responsible than anyone else for the South's incredible industrial revolution of the past two generations. Segregation, itself only a very late nineteenth century institution, stands out conspicuously today as virtually the last vestige of the old order that the moderate simultaneously worships and destroys. Negroes and white liberals in the South ask only that this one discordant note be harmonized with the already urbanized and industrialized society that is the "New South."

Supporting the ideology's emphasis on time is the oft-repeated claim that laws cannot change the hearts and minds of men. Per-

suasive as it may sound, this principle has been repeatedly found to be incorrect by social science research of the past few decades. Laws can and do change attitudes; they accomplish this by first modifying the behavior of men, following which men rationalize their new actions in terms of new ideas. Thus, given firm leadership, successful desegregation does not require majority support. A 1954 public opinion poll in Oklahoma, for example, showed that a large majority of the state's whites opposed school desegregation. Yet within a few years school desegregation was accomplished throughout the state with no serious incidents.

Social science findings, however, are not trusted by either moderates or racists. They feel that the 1954 Supreme Court followed sociologists and psychologists rather than legal precedent. But, again, the segregationists choose to overlook several things. They base their claim on one small footnote, but they ignore the fact that the 1954 ruling was only the logical continuation of a 44-year trend of the Supreme Court that began in 1910 when a former private in the Confederate Army, the liberal Edward White, became Chief Justice. Further, they fail to recognize that the separate-but-equal, Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896, so dear to their hearts, was itself importantly influenced by the social science of its day and was not blindly following legal precedent. Lacking only a footnote, the 1896 decision repeats the then-current social science reasoning on the subject and employs such social Darwinism concepts as "racial instincts" and "natural affinities." The separate-but-equal decision also did not follow the 1873 precedent of the Supreme Court that held all separate facilities to be unequal under the Constitution.

Another important link in the moderate's chain of reasoning is the belief that the good relations and close communication be-

tween the races of past years have been destroyed by the insistent efforts of integrationists. But such a belief is a tragic commentary on what the moderate considers to be "good race relations" and "close communication." Good race relations, for him, refers to the relaxed relations of paternalism when the white man's superior status atop the "childlike" Negro went unquestioned. The present tension is a symptom of the transitional period during which both races are tentatively learning interracial relations of equality.

Communication between the races during the paternalistic era was never close in a two-way sense. The Negroes, frequently as household domestics, have generally known all about the white community, but whites, save for liberals, have only rarely known the Negro community. When white leaders sought bi-racial conferences, they, not the Negro community, selected the Negro "leaders." Today's Negro leaders have earned their positions within Negro circles, and moderates find them new and strange. Thus, no real "breakdown of communications between the races" has occurred; very little ever existed to break down. But as the desegregation process proceeds, and moderates slowly become accustomed to the new situation, the first real interracial communication in the South's history will begin to develop.

The ideology of moderation leads naturally enough to a sharp resentment of non-southern "interference." Denominational pronouncements on race, for instance, do make the southern moderate's "task more difficult" — that is what pronouncements are for. His task, as he has defined it, invites challenge when it proves to be a bigger barrier to the Church's efforts than blatant bigotry. A review of American Negro history reveals clearly that southern Negro advances have come when the South was under fire from the North. To be sure, southern resistance stiffens in such periods,

too, but the moderates ignore racial problems until they are pushed.

It is true that there are serious racial problems outside of the South; but northern failures hardly justify southern failures. Indeed, these problems throughout the country place race relations in their proper, national perspective. Mass Negro migration to virtually all northern cities has made absurd the southern moderate's provincial contention that race is just "his problem." As long as most white Christians in the North refuse to have Negroes live near them, Church actions on race are as relevant and as needed for the North as for the South. One does not have to be a moral perfectionist to agree, for example, that the failure of Episcopal leadership in the Deerfield, Illinois housing crisis is as complete and as reprehensible as the operation of all-white Episcopal private schools in the South.

Finally, the moderate's fervid argument that the Church has no business concerning itself with race relations has an encouraging implication. The very fact that the southern moderate is so concerned is evidence that the Church's pro-integration stand has at least pricked his conscience and planted the seeds of doubt. This "fifth column of decency," as Robert Penn Warren has called it, is the moderate's Achilles' heel. Establishment of the moral imperative on race is the Church's unique and needed role in the desegregation process; protests against this role signify the Church's effectiveness.

New and Positive Directions

The vast and disheartening array of segregated Episcopal institutions — hospitals, schools, camps, and churches — is largely continued today because of the ideology of moderation. Our Church suffers less from the blind racism of the threatened poor

than it does from the moderation of the "gentle people of prejudice."

New and positive approaches, however, are heralded by two recent events within our Church. First, we can take pride in the participation of Episcopal students, together with other students, in the sit-in protest demonstrations throughout the country, many of them from Church-supported St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. Through dramatic, non-violent witness, these Episcopalians have made a direct moral appeal to the South's moderates.

The second event is the founding by a group of concerned clerics and laymen of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (E.S.C.R.U.). This society is of national scope, though it was founded in Raleigh, has native Southerners on its board and as its executive secretary, and has its offices in Atlanta. It works for unity in concrete terms <u>within</u> the Church. Most encouraging of all, E.S.C.R.U. is not moderate in the sense discussed here; but it is not "extremist" either, unless the serious advocacy of the Episcopal Church's position on race is considered extremist.

We need these and other fresh approaches to work out the complexities of the racial issue. But we do not need further "moderation." Let us not forget that when encountering injustice, Christ was not a "moderate."

File

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL 324
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

June 9, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of the 3rd. In the final re-write job I'm now doing on the "moderate" paper I plan to adopt - if you do not mind - your "anaesthetist of concience" description for our good brethren.

Yes, I am, too, principally interested in how to use these devils. And I think a good research start is being made at this time by one of our very best graduate students, Dick Cramer. Cramer has worked with Sam, Gordon, and me on a number of prejudice studies; now, for his Ph.D. thesis, he is beginning a really interesting investigation of southern businessmen in six or eight key cities. His schedule elicits a lot of information on what the businessmen think about new industry coming to the area, on the condition of the local public schools and how this affects getting new industry, and, lastly, and oh so subtlely, what desegregation and the threat of school closings do to this picture. He is selecting pairs of towns, each pair within the same state but different in local authority and influence pattern. In other words, one town with a coalition city power structure is paired with a town that has an oligarchical power structure. He has a wealth of hypotheses, most of them are things many of us having been speculating about for years. For instance, he is going to test the general notion, that I have nourished for years without data, that the oligarchical city government and power structure moves with great dispatch; it can resist desegregation of its schools longer and more intensively, but, once the tide has come in, it can also bring about a token plan with greater speed and efficiency than a coalition structure (Virginia as opposed to North Carolina offers a crude state analogy of the general idea).

Cramer is due to drop in your offices in Atlanta soon for contacts in his cities and help with picking cities. I trust Les can help him, and he will not require too much of your staff's time. But I will appreciate anything you can do for him. I think he will turn up some very practical and useful things while interviewing our moderates. And I look forward to seeing you late next week and continuing our discussion of how to use the moderates.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/mam

via air mail

June 23, 1960

Mr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social
Psychology
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

John Morris mentioned to me your discovery of the Supreme Court Decision of the 1870's. I agree that this is a very useful talking point in today's controversies. But I am doubtful that the item is sufficiently newsworthy in itself to get much play as the result of a news release or press conference. The most effective possibility, it seems to me, would be a feature article by Anthony Lewis in the New York Times. (And I am sure you know, Lewis covers the Supreme Court and pontificates very well on these big legal questions.)

I don't know Lewis myself, but I do know very well Adam Yarmolinsky, 2017 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., a bright and liberal lawyer who is close to Lewis. If you think this suggestion is worth following through, feel free to write Yarmolinsky and pass on the citation and the idea to him.

There may be better ways of exploiting your discovery, but this is the best hope I can conjure up.

I was terribly sorry to miss the opportunity of seeing you, as well as the others, at Capahosic. Here's hoping we will have another chance to get together soon.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. John Morris

January 11, 1961

Mr. Tom Pettigrew
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Please forgive me for taking so long to reply to your welcome letter at Christmas time and the two good reprints you were thoughtful enough to send. I read them both with appreciation, most especially the review of Workman's book, which is a gem.

I am looking forward hopefully to seeing you when you are in Atlanta in February.

I am sending you separately one copy of the Pollitt memorandum, which was research background for our own report to the President-elect, being transmitted today. As soon as we have more copies of the latter, I will send you one of those too.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 23, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Halod:

May I request a copy of the recent paper prepared for you by Pollitt at U.N.C. on what the president-elect could do by executive order within the government? Whitney Young (who I've had the chance this fall to get to know well - I'm terrifically impressed with him - both as a leader and as a person) showed me a copy just before he attended your Washington meeting. We discussed it at some length, and, if it is possible, I would like a copy for my files.

Enclosed are a couple of recent papers (I have already sent copies of them to Les); the book review cleansed my soul for weeks. You might be interested to know, too, that your recent violence pamphlet had some positiv effects in Chattanooga's inner circles. I have been called in as a consultant there by the school board and even think I helped a small bit to liberalize their plan a bit. (No pupil placement provisions!) I'd like to talk over the details of this experience with you sometime; perhaps, I could see you during a four day stay I'll have in Atlanta next Feb. (21-25) for a Presbyterian workshop for Negro ministers. Hope the holidays are pleasant for you and your family.

Cordially,

Tom

Tom Pettigrew

Send Les a copy

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 2, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your note of the 20th; it is reassuring to know that someone also has as much trouble answering his mail as I do.

I will look forward to an opportunity to talk over with you the minor points in the Freedom Ride paper that bothered me when we next meet. But many of my qualms were taken care of by the more recent Freedom Ride paper which you put out and which I found most helpful indeed.

I am particularly impressed these days with the new treatment of THE NEW SOUTH. Though John Constable was a friend of mine, I confess that I think Margaret Long has really substantially enhanced the value of the magazine - indeed, her lively column makes me want to meet her as she seems to be about as hot-headed as I am.

I just ran across something this morning which I think should go in THE NEW SOUTH and perhaps it would even be worth a general bulletin distributed widely. Perhaps you have seen it by now, too, but I am refering to Russell Middleton's "Racial Problems and the Recruitment of Academic Staff at Southern Colleges and Universities," American Sociological Review, December 1961, pages 960-970. These are the most complete data I have ever seen on the subject and show conclusively that the best intellectual talent in the United States - including southern-born candidates for the Ph.D. in southern universities - do not wish in general to teach in the South (the three exceptions seem to be Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina). The chief reason they cite is racial prejudice, followed closely by considerations of restricted academic freedom and low academic standards. This article, it seems to me, presents a ringing indictment by young intellectuals of the southern scene and could be most usefully pushed in those quarters where they hope to improve higher education in order to attract industry. Incidentally, Middleton shows, too, that chairmen of departments in southern universities recognize the problem but seriously underestimate its proportions. I am now writing Middleton for reprints and will request that he also send you one directly.

Other might be interested

Can get a copy? this will focus on.

Jan

Though I am not scheduled to come to Atlanta anytime soon, I hope our paths will cross again before too long.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP:ap

November 20, 1961

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Pshychology
Harvard University
Department of Social Relations
Emerson Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Having given forth at our last staff meeting with some choice remarks about the necessity of promptly answering the mail, I suppose it is about time I replied to yours of June 24.

Quite frankly, I had not replied because I honestly did not know how without becoming, or seeming to become, argumentative. As I re-read it now, I still find some things which I hope sometime soon we'll have an opportunity to talk out.

When are you coming South? Tell Jim Laue I haven't lost his letter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

5th file

June 24, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was good to have seen you, even if briefly, a few weeks ago in Little Rock. I trust the foundation visitations in New York were not too painful.

I enjoyed reading the S.R.C. Special Report on the Freedom Rides, particularly the very fine crack of the brave Auburn students! But there existed in parts of the report a tone that I think is most dangerous; indeed, the New York Times demonstrated with their deft quoting of bits and parts of the report out of full context just how dangerous this tone could be in the hands of even northern "moderates." The tone I refer to is, of course, the overly-critical view of the riders themselves. Harry Golden, in his most recent issue of the Isrealite, points out that we have been too busy going after the victim of the riots to do much about the assailants; and I agree. Not that your whole report connotated this trend; it didn't, but in places it descended to roughly the same level of thinking of most "moderate" thinking in the North and the South.

To get down to specifics, the comparison between the sit-ins and the freedom rides was hardly complete. In the differences cited, the old segregationist theme of the problem is just a southern one returns in veiled form, complete with a snide and totally irrelevant footnote on page 4. Many southerners have been freedom riders, of course. Moreover, interstate passengers must by definition be from out of the state in most cases. Further, most of the sit-in kids were not demonstrating in their home towns but in the towns where their schools were located. But there are differences between the sit-ins and the freedom rides which were not mentioned in the report and which favor - in this sense - the freedom rides. (1) Neither the legal nor the moral rights of the private lunch counter sit-in were absolutely clear. Freedom riders, by contrast, are not trying to go around the law or even to win changes in the law; their legal rights are unproblematic and every act of the freedom riders was sound and simple in terms of federal law. (2) The reason the rides "provoked" violence was probably due less to its being conducted by outsiders than its attempt to penetrate the worse areas of the

South, which for the most part were little touched by the sit-in movement. The sit-ins were concentrated and had their principal success in the border and middle South where the freedom rides, as far as they've gone, have also had success and no violence.

Without belaboring the point further, you can see what it is in the report that bothered me. The rest of it, unlike our "moderate" analyses of the rides, was of very high quality and went straight to the heart of the issue - particularly in the conclusions. I hope maybe we can get together soon and discuss the issues involved here in more detail. I am fully aware of the dangers and risks that are a part of some venture like the rides, and I am not prone generally to supporting every type of protest yet devised or dreamed of. But in all justice I believe that the report was written with at least two or three of the old southern chestnut assumptions still lurking in the background, assumptions that we are going to have to think through more carefully than this report implies.

In a separate, third class mailing, I'm sending down to you a few of my latest publications that may be of some interest.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/maj

MC
MJ-file

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 23, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Just a quick note to let you know how much I enjoyed and appreciated our time together last week. It always refreshes a southern liberal's soul - particularly one stranded in the cold North - to visit SRC.

Give my best regards to Margaret Long and assure her that my remarks about her editing of The New South were sincere, and not mere southern flattery. Let me know how the tokenism paper comes along.

Thanks again, and I hope I'll see you again soon.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology

TFP:ah

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1962

February 25, 1963

Mr. Thomas Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social
Psychology
Harvard University
Cambridge 36, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letter of February 13. That "Plans for Progress" report has been a funny one. It seems to have caused more disturbance in Washington than we could have believed possible. The President's Committee sent an investigator down here last Wednesday who was joined by another one today with the intention of checking out every company listed. I am not altogether sure that it is not we who are being checked out, but the activity is nevertheless commendable.

I don't expect to be up in Boston any time soon or late. I would like to see, however, what you are writing.

Incidentally, I don't know whether you ever met George McMillan of Aiken, South Carolina; a freelance magazine writer who did a pamphlet for us on law enforcement a couple years ago. You might like to know that George is up your way holding one of those Brandeis fellowships in civil rights. He is staying in Cambridge at Apartment 11, 20 Concord Street. If you don't

know George, I think you would find him an interesting and stimulating guy to meet.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SB ✓
please return to LD

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

FEBRUARY 13, 1963

DR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR LES:

JUST A QUICK LINE TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE FINE PIECE, PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY; IT JUST ARRIVED TODAY AND I FOUND IT SUPERB.

FRANKLY, BEING MILDLY PARANOID ANYWAY, I HAVE NEVER THOUGHT THAT "VOLUNTARY" PROGRAMS IN ANY ASPECT OF RACE RELATIONS WERE WORTH THE PAPER THEY WERE PRINTED ON. AND YET I WAS STILL SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED AT THE BLEAK PICTURE YOU HAD TO PAINT OF THE ATLANTA SCENE. IN DOING THIS, YOU PERFORMED A REAL AND VALUABLE SERVICE - PARTICULARLY SO BECAUSE YOU BRAVELY NAMED COMPANY NAMES AND DIRECT QUOTES. I TRUST HAROLD WILL SEE THAT AT LEAST ONE OR TWO KENNEDYS WILL DIGEST THE PIECE.

HOPE TO SEE YOU BEFORE TOO LONG; LET ME KNOW IF YOU'RE HEADING UP TO BOSTON ANYTIME SOON. AND, SOON, I WOULD LIKE TO IMPOSE UPON YOU FOR COMMENTS ON A FEW SAMPLE CHAPTERS OF THE DESEGREGATION VOLUME I'M ABOUT 3/4TH'S THROUGH (THE PLANS FOR PROGRESS PIECE WILL PROVE MOST USEFUL FOR SOME OF THEM).

AS EVER,

Tom

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW
LECTURER IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

TFP/AH

September 22, 1965

Mr. Harold Pfautz
c/o Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Harold:

The other night I read your report of June 1964 - 1965. It's an impressive document, and has been instructuve to me.

Best wishes to you, and I hope we shall not lose touch because I am moving.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

August 2, 1956

Mr. A. A. Philips
Wesley Memorial Methodist Church
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Philips:

The precautionary notice from Maryland Casualty stuck in the elevator gives the former unaltered telephone numbers. If some emergency should arise, it would be well if the notice could be redone with the numbers accurate for nowadays.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 26, 1957

Mr. Glen V. Phillips
344 S. Orange Avenue
Azusa, California

Dear Glen:

I greatly appreciated your friendly and encouraging letter. As you can imagine not all of the letters resulting from the Associated Press story have been from fellow spirits!

We feel very strongly that the segregation problem is national in scope. Of course that fact is usually advanced down here in the "you're another" spirit, the implication being that the South's injustices are validated by injustice elsewhere. As you and I would agree, what it really means is that Americans everywhere have to pitch in with whatever positive contribution they can make.

You may be interested in the enclosed account of the work that the Southern Regional Council is doing. It's very brief in general, but it gives a better idea than the Associated Press story of what we see as our role in the South today.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - "South of Promise"

RECEIVED JUL 15 1957

344 S. Orange Ave.,
Azusa, Calif.
July 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been talking to you in spirit for days, but not getting a word to paper!

A few Sundays ago (June 23 to be exact), I had the pleasure of reading an article about you which the Associated Press carried in our local Los Angeles Times. This was an even greater joy to me than it would have been because about a half hour earlier I had the "misfortune" of hearing the Governors of Virginia and Mississippi speak on the distinguished "Meet the Press" program which was being aired from the Governor's Conference at Williamsburg.

I commend you for the wonderful work you are doing and wish I could be there to assist you in some small way. I am not of the Negro race, either, but am concerned about these folks and am anxious to see them achieve the opportunities and privileges they deserve. I joined the N.A.A.C.P. last fall to help as I could, but I am not sure that this organization is accomplishing what you evidently are.

I, too, saw some of the things that happened in the Army during World War II and returned from Europe with the determination to do something about an unfortunate situation.

If you have a moment in your busy days, I should appreciate a line from you as to the work you are doing. I do not know if you realize it or not, but there are a goodly number of Northern White people who can also hang their heads in shame as far as this problem is concerned.

If you are ever in Los Angeles I should enjoy meeting you.

Every good wish for continued success in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Glen V. Phillips

Glen V. Phillips

Rec'd 2/25/58

February 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

This is not the best time to thank you sincerely for your fine letter of July 26, 1957 and for the enclosure "South Of Promise".

I have thought about you often and of the wonderful work you are doing.

When you have a moment I'd so appreciate a copy of your "New South" and anything else you might wish to include.

All power to you.

Kindly,

Ellen V. Phillips

Psi Chapter

of

PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.

Presents

H
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RELATIONS

D
A
Y

Tuesday Morning, March 31, 1959

Ten O'Clock

Davage Auditorium Clark College

CHAPTER OFFICERS

President ---------- Willie N. Storey

Vice President and Dean of Pledgees------- Rollie Stillwell

Secretary and Treasurer---------- Allen D. Nichols

Business Manager---------- James Green

Director of Social Action---------- Robert Jordan

State Director ---------- Mr. Virgil M. Scott

Faculty Advisor ---------- Mr. Jesse McClardy

FRATERS

Benjamin D. Brown

Frank Corse

Allen C. McCormick

Clifford N. Ponder

Oscar Holden

PROGRAM

PRELUDE-

MEDITATION SERVICE . . . . . Frank Corse
Allen McCormick
Clifford Ponder

THE OCCASION . . . . . Willie N. Storey

MUSICAL SELECTION. . . . . Little Bro. Raymond Malone
Morris Brown College

"The Effects of Current Advancements In Human Relations"

Reverend Samuel Williams ... Bus Case (1956)
Mrs. Barbara Hunt ..... Georgia State Case (1959)
Dr. H. M. Holmes ..... Golf Case (1956)

PRESENTATION OF ACHIEVEMENT CERTIFICATES . . . . Benjamin D. Brown

PRESENTATION OF 1ST ANNUAL

HUMAN RELATIONS AWARD TO- Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director of the
Southern Regional Council

POSTLUDE-

T. M. ALEXANDER, PRESIDENT W. L. CALLOWAY, SECRETARY A. T. WALDEN, TREASURER WARREN R. COCHRANE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

22 BUTLER STREET, NORTHEAST TELEPHONE JACKSON 4-0246

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 25, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

Just a note to thank you and to confirm our telephone conversation of Tuesday, March 24th at which time I mentioned to you the desire of the Fraternity, Phi Beta Sigma, to give you a citation on Tuesday, March 31st at 10:00 a.m. at the Chapel Assembly of Clark College, which as you know is on Chestnut Street, SW near the corner of Fair Street - the exact address is 240 Chestnut St., SW. This citation, I believe, is the first being made by this Fraternity and is in recognition of your indefatigable work in the area of Human Relations.

Mr. Benjamin Brown, a representative of the Fraternity, will meet you at five minutes of ten at the door of the auditorium and will conduct you to the platform.

Sincerely yours,

Warren R. Cochrane

Warren R. Cochrane
General Secretary

WRC/ers

cc: Mr. Benjamin Brown
Clark College

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CONSTANCE H. DALLAS
SAMUEL DASH
MARY A. DiSILVESTRO
CHRISTOPHER EDLEY
HERBERT J. GRAHAM
JAMES J. MAHONEY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

GEORGE SCHERMER

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
COMMERCIAL TRUST BUILDING
16 SOUTH BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
Tel. MUnicipal 6-9700
LOcust 3-6412

January 24, 1961

To: Graduate Schools, Intergroup Agencies and Personnel Directors

We are asking your assistance in referring to us candidates for the position of Human Relations Representative with this Commission. A description of the position and directions for filing applications is enclosed. The deadline for applications is February 15, 1961.

We believe this position offers unusual possibilities for interesting, creative and meaningful experience, with good opportunities for growth. Work assignments are challenging. Representatives with good training and background will find considerable opportunity to engage in related research, to write for publication, or to move into more responsible positions in civic institutions, government or social work.

Our program centers on assistance to persons and groups confronted with discrimination or seeking justice. There are ample opportunities for working intensively with individuals and small groups.

The intergroup relations field is new; it is in its formative and most creative stage. It needs bright, well educated, adequately trained, socially motivated personnel. Individuals seeking a meaningful, socially constructive occupation with an opportunity to cultivate their knowledge and skills will find this position a challenge.

Sincerely yours,

George Schermer

George Schermer
Executive Director

GS/mp

PHILADELPHIA'S OFFICIAL AGENCY TO PROMOTE EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE, ADMINISTERS FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ORDINANCE AND CITY AND STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS.

CITY OF
Philadelphia

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

DECEMBER 19, 1960

EXAMINATION ANNOUNCEMENT

HUMAN RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE (GENERAL)

SALARY RANGE: $5615 - $7053 PER YEAR EXAM. NO. O-8415
(Effective January 1, 1961)
(New employees will be appointed at the minimum salary)

APPLICATIONS FOR THIS EXAMINATION MAY BE OBTAINED IN ROOM 127, CITY HALL

DUTIES: Performs professional public and human relations work in assuring and promoting equal opportunities for all persons regardless of race, color, religion or national origin in industry and in the community; determines community social structure, representative groups and organizations through which to work for alleviating inter-group tensions and achieving inter-group integration; discusses with these groups their relationship to the community; gives talks to educate groups and organizations capable of molding public opinion on integration of ethnic groups in housing, educational facilities, public accommodations and industry; conducts field surveys; makes field investigation of complaints received concerning discrimination in employment and public accommodations; arranges and participates in conferences with employers, union officials, real estate operators, representatives of community groups and others to eliminate discriminatory practices; and performs related work as required.

REQUIREMENTS: 1. Graduation from a four-year college or university with major course work in the social sciences;

and 2. Two years of professional experience in community organization, social groups, labor negotiations and/or other professional experience in promoting integration of minority groups;

Equivalent combinations of acceptable experience and training may be considered.

VACANCIES: Three immediate vacancies exist. It is expected that several appointments will be made during the life of the eligible list established as a result of this examination. There are about ten present positions in this class in the City service.

EXAMINATION: Will be related to the duties of the position and will include the following:

Parts	Weights
Written Test	60%
Oral Test	40%
Total	100%

ELIGIBLE LISTS: Only an open competitive eligible list will be established as a result of this examination. Permanent City employees who compete will receive no promotional preference in this examination.

CLOSING DATE FOR RECEIPT OF APPLICATIONS IS FEBRUARY 1, 1961

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR INSTRUCTIONS

W
X-1
B-0581

GENERAL INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTIONS

This section is provided to candidates in simplified summary form so that they may be informed of the rules governing Civil Service examinations. Nothing herein changes or modifies the pertinent Civil Service Regulations which shall govern in all cases.

APPLICATIONS: To be accepted, a completed application must either be filed in person with the Personnel Department, Room 127 City Hall, before the close of business on the closing date specified in this announcement or, if mailed to the above address, must be postmarked prior to midnight on the closing date specified. The official application blank provided must be used.

Applications filed late and applications which do not meet the announced minimum requirements will be disapproved. Applications may also be disapproved for falsification or the other reasons provided in the Civil Service Regulations.

REQUIREMENTS: Unless otherwise specified in this announcement, the date used to determine the possession by the candidate of announced minimum requirements shall be the thirtieth day after the last date for filing.

A non-citizen who has filed a petition for naturalization or a non-resident may compete in this examination. However, every person appointed must be a citizen and, unless otherwise specified, must have been a bona fide resident of the City for one year prior to the date of appointment.

EXAMINATIONS: Every applicant will be notified promptly either of the time and place of the examination or of the disapproval of his application.

To be eligible for appointment, a competitor must pass each specified part of an examination. Failing any part will disqualify a competitor from competing in succeeding parts or if the list has already been established, subsequent failure of a specified part will remove the eligible's name from the list.

Unless otherwise specified in this announcement, the minimum passing score on each part will be determined after the candidate's papers have been scored and before the identity of any candidate in that part has been disclosed by opening the identification envelopes. Candidates' scores will be converted into grades on a scale of 100 to 0. A converted grade of 69.5 or higher is a passing grade. Less than 69.5 is a failing grade. Passing competitors' grades are averaged using the announced weights and their ranks on the eligible list are determined by their final averages. In open competitive examinations ten (10) points will be added for approved veterans' preference. In promotion examinations, points will be added for performance ratings.

Every person who takes a part of an examination will be notified in writing of the results not later than the date of establishment of the eligible list.

Every competitor may review his examination papers and, except oral tests, may appeal to the Personnel Director for correction of any error in his rating. Review and appeal of all examinations must be made in the thirty (30) calendar days immediately after the date of mailing of the official notice of results unless a different review period is announced specifically to candidates. Appeals to oral tests are made only to the Civil Service Commission for failing scores and only for the reasons specified in the Regulations.

PERFORMANCE RATINGS: Each promotion candidate who passes all parts of the examination shall have three points added to his final average if his performance rating is Outstanding or 1½ points added if Superior.

The performance rating to be used for determining such added points and eligibility to compete shall be the latest performance rating *(other than a second month probationary rating)* properly filed with the Personnel Department at least thirty (30) days prior to the date of issue of this announcement.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE: In order to receive the ten (10) points for veterans' preference, an applicant should claim veterans' preference on his application and must submit the original or a photostatic or certified copy of his honorable discharge ***with the application, if possible.*** A veteran is defined as a person who has an honorable discharge and who served in the armed forces of the United States for some period between December 7, 1941, and July 26, 1953, or in prior wars. Wives and widows of disabled veterans and widows of veterans who died while in service during war time are also entitled to veterans' preference.

ELIGIBLE LISTS: The eligible list(s) resulting from this examination shall continue in force for at least one year and no more than two years. During the second year the list(s) may be cancelled or consolidated with newer list(s) for the same class. An eligible may take subsequent examinations for this class in order to improve his rank or to extend his eligibility without in any way changing or endangering his rank on the former list.

When a vacancy occurs, the top two names on the appropriate eligible list are certified to the appointing authority who may choose either except that if one of the two is a veteran, he must be chosen. The name not chosen is returned to the eligible list to be certified to the next vacancy. An eligible may decline appointment to permanent positions twice without affecting his eligibility. In addition, an eligible may specify work locations in which he is not interested or may request the Personnel Department to suspend his eligibility temporarily.

LOYALTY OATH: Immediately after entrance on duty, each employee is required to sign a loyalty oath and a loyalty questionnaire. Both are subject to severe penalties for falsification. The questionnaire inquires into past or present membership in Communist and Fascist organizations. Failure to sign invalidates the appointment.

MISCELLANEOUS: The required medical examination and the psychiatric examination when required, are ordinarily given immediately prior to appointment but may be scheduled at other times before or after the establishment of the eligible list. Re-examination in the case of remediable medical conditions may be permitted during the life of the eligible list.

All appointees will be fingerprinted and if a record of police convictions is discovered, may be dismissed during the probationary period.

Every person appointed or promoted shall serve a probationary period of six months before attaining permanent status.

The Personnel Department assumes no responsibility for any accident or injury to candidates during the course of any part of the examination.

Trips.

September 9, 1953

Mr. Truman Pierce
Peabody College
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Pierce:

I looked at my calendar and found that I am to be at Scarritt for Miss Roma A. Cupp on the evening of Wednesday, November 4. I expect to do the map speech for her. She undertook to pay my expenses to come up there and back.

I'm perfectly willing to be at your service earlier in the day on Wednesday, the 4th, or if need be, on Thursday, the 5th. It would help the Council if some fundlet or other could be tapped for a most modest honorarium, but that isn't necessary. I am easily made happy with five or six new members for SRC!

After you have had time to make your plans, why not be in touch with Miss Cupp, so that all is agreed upon as to times and places.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 10, 1953

Dr Truman Pierce
GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE
FOR TEACHERS
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr Pierce:

I had a good time with your two groups the other night and I am most grateful for the opportunity of being with you and with them.

Nice of you and Mrs Pierce and the Hodges to take me out to the airport afterwards. I got safely home and spent a peaceful night in my own bed for the first time in a long time!

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 15, 1953

Dr Truman M Pierce, Director
Southern States
Cooperative Program in
Educational Administration
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr Pierce:

I have been out on a trip and so am late replying to your letter of October six.

That is fine and I will be at your service Thursday evening, November 5, at seven P M.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t

SOUTHERN STATES
COOPERATIVE PROGRAM IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
THE PROGRAM CENTER
GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

October 6, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 7
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have delayed answering your good letter of September 9 until we had time to get our Fall quarter organized.

We'd like to have you do your map speech for a group of our graduate students on Thursday evening, November 5 at 7:00 p.m. We shall be glad to pay you $50 and expenses for this service.

It is hard to state at this time just how many of our graduate students are likely to be present for your appearance. I believe we can plan to meet in one of the large classrooms in our new building--Payne Hall.

We are looking forward to your visit with a great deal of pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

Truman M. Pierce

Truman M. Pierce
Director

TMP:ac

January 31, 1955

Mr. Hugh D. Pickett, Jr.
Box 72
409 Prospect Street
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Pickett:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to reply to your inquiry of January 24th in regard to plans which county boards have made for desegregation next Fall. I regret that we have no first hand contact with West Virginia communities.

Mrs. Margaret Butcher, 1712 16th Street, Washington, D.C., is community consultant for NAACP and probably has more firsthand information than any other person regarding "information about the future plans for integration in West Virginia." We suggest that she may be able to answer your queries more exactly.

You will probably find the Southern School News reports on West Virginia helpful. We are sending under separate cover copies of the last two issues. If you find this publication helpful, you may request further copies direct, both back issues and forthcoming issues.

1/31 rnf

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program Development

GTH/rnf

Enclosure:
The Churches Speak

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GRACE T. HAMILTON . . .

January 28, 1955

To: GSM
RE: Note to Hugh D. Pickett, Jr.

Mrs. Margaret Butcher, 1712 16th Street, Washington, D.C., is community consultant for NAACP and probably has more firsthand information than any other person regarding "information about the future plans for integration in W.Va." Would suggest that Mr. Pickett get in touch with her. So far as I know, we have no information in this office about "significant action on a local level by churches or ministers either pro or con." Would suggest we enclose for his information "The Churches Speak."

noted
GSM

Please get in touch with Mr. Pickett
GSM

9T 14 for reply here say

JAN 28 1955

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL

Box 72
409 Prospect St.
New Haven, Conn.
Jan. 24, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Al Payne of the Southern Region of the Y.M.C.A. suggested that I write to you for possible assistance in a social ethics study I am making for Dean Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School.

As a West Virginian I am studying the desegration of W.Va. schools during the past year. I am especially concerned with the part which is being played in local situations by the churches and civic organizations. I am hoping that my study will be of some aid to the W.Va.Baptist Convention in guiding churches during the coming summer.

I have contacted all the denominational executives for statements. I am in contact with the office of W.W. Trent, State Supt. of Schools. I have contacted all the executives of local councils of churches. I have statements from several school teachers and from two students who were integrated in the fullest sense in a school of over 3,000 whites. I am trying to discover the plans which county boards of education have made for desegration next fall, especially in southern minning counties. I have requested a statement as to the role of the church in assisting the schools.

I am wondering if your office has received any information about the future plans for integration in W.Va? Have you received any information about significant action on a local level by churches or ministers, either pro or con. If this has been in W.Va., so much the better. If not, I would be interested for the purpose of formulating a plan. I have knowledge of several desegrated vacation church schools which were held last summer.

Any information which may be of aid in my study and in developing a plan for church action will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Very truly,
Hugh D. Pickett, Jr.
Hugh D. Pickett, Jr.

President
LUCIUS T. BACOTE
Oconee High School
Dublin

H. E. TATE
Vice President
Fairmont High School
Griffin

R. J. MARTIN
Treasurer
Gallard-Hudson High School
Macon

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

Directors
Walter A. Johnson, Region 1
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H. N. Stinson, Region 5
Andrew Sol Johnson, Region 6
A. D. Redmond, Region 7
T. R. Maxwell, Region 8
Miss Bessie Scott, Region 9
L. H. Pitts, Region 10
C. A. DeVillars, Region 11
J. S. Wilkerson, State-at-Large

L. H. PITTS
Executive Secretary
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
WAlnut 7512
Atlanta, Georgia

Trustees
E. J. Granbery
D. F. Davis
J. F. Smith
J. E. Robinson

E. J. Odum
Editor, *The Herald*

February 8, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 9 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I want to express my personal appreciation to you and to the Council for giving our Association the opportunity of having the Japanese gentlemen as our guest for a little while. I am sure we will remember with a great deal of pleasure the very fine type of men they apparently are and the interesting visit with us here in our home. We have made some effort to try and engage the young man who served as interpreter to come back to one of our meetings at some future time to share with our teachers in terms of race relations.

Please, sir, feel free at any time to call on us if we can be of service to the Council. I also want to ask you to give us the opportunity at any time you can, to have the honor of entertaining any of the persons whom you feel would be interested in the work which we are trying to do in this Organization.

If we can be of any service at any time, please feel free to call on us, I am

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts
Executive Secretary

LHP:dr

File

RECEIVED NOV 14 1956

PITNEY-BOWES, INC.
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT

ORIGINATOR OF THE POSTAGE METER AND METERED MAIL — WORLD'S LEADING MANUFACTURER OF MAILING MACHINES

Please reply to Branch Sales & Service
1388 Spring Street, N.W.
ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA
Telephone: Elgin 6746

November 13, 1956

Mr. H. C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
68 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am submitting this proposal for your consideration, as I feel, after reviewing the facts, you will agree that the subject equipment will be of great benefit to the Council.

Mrs. Alexander discussed your mailing problems with me and expressed her agreement of installing a Mailing Machine to expedite the mail. She stated the budget for next year was advanced too far to include additional equipment; however, I believe the following will enable you to take immediate action on considering our Model 4200 Machine. The savings and benefits are as follows, based on the mailing of the"Publication of New South"only:

1. Postage Savings - it is possible under special permission of the Post Office to mail the "Publication New South" for only 1¢ each. You are now paying 2¢ each on over 5,000 per month, a savings of at least $50.00 per month on postage.

2. Envelopes - to speed the dispatch of the publication. You are now using a self-seal envelope which can be replaced with a conventional type at a savings of $3.00 a month a thousand, a savings of a minimum of $15.00 per month.

3. Labor- you now pay two part-time employees a minimum of $1.00 per hour to enclose, stamp, and seal the envelopes for the publication, requiring an expenditure of at least $40.00. With the Model 4200 Mailing Machine one employee could enclose, stamp and seal the envelopes in less than half the time, a savings of $20.00 per month.

4. Metered Mail speeds your mail through the Post Office as well as your own office.

5. Gives automatic postage accounting and protection.

6. Gives a much better appearing envelope that has the appearance of first class mail.

7. Enables you to print a message on the envelope along side of the stamp.

PITNEY BOWES

The machine recommended is our smallest Fully-automatic machine, the Model 4200 Mailing Machine. This machine can stamp and seal envelopes at the rate of 175 per minute.

Based on the above, the savings effective by the installation of the Model 4200 would be a minimum of $85.00 per month, already included in your budget. Based on a 10-year depreciation, the cost of the Mailing Machine including meter rental, would only be $13.30 per month.

If you wish to pay for this machine on a monthly basis for one year, it will pay for itself.

I am attaching a sales analysis sheet and if there is any additional information desired, please give me a call.

Sincerely yours,

Charlie Crespo

C. S. Crespo
Sales Representative

CSC:ac
Enc.

PITNEY BOWES

Pitney-Bowes Model 4200 Postage Meter Machine:

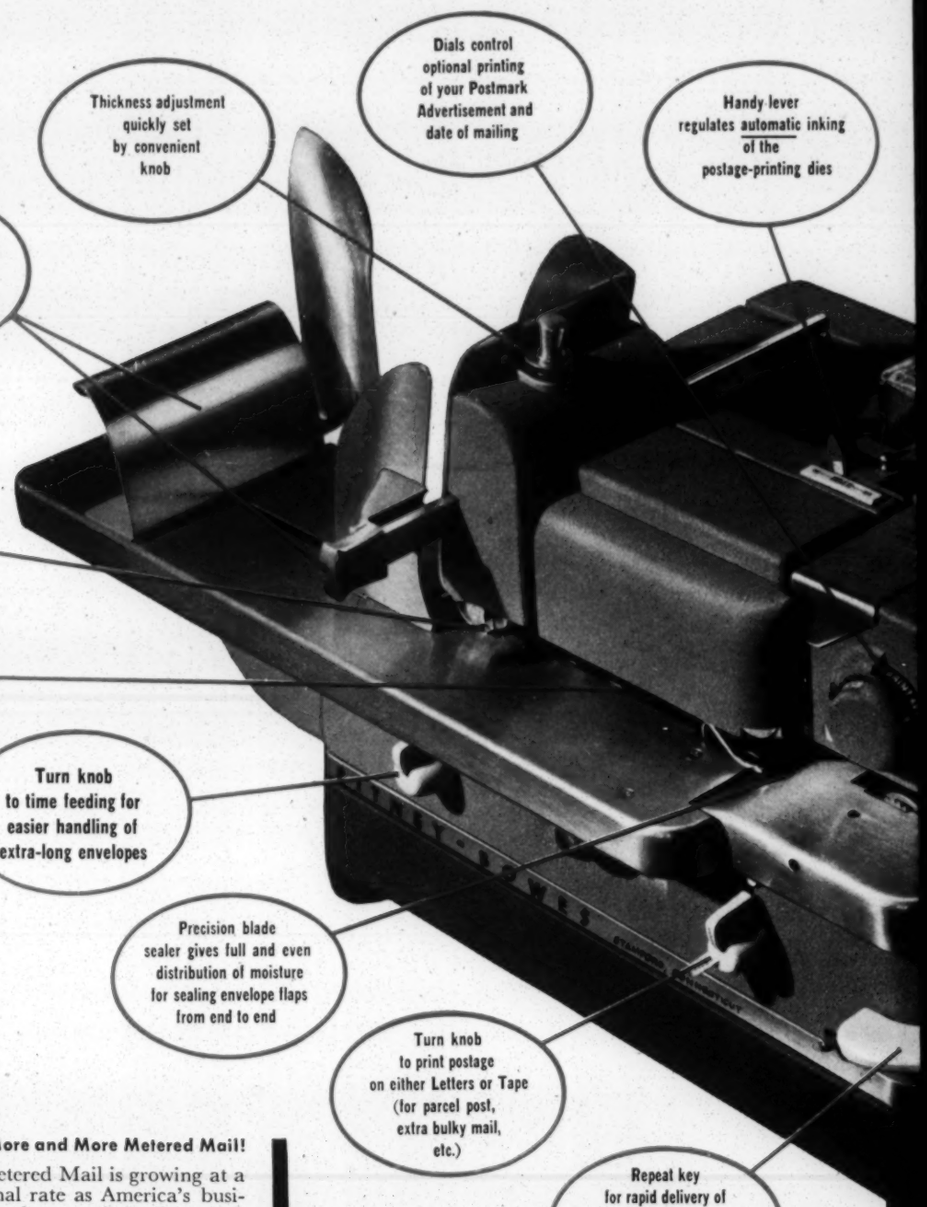
List Price	$735.00
Federal Tax	44.10
State Tax	22.05
Transportation & Del.	9.73
TOTAL	$810.88

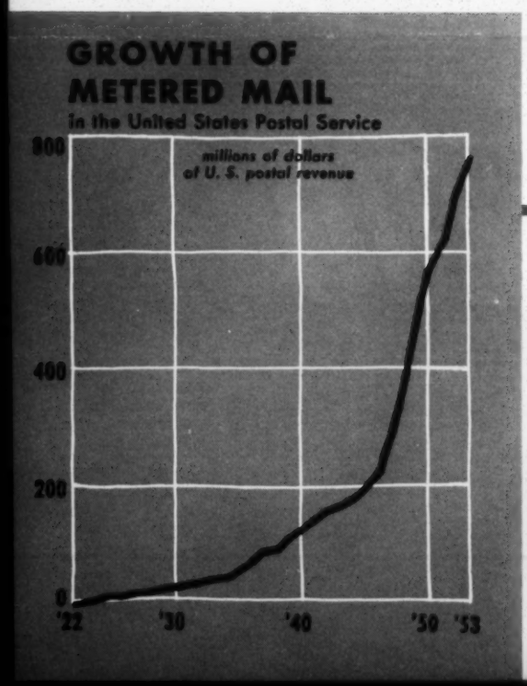
The Omni-demonination Meter, which provides the means for imprinting and auditing postage, cannot be sold because it is a revenue collecting device for the Post Office Department; therefore, it is placed on a service-lease basis, the cost of which is 6% of the postage used with a minimum of $21.60 per quarter, and a maximum charge of $36.00 per quarter.

The PITNEY-BOWES
POSTAGE METER MACHINE

MODEL
4200

PITNEY-BOWES Model 4200 Maili

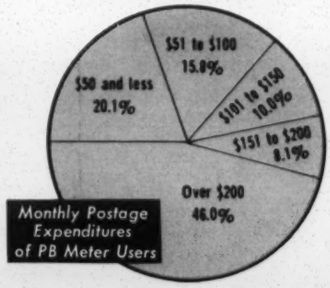




You See More and More Metered Mail!

Metered Mail is growing at a phenomenal rate as America's business offices, large and small, replace old fashioned lick-and-stick mailing with modern postage meters. The annual postal revenue from Metered Mail is now $800,000,000, accounting for nearly half of all U. S. Mail.

For The Small Office, Too!



You don't have to be a big mailer to enjoy the savings and services of Metered Mail. Note that 1 out of 3 meter users spends less than $100 a month for postage, and that 1 in 5 spends less than $50.

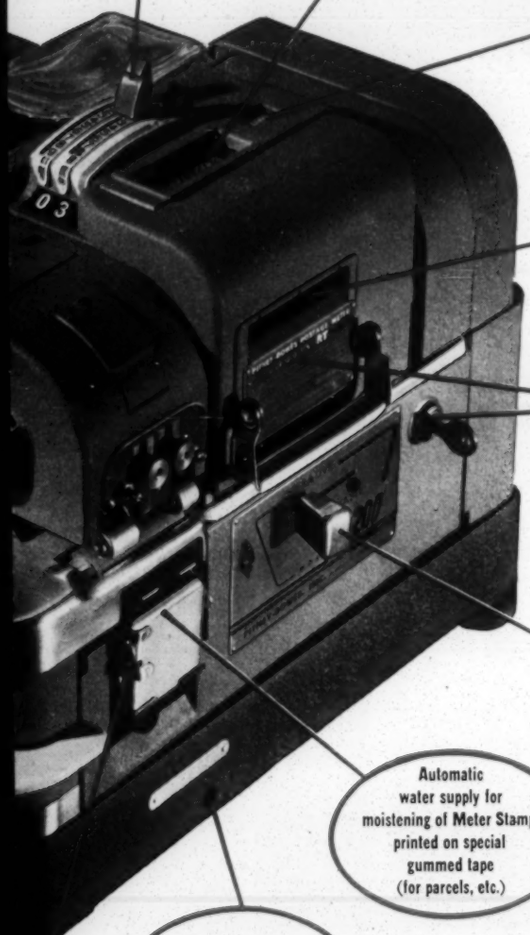
FEATURES and SPEC

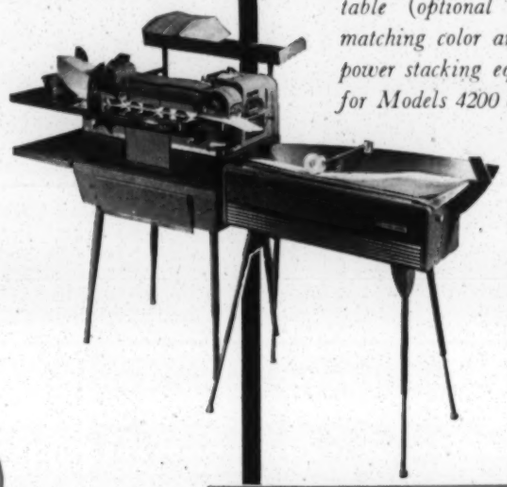
The Pitney-Bowes 4200 is the fastest, most complete an
tile mailing machine in the medium-price field, for h
all kinds and classes of mail.

Electrically driven, with automatic feeding and stac
simultaneously stamps, postmarks, seals and counts up
letters per minute, and records postage used. Optionall
user's own postmark advertisement in the same ope
Handles a wide variety of envelope sizes and thickness
flap depths up to 2½".

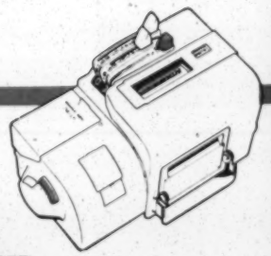
At turn of knob, it prints postage on special gummed
affixing to parcel post packages and packets too bulky
through machine.

ng Machine with RT Postage Meter





For added mailing convenience and efficiency, a sturdy, handsome steel table (optional letter tray), in matching color and style. Optional power stacking equipment available for Models 4200 and 4300.



HOW YOU GET A METER AND BUY YOUR POSTAGE

A postage meter machine is a government-licensed office mailing device, consisting of meter and machine. Since the *meters* print U. S. postage and collect government revenue under official lock and seal, they are not purchased outright as *machines* are, but are leased at nominal rental from the authorized manufacturer who remains responsible for their proper operation and servicing.

To buy postage, you simply remove meter from machine and send it to nearest post office to be "set". Postage is paid in advance, just as when buying ordinary stamps. But instead of buying and keeping track of loose stamps in various denominations, you have your meter set for one convenient lump sum for use as needed.

SPECIFICATIONS SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE

FICATIONS of the MODEL 4200

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The Model 4200 can operate either a Model RT postage meter (prints any postage value from ½c to $1.00 inclusive, in a single meter stamp), or an RF meter (½c to $9.99½ inclusive.)
Dimensions: 39″ long (including feed plate and stacker), by 18¾″ deep, by 15½″ high. Portable meter, easily detachable, comes with own carrying case.
Finish: Neutral tan wrinkle. Feed plate and other key surfaces finished in satin chrome.
ADDED FEATURES! The 4200 has several non-mailing *extra uses: it will swiftly seal paycheck envelopes and, by replacing the postage meter with a special printing head, will sign checks, backstamp incoming mail, etc.*

PB

The Convenience of a Post Office . . . at Your Fingertips!

8 Major Benefits of Metered Mail and the Postage Meter

NEW POSTAL CONVENIENCE—Prints postage of any value, for any kind or class of mail, as and when needed. Saves running out of postage, or running short of the right stamp denominations; thus saves trips to the post office for stamps.

SAVES TIME, EFFORT — Stamps and seals your mail simultaneously. No more messing around with loose stamps . . . no more stamp-sticking and envelope-wetting. The Meter does two jobs in one — fast! The office *mail* gets out earlier. The office *people* get out earlier. Cuts costly overtime.

STOPS STAMP LEAKS & LOSSES — Ordinary postage stamps (and stamped envelopes) are "paper money". Meter stamps are non-negotiable; can't be begged, borrowed or stolen. Postage savings often range from 15% to 30%, sometimes more. The postage meter does its own postage accounting automatically and accurately — provides perfect postage control.

ELIMINATES OFFICE DRUDGERY — Does away with tiresome licking and sticking of stamps and envelopes — one of the most irksome of office chores. Speeds office production, improves employee morale, helps you free capable office workers for more important work.

SPEEDS YOUR MAIL THROUGH POST OFFICE — Metered Mail, already postmarked, needs no post office facing or canceling . . . can often catch earlier mail trains and planes . . . for earlier delivery at destination.

SPECIAL PARCEL POST FEATURES — The date of mailing appears on *all* metered parcel post, whereas parcel post bearing ordinary or precanceled stamp carries no mailing date, unless sent Special Delivery, etc. A meter does away with need for tying up money in a large inventory of stamps of various denominations.

NEW PRESTIGE FOR YOUR MAIL — Replaces old-fashioned postage with the modern meter stamp, seen on America's important business and financial mail for 33 years. Tests show Metered Mail adds "pulling power" as well as prestige to your direct mail advertising.

POSTMARK ADVERTISING — Promotes your product or service or helps a worthy cause. "Postmark ads" are printed simultaneously with the meter stamps, at no extra cost except for interchangeable printing plates. You can make your mail sell for *you* with eye-catching miniature "posters". See the sample exhibits below.

POSTMARK ADVERTISING — AN IMPORTANT "PLUS" TO METERED MAIL

(Meter stamps shown ⅔ actual size)

PITNEY-BOWES, Inc.

Walnut & Pacific Streets, Stamford, Conn.

ORIGINATOR of the POSTAGE METER and METERED MAIL
WORLD'S LEADING MANUFACTURER of MAILING MACHINES

Form No. F-2242R

Printed in U. S. A. DR1154-25LP

Branch Sales & Service Offices in Principal Cities of the United States and Canada

Piper

April 29, 1957

Miss E. B. Piper
51 Brattle Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Miss Piper:

In conversations with Ellen she told me of your contribution to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Ellen indicated that you would want me to let you know that this is not the organization with which I work. Our group is the Southern Regional Council, which has been operating in these troubled waters since 1944 and was successor to a group which had worked for racial harmony since 1919.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a few leaflets and publications, some of which you may have seen. I'm sorry that while you were down here we did not get to talk in greater detail about our work, for I was anxious to have you understand as much as possible about our underlying philosophy and motivation as well as our method of operation.

I usually make it to Warm Springs on the weekends; its always good to see Ellen. Occasionally our schedules are such that she can go riding with us. I met Mathew Hale and family a week ago and it was a very pleasant experience.

Best personal wishes to you and thanks for your concern over the problems which beset our region.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

Enclosures to Miss Piper:

South of Promise
Staff List
Jan. New South
Feb. " "
March " "
April " "
Next Steps in the South

June 21, 1957

Mr. L. H. Pitts
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pitts:

I am very sorry that I was unable to reach you or Mrs. Reynolds on last Saturday afternoon. No doubt you learned shortly thereafter through my correspondence with Payne College that I was unable to be with you in Augusta.

I am very sorry that commitments and schedules caused this situation and equally sorry that none of us here at the Council were able to contribute to this good project. I trust we will have an opportunity to be of assistance to you again and that we can respond more favorably.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

C. L. BUTLER
Vice President
Ursula Collins School
Augusta

H. E. TATE
President
Fairmont High School
Griffin

R. J. MARTIN
Treasurer
Ballard-Hudson High School
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Miss Bessie Scott, Region 9
Napoleon Williams, Region 10
C. A. DeVillars, Region 11
Lucius T. Bacote, State-at-Large

L. H. PITTS
Executive Secretary
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
JAckson 2-7512

Trustees
E. J. Granbery
D. F. Davis
F. D. Brown
W. D. Tolbert

E. J. Odum
Editor, *The Herald*

June 14, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Next week the C. M. E. Church of the State is having its Annual Leadership Conference. The young people have a course which is called, "Youth and Changing Social Patterns". I have been asked to share that class. I need your help.

It is possible for you to spend the week in Augusta, if we take care of your room and board to share with these young people and the Conference in general about the Changing Social Patterns. What I would like would be a chance for you to share some of the experiences and some of the research which you have done with our young people and with a larger group of ministers including the Bishop of the Church. It is my feeling that such sharing would alert the ministers and leaders of our church to some of the crises which they are not aware of in our state and the Southland.

If you can not stay a week, can you come for a day or two days?

I am dictating this letter away from the office or else I would call you immediately. I shall be in the office late Saturday and will leave for Augusta, Sunday afternoon. I would appreciate your calling Mrs. Reynolds at the office indicating any possibilities you may see and to help us at this time.

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts
Executive Secretary

LHP:dr

Make file

July 24, 1957

Mr. Lucius H. Pitts
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers and Education
Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Lucius:

Both Paul Anthony and I have received your invitation to talk through some of the problems confronting the state with other interested people.

We would be interested in participating in such discussions along with the staff of our state affiliate - The Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Warm personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director

FBR/mf

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
JAckson 2-7512

July 18, 1957

Dear Friend:

I am sure that you know that the Legislature of Georgia passed a bill giving $376,000.00 to the Georgia Education Commission to tell the Georgia Story to the Nation in favor of segregation.

This letter is a "feeler" to see if you would be interested in meeting with a group of leaders of various organizations local and statewide without fanfare or publicity, but in an effort to talk through what steps we might take to be prepared for such action when it does come.

Mr. H. E. Tate, the president of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, has asked me to write to you and ask you to respond by letter or telephone call in order that we may ascertain if you are willing to sit down with some of us and to discuss this matter and any possible concerted action which we may take as people.

It would not be our attempt to refute particularly the message of the Georgia Education Commission, it would be an attempt to devise ways and means of writing footnotes to whatever material they may publish and this kind of meeting might also serve as a clearing house for coordinating the actions of all of us as we work quietly and persistently to make the State of Georgia the kind of happy place for people of all groups to live.

I shall be very happy to talk with you regarding this matter and explain it more fully if you are interested. I shall be in the office all of next week and would appreciate a call from you regarding this, I am

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts
Executive Secretary

LHP:dr

October 1, 1957

Miss Peggy Hammock
Correspondence Secretary
Southeast Convention
Pilgrim Fellowship
Langdale, Alabama

Dear Miss Hammock:

I will be happy to take part in your annual P. F. Convention. It will not be possible for me to be with you on both days of the meeting but either the 16th or 17th of March will be convenient.

Both days will be open but a reminder about March 1st would help to jog my memory as well as to indicate on which of the days you would like to have me present.

It will be a real pleasure to take part in this most worthwhile convention and you may be assured that we of the Southern Regional Council stand ready to be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

RECEIVED SEP 19 1957

SOUTHEAST CONVENTION

Pilgrim Fellowship

Langdale, Alabama
September 15, 1957

Dear Mr. Anthony,

The officers of the Southeast Convention P.F. recently had a meeting at the United Congregational Christian Church in LaGrnge, Georgia, and started making plans for the annual P.F. Convention which will be held at the LaGrange Church on March 16 and 17, 1958. We feel that one of the strongest points of our past Conventions has been the various workshops. At this Convention we hope to make our workshops even better by planning them on subjects that we feel are both interesting and informational to the present day young person.

We would like for you to attend this Convention, if it is at all possible, and lead a workshop on "Christ, the Church and Race,"which is our home study for this year. It should last approximately one hour.

We hope you will consider this carefully and prayerfully and let me know your decisionby the first day of November.

Sincerely yours,

Peggy Hammock

Peggy Hammock, Corresp. Sec.

October 23, 1957

Miss Peggy Hammock
Corresponding Secretary
Southeast Convention
Pilgrim Fellowship
Langdale, Alabama

Dear Miss Hammock:

The change of dates does not effect my ability to be with you in March. As a matter of fact, it will be easier to be in Columbus on Saturday, the 15th rather than a week day.

I would still appreciate a reminder from you several weeks before the convention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

SOUTHEAST CONVENTION

Pilgrim Fellowship

Langdale, Alabama
October 12, 1957

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am very sorry, but the dates that I gave you for the Southeast Convention P.F. meeting are incorrect. Instead of the 16th and 17th, the meeting will be the 15th and 16th of March, which is on a Saturday and a Sunday. All the workshops will be held on Saturday afternoon, but if you wish to stay overnight for the conclusion of the meeting on Sunday afternoon we would be very glad to make arrangements for you to do so. If the changing of the dates alters your decision concerning the P.F. meeting in any way, I would appreciate your letting me know.

Sincerely yours,

Peggy Hammock

Peggy Hammock, Corresp. Sec.

City of Pittsburgh

Pennsylvania

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
DAVID L. LAWRENCE
MAYOR

518 CITY-COUNTY BUILDING
TEL.—ATLANTIC 1-3900. EXT. 480

December 8, 1958

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

COMMISSIONERS
EMERY F. BACON
JAMES A. JORDON
T. Z. KORSAK
DR. ERNEST V. MAY
FREDERICK C. MCKEE
DEAN N. R. H. MOOR
MSGR. A. J. PAULEY
MRS. L. J. REIZENSTEIN
JOSEPH H. SABEL
MRS. JONAS E. SALK
ROLAND M. SAWYER
REV. HOWARD C. SCHARFE
J. ALFRED WILNER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GEORGE W. CULBERSON

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Our office is in the process of transcribing the various speeches given at the NAIRO Conference which were tape recorded. We have transcribed your speech, but find there are several words and phrases of which we are not sure.

I wonder if you have a copy of your speech which you could send. We are a little afraid of having inaccurate statements coming from you. We wouldn't want to do you an injustice when the proceedings are published. If you cannot send a copy we will do our best at interpretation. Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Mast

Robert H. Mast,
Field Representative

RHM:ram

Sent copy of speech.
10 Dec 58
FBR

December 29, 1958

Miss Nancy Newberry, Secretary
SEC Pilgrim Fellowship
705 Park Avenue
LaGrange, Georgia

Dear Nancy:

Thanks for your recent letter inviting me to participate in the annual Pilgrim Fellowship Convention. Unfortunately, it will be impossible for me to do so since much earlier I agreed to be with a YW group on the dates of your convention. I really am sorry that I cannot be with you since I have a great deal of admiration for the PF'ers and the good work you do. And believe me, I will really miss those friendly arguments we always manage to have!

Thanks too for Wayne's article. Miss Annie had shown me a copy - it's a very fine job and I hope you will see that he gets my congratulations.

Again, my appreciation for being asked and my most sincere regrets that I cannot be present.

All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

pa/

705 Park Avenue
LaGrange, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Hope you're doing just fine these days! As you may know, our annual Pilgrim Fellowship Convention is to be Feb. 28 - March 1 in Lanett, Alabama this year. We are recruiting leadership to guide the discussion groups and would like for you to have charge of the topic, "Social and Cultural Problems." We know you are very capable of doing a splendid job with this. The discussion groups will last from 3:45 - 5:00 on Feb. 28.

I have enclosed a sheet from our PF Pilot - Wayne Graves wrote the article and we thought you might like to see it.

Please let me know soon of your decision and of any questions you may have!

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year

Sincerely,
Nancy Newberry, Sec.
SEC Pilgrim Fellowship

CHRISTIAN ACTION COMMISSION

For Special Emphasis 1958-1960

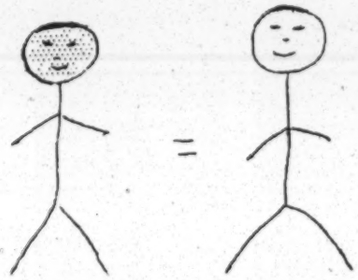
II. RACIAL AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS

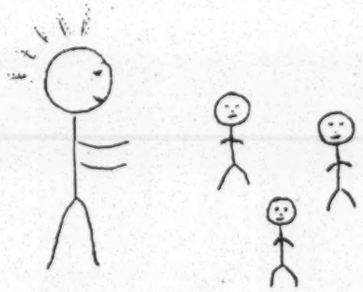
Christian Human Relations

This is God's world. It operates under God's laws. Men either learn these laws, obey them and grow, or they ignore them, follow selfish desires and halt their own spiritual progress. Men cannot change these laws.

Since this is God's world, we should seek His will concerning human relations. Referring to Genesis 1:26-28, we find man is made in the image of God. No man is created less than another. We are all one under God. Paul states this in Galatians 3:28. God is no respector of per* sons. God does not look upon us and judge us as a race, nor does he judge us by the color of our eyes or our skins, but he judges us as individuals. God's love for us is so great that he gave his only son for us, John 3:16. God's son came to earth and dealt equally with all races of mankind. He healed all who came to him and carried his ministry to the regions of Tyre and Sidon. Jesus accepted and still accepts all people. John 10:14-16; 11:51,52. Since Jesus accepts all peoples, the verse in Matthew 7:1 applies to all people. "Judge not that ye be not judged."

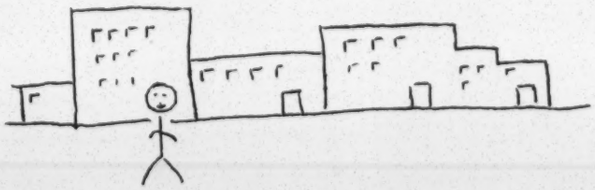
In God's Sight



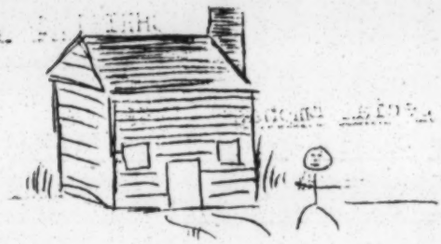


In present day life while trying to apply God's will, we come across many stumbling stones. One of these stones could well be culture.

Culture is simply the total way of life of any society. Each person is born into a society, is nursed by his mother, is taught cleanliness and moral values according to the culture of his particular society.



Each society meets its needs and solves its problems through its own customs, though the needs and problems of mankind are the same everywhere.

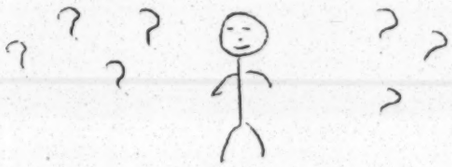


Each person, being an individual within himself, has ideas and goals of his own. Therefore each society would have different ideas and goals and would naturally have different cultures. Americans, for example the Indians of Central America, performed difficult operations on the brain hundreds of years ago. In Peru, the ancient Incas built roadways that extended for hundreds of miles and swinging bridges over the great mountain passes. Here we see different examples of cultures.

When people of different cultures try to solve a problem, it is easier for them to misunderstand each other than to understand each other. Therefore we, having different cultures, when trying to solve this great problem of race relations or any problem, must face it open-mindedly, consider all sides, and then draw a sound Christian conclusion.

Prejudice is another of our stumbling stones. Prejudice is not usually caused by conscious ill-will. It is more frequently the result of:

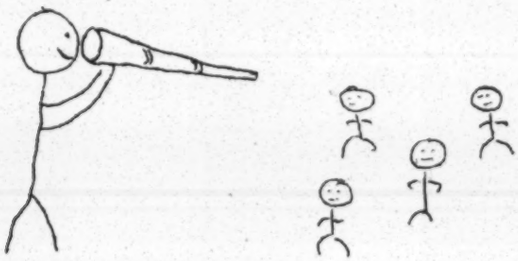
<u>Lack of Knowledge</u>, of any first hand knowledge, about members of other races and religions.



<u>Fear of economic or social loss</u>

Insecurity or a sense of inferiority and the need for a scapegoat.

Unawareness of any experiences or ways of thought other than those of one's 'own' group.



Are you prejudiced? Take a look at yourself and see. If you are, you need to get rid of your prejudice, for your own sake, if not for others.

What does science say concerning race? Science defines race as being a group of people who have in common certain physical traits that are inherited. These traits set them apart from other groups.

The blood of the African, Russian or American would be identical if placed in a test tube. The four major types of blood A, B, AB, and O, are present in all races.

Concerning intelligence, science says this; if we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented.

Is it true that races smell different from one another? The odor of perspiration on the body is more related to diet and hygiene than to sweat glands. Physiological conditions may cause noticeable odor. These are individual problems rather than group problems and certainly they are not racial.

The problem of race relations facing us today is not only the problem of the large city, but also that of small towns everywhere. It is not the problem of any one section of the country alone. It is the problem of all Christians and Americans who dare to bring it out into the open and examine it together. 'Christian human relations' is the fundamental problem of our nation and of our world today, because it is interwoven with all other problems.

References : Sense and Nonsense About Race, Ethel J. Alpenfels
Is Segregation Christian?, R. Lofton Hudson
A Statement of Conviction on Race, Richmond Minister's Association.

Materials concerning Christian human relations:

One-Act Play: Heart Sound of a Stranger by Anne West. (Concerning Mexicans)

Pamphlets: Next Steps in the South, Southern Regional Council
The Negro Voter in the South, Margaret Price
Miracle of Social Adjustment, Carl F. Hansen
New South, Magazine published by Southern Regional Council
Seeking to be Christian in Race Relations, Benjamin E. Mays.

Suggested Worship Service

Call to Worship: Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethern to dwell together in unity. (Psalm 133:1)

Hymn: Rise Up, O Men of God
The Church's One Foundation

Prayer: Our Father we thank thee that all people are thy children, and that thou dost care for each of us. Help us, O God, to see thee in one another and to let thy spirit draw us together in Christian Fellowship. Give us, we pray, the wisdom, the purpose, and the strength to cast from our lives any feelings of prejudice or superiority, that we may be good members of the great family, loving our brothers and loving thee. Amen.

Scripture: Galatians 5:1,5; 13-14
John 4:7-12

Here in these passages, written to the early church, we are reminded that love is the secret of liberty and the key to freedom.

Poem. The World, Dear Lord, is Very Large.

The world, dear Lord, is very large, with people far apart;
Yet all alike, whate'er their needs, are children of thy heart.
And though some live in foreign climes or islands of the sea,
One family tie unites them still and they belong to thee.

Grant us to live as Christians should who heed one father's call,
And, round one common place of prayer, desire the good of all.
So help us serve each other, Lord, whate'er our race or clan,
That through our love for each may come the brotherhood of man.

Hymn: Lord, I Want to be a Christian
In Christ There is No East or West
Lead on, O King Eternal

Benediction

Together

1958-60

A Report from New York

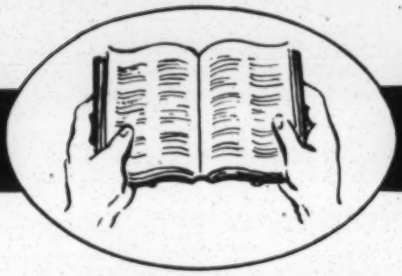
"We are united in the purpose . . .

"To know God in our lives as revealed by Jesus Christ, to worship him only, to study his truth, and to dedicate ourselves to do his will.

"To witness to the message and the mission of the Church among all people, serving the world in the name of Christ, and striving toward the establishment of brotherhood, justice and peace.

"To cooperate with all who seek to extend the Christian fellowship."

Every two years in both Pilgrim Fellowship and Youth Fellowship there has been a National Council meeting. Youth delegates from states and synods have met to make program suggestions. June 20-27, 1958, they met in New York City to plan for the years 1958-1960. They began by studying the Statement of Purpose, the basis for a Pilgrim or a Youth Fellowship. After careful study they agreed it should read as printed above.



CHRISTIAN

The Faith Commission is concerned with:

1. Worship (Group and Personal)
2. The Meaning and Purpose of Life
3. Great Thinkers in the Church Today
4. Bible Study
5. Understanding Other Religions
6. Christian Beliefs
7. Church History and Heritage
8. Churchmanship
9. Science and Religion
10. Life and Teachings of Jesus
11. Religion and the Arts
12. Christian Vocation
13. Understanding Our Statement of Purpose

Key young people from across the United States tried to decide at the New York Council meeting what the basic, continuing concerns or program areas in Christian faith are. The list above represents their ideas. Those chosen for special emphasis are listed on the next page. Let these suggestions guide your program planning this year!

For Special Emphasis 1958-1960:

1. *The Meaning and Purpose of My Life*

The questions "Why am I here?" and "What am I to do with my life?" are basic. Unless we can answer them in our daily living our Christian faith doesn't make much sense. The National Council was unanimous in believing that Youth Fellowship and Pilgrim Fellowship should help young people really understand the meaning and purpose of their own lives.

2. *Personal Devotions*

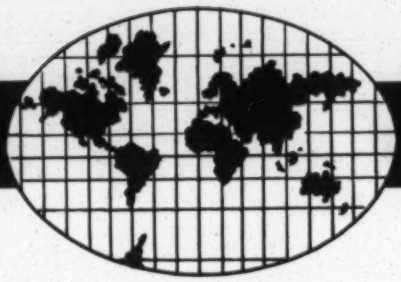
If we don't know a person well enough to talk to him we don't know him very well. The Statement of Purpose begins "To know God in our lives." If we are to know God in our lives we need to learn to listen to and talk with God. This means that personal devotions is an important part of our lives and of our youth program.

3. *Science and Religion*

In a science-minded age young people need to know more than "facts." They need to know the *meaning* of facts. Religion helps people to know what to do with their science. The New York Council agreed that everyone needs to understand the relation between the Christian faith and science.

4. *Church History and Heritage*

To know another person one has to know something about his family and his background. To know one's church and one's place in that church one needs to know how the Church has developed and what has been important to it. This is especially important as we try to live in a United Church representing various backgrounds.



CHRISTIAN

The Action Commission is concerned with:

1. The Scriptural Basis for Christian Action
2. Evangelism
3. The Mission of the Church at Home and Overseas
4. Service
   a. Voluntary Service
   b. Service Projects
   c. Social Service
   d. Alternatives to Military Service
5. Social Action
   a. Brotherhood
   b. Christian Citizenship
   c. Racial Conditions
6. Stewardship
   a. Witness in Our Lives by the Use of Talents and Money
   b. Dedicated Dollars
   c. Workday for Christ

At the Joint National Council, delegates with a great deal of experience in Christian action tried to state the ongoing, primary concerns which require youth action. The above list represents their belief. Are these program areas related to the life of your YF or PF? What can your group do about them?

For Special Emphasis 1958-1960:

1. *Decisions for Peace*

We find it a necessity in our young lives to decide upon our actions as Christians faced with the Atomic Age and its developments. What definite stand will you take? What special actions should you as a Christian young person take?

2. *Racial and Cultural Problems:*

Living in a "melting-pot" nation, we have contact with people of different backgrounds. There is a tendency to confuse the terms "acceptance" and "tolerance." Are you prejudiced? The 1958-1959 mission theme is "Christian Concerns of North American Neighbors." Good Friendship Press resources are available on this subject.

3. *The Middle East:*

Unrest in the Gaza strip. Border raids in Israel. Now more than ever the Middle East is a "hot-spot" in our world — culturally, politically, and religiously. This is an area of international concern which you can better understand through studying the mission materials published by Friendship Press.

4. *Christian Citizenship:*

Adults aren't the only people that are citizens. We, as young people, have a vital role to play in local problems and even in state and national government. We can be concerned even though we are not yet of "voting age." Are you aware of your Christian duty to God and country?

The Fellowship Commission is concerned with:

1. Interpersonal Relations
   a. Boy-Girl Relations
   b. Family Relations
   c. Teenage Problems
2. Recreation
3. Interfaith and Interdenominational Fellowship
4. Creative Activities
5. Relationships Within Our Own Church
6. Participation in Our Denomination
7. Pilgrim Fellowship-Youth Fellowship Relations
8. Youth Beyond High School
   a. United Student Fellowship
   b. Military Service
   c. Youth Working and at Home
9. Group Dynamics
10. Leisure Time Activities
11. Study and Practice of Christian Fellowship
12. Leadership Training
13. Understanding People of Other Races and Cultures (Intergroup Concerns)

The New York Council felt the above concerns were important for the Fellowship Commission. How does your group express its fellowship in each of these areas?

For Special Emphasis 1958-1960:

1. *Youth Fellowship — Pilgrim Fellowship Relations*

The coming of the Congregational Christian and Evangelical and Reformed churches into the United Church of Christ brings a special opportunity for PF and YF to develop a great united program. Meeting and discussing together will help us understand the similarities and differences of each organization. Perhaps a joint week-end retreat will be possible in your area.

2. *The Study and Practice of Christian Fellowship*

Have you ever experienced true Christian fellowship in your local youth group — the kind you experience at summer camps and conferences? This is more than just playing games, it involves really trying to understand and create fellowship in which everyone feels at home.

3. *Love, Sex, and Marriage*

Have you tried to understand sex, love, courtship, and marriage in terms of the Christian faith? The Fellowship Commission believes that neither the Church nor Christian young people have really tried to see the deep meaning of sex, love, and marriage.

4. *Leadership Training*

More and better trained PF and YF officers are needed in our states, synods, and local groups. A youth group is only as strong as its leaders. The National Council Fellowship Commission believes that this is so important that each Fellowship Commission should undertake special leadership training for the whole group.

Resources for Your Help

The High Fellowship Set

Seven booklets to guide officers and program planners in their jobs. Set of seven is available at $1.00, each booklet 15¢. Order by title:

With Junior Highs
The Adult Role
No. 1 — The Fellowship Idea
No. 2 — Christian Faith
No. 3 — Christian Action
No. 4 — Christian Fellowship
No. 5 — The Howbook

Youth Fellowship Kit #16

A booklet containing resources for 28 programs. The kit costs $3.50.

Youth Fellowship Programs

Six booklets, each with 15 program suggestions. Set $5.40, each $1.00.

No. 1 — Everyday Christians
No. 2 — Faith in Action
No. 3 — Living Our Religion
No. 4 — Crossroads Decisions
No. 5 — God in Our Lives
No. 6 — Because We Are Christians

Friendship Press Materials for Senior Highs:

THE MIDDLE EAST

Caught in the Middle
Fun and Festival from the Middle E.
Introducing Islam
This Is the Middle East
Youth Guide on the Middle East

NORTH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

Fun and Festival Series
This Is North America
This Is the Migrant
What-Concerns No. American Youth?
Youth Guide on No. American Youth

Youth

Biweekly magazine for youth (PF and YF). Yearly subscription, $2.50.

United Church of Christ Missions Material:

THE MIDDLE EAST

New Leaders for Old Lands
A Tour in Turkey
The Hope of Greece
The Land of Two Rivers

NORTH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

The Church in the City
Hawaii Speaks
Mission in Mexico
The New Day in Puerto Rico

Junior High:

Junior High leaders will be able to find special help in Junior Hi Kit No. 15, in Friendship Press Junior High materials and in publications from the two national youth offices:

The Pilgrim Fellowship
14 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.

The Youth Fellowship
1505 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Books and pamphlets are available from the Pilgrim Press and the Eden-Heidelberg book stores.

DCE-758-30M

Printed in U.S.A.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
180 NORTH FIFTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

June 7, 1961

Dear Friend:

We, the undersigned, wish to ask you to join us in petitioning the President of the United States to pardon Mr. Frank Wilkinson and Mr. Carl Braden.

We are sure that you, like countless other Americans, deem precious the right to think and believe what you please, and to speak or keep silent as you choose; and that you will note with shame, as do we, that some among our fellow citizens are now serving prison terms for placing their loyalty to the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States above their personal safety and well-being.

Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden are among such imprisoned fellow citizens. Their loyalty and love of their country were beautifully expressed at the time of their trials at Atlanta, Georgia.

> Frank Wilkinson said: "I have made this First Amendment challenge of the Un-American Activities Committee as a matter of personal conscience and responsibility which we all share to defend the Constitution against all enemies."
>
> Carl Braden said: "I am sure the Court understands that I do not really have contempt for the Congress of the United States. I acted as I did because I firmly believe that Congress is wrong in creating a committee to investigate so-called Un-American activities. This committee seeks to investigate in a field in which Congress cannot legislate without violating the First Amendment of our Constitution."

We would like to have you join us in supporting these men in their courageous fight in behalf of what is perhaps our most precious heritage. If you do choose to join us, please sign the enclosed Petition and mail it to Mr. Clarence Pickett.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

(Rev.) John Haynes Holmes	James Imbrie	Clarence Pickett
(Dr.) Alexander Meiklejohn	Aubrey W. Williams	(Rev.) Martin Luther King, Jr.
(Dr.) Herman H. Long	(Mrs.) Dorothy Marshall	(Dr.) Reinhold Niebuhr
Robert W. Kenny	(Prof.) Henry S. Commager	Grenville Clark
Justine Wise Polier	Irving Dilliard	(Dr.) Algernon D. Black
(Mrs.) Helen L. Buttenweiser	(Rabbi) Roland Gittelsohn	(Dean) John C. Bennett

P.S. Even though you may have received a separate clemency appeal for Carl Braden, we urge you to sign this as well, as it includes Frank Wilkinson. The fact that you may have signed the Braden appeal will in no way lessen the effectiveness of your signature on this statement.

A PETITION FOR CLEMENCY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned, herewith earnestly support the Petition for executive clemency submitted to you by Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, whose appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States were denied on February 27, 1961, by a decision of five to four.

We recognize the right and duty of Congress, acting through its Committees to insist upon answers from witnesses when it seeks information relevant to the proper exercise of its legislative powers, but we share the growing public indignation at the obvious abuses of authority in which the House Committee on Un-American Activities so often indulges and its use of the investigating power of Congress to punish or silence the Committee's critics.

It is disturbing that these abuses of Congressional authority are not only resulting in a growing number of political prisoners who are imprisoned not because of illegal acts, but because of their ideas, but also in the repression of thought and speech at a time when new and unorthodox ideas are so desperately needed to meet the new and complex problems with which the country and the world are now faced.

> Only recently, Mr. President, you declared:
> "For at all levels of our national life, each man is called upon to stand for what he believes to be right against the pressures and opinions of friends, fellow workers, constituents of the force of public attitudes."

In the light of that statement we ask you to consider the intent of Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Braden as they pleaded the First Amendment. When confronted by the question, "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" it was open to them, by pleading the Fifth Amendment, to refuse to testify and yet escape punishment. But loyalty to the Constitution, as they interpreted it, forbade them to do so. Agreeing with many other Americans, including a strong minority of the Supreme Court, they believed that the Committee's question violated the First Amendment. On that ground alone, at the cost of great risk to themselves, they refused to cooperate in the violation. The Committee had forced upon them the necessity of making a choice between obedience to a Congressional statute and obedience to Constitutional principle. When they chose the latter, rejecting the former, they were not flouting a law for their own personal advantage. They were, as you suggest, "standing for what they believed." That choice may have been made in error just as may the dissenting opinions of members of the Court. But the punishment of such an error by "imprisonment in a common jail for twelve months" gives notice to all the world, at home and abroad, that We, the People of the United States are not "politically free."

We therefore appeal to you, Mr. President, in the name of the most sacred principles of the Constitution, that you exercise in these cases the power to grant reprieves and pardons which the Constitution wisely delegates to the holder of your high office.

Respectfully Submitted

_____

(Please sign here)

Please indicate how you wish to be identified:

_____

_____

file "P" general

file

PITMAN PUBLISHING CORPORATION

November 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I'm sending you this copy of EYEWITNESS: THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY at the suggestion of Vernon Eagle who thought you would be especially interested in seeing it.

I would be most pleased to have your comments about EYEWITNESS. Equally important, however, I would appreciate your help.

EYEWITNESS: THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY belongs in schools throughout the country. Accordingly we have prepared a paperbound Text Edition and are sending examination copies to interested educators. It is very likely though that many who should know about EYEWITNESS will not have received copies. If you would let me know whom you think should receive the book, I will be happy to send him a copy.

Very truly yours,

Jerome S. Ozer
Editorial Director

JSO:cs
Enclosure

20 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 · TN 7-7400
TORONTO / LONDON / MELBOURNE / JOHANNESBURG

MEMORANDUM

Dear Harold,

Hope you saw 'El Pueblo' See It Now Sunday. It showed a documentary on improved race relations in Shreveport, La. The reef-study must have been one of SRC's. It looked like it. Congratulations.

Thanks for the La. story you suggested. I regret I can't get a Southern story accepted because of the pattern of segregation. I do want, and Elmore McKee will want, to see the Central La. story someday. I would be grateful if you write him for the telephone expense.

Marion Pinchamy
~~ELMORE McKEE~~

Best ever.

March 30, 1962

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

Your letter to Leslie Dunbar inquiring about being on the SRC mailing list has been brought to my attention. You very definitely are on the mailing list to receive all publications. If, through some error, you have not received certain recent items which you desire, please let me know and I will remedy the situation immediately. For your convenience, I am enclosing a listing of publications. Further, if your letter had reference to the EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS study, this will be in the mail to you Monday. To date, it has only received government and press distribution.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
administrative secretary

April 19, 1962

Mr. K. B. Piper — free
Vice President
Provident Life and Accident
Insurance Company
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

We were glad to have your letter of March 29. Since then Benjamin Muse has told me of his pleasant and stimulating visit with you.

I hope that our mailing list has now been properly fixed to assure that you will receive all our releases.

When some years ago the state Councils on Human Relations were formed, the Southern Regional Council transferred to them its membership. We have not since been a membership organization. The Council is now made up of 85 Southerners of both races who annually elect new colleagues on a rotating basis. At its last meeting, the Council decided to increase its membership to 100 over the next several years. In the thought that you might be interested in knowing the present composition of the Council I am enclosing a list of members together with a short statement about this organization.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
bc: Ben Muse

PROVIDENT AM 5-4450
LIFE AND ACCIDENT
Insurance Company
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE — SINCE 1887

K. B. PIPER, VICE PRESIDENT

March 29, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

From time to time, I have been getting certain of your publications at my home address, 1119 Concord Street, Chattanooga 5, Tennessee.

From reports in the press, I am sure I am getting only certain items and would appreciate more information.

Do you have a regular membership ? On what basis do you furnish your members with copies of all reports and releases ?

Very truly yours,

KBP/rp

75

June 3, 1963

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

I have mulled over your letter of last October 11 for a long time. You raise the question of the relationship of staff to Board, and that is a hard question, one that troubles me continually.

Our Board (technically, "the Council") meets once a year. Frankly, with such an arrangement, it cannot exercise much control. Some members criticize and some make suggestions and usually one or two fairly unimportant motions come from the floor and are passed. Year in and year out, some members have criticized -- from several directions -- the arrangements we have with the state councils on human relations; the criticism have had some effect, though in truth they tend to cancel each other out.

On the other hand, the Executive Committee meets four times a year and exerts an active, attentive overseeing of the staff. Nor is this attentiveness limited to meeting days. Officers and other Executive Committee members are in frequent, serious consultation with us.

We have also an important Personnel Committee (a sub-committee of the Executive Committee); a Finance Committee, which lately has had little to do; and each year, a Nominating Committee, composed entirely of non-Executive Committee people.

There are two special committees in being now. One was appointed at my request to advise with the staff on a thorough review and evaluation of program activities; two-thirds of the appointees are non-Executive Committee. The second is preparing proposals for a memorial to a deceased former Executive Director.

I wish for ideas and methods to get more work from the Board, -- and I mean that. Shortly after I took office I sent the enclosed letter to all members; it expresses still my ambitions for the Council. Many of the members are, of course, extraordinarily busy people.

I am enclosing also my annual reports of the last two years. Perhaps you would like to read them. Also, a copy of a recent statement by the Executive Committee.

Press Release, May 26, 1963

With best regards, and I hope that we shall hear from you now and then.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

October 11, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was kind of you to give me another chance and your letter of October 10 does make it clear that service on policy committees is optional. However, I think that my decision should stand for this year.

One factor which contributed to my decision is implied in your statement, "that council membership is a rather light demand on one's time". One of the important characteristics of an organization is the relationship between the full time people, the "professionals", and the "amateurs" who make up its Board of Directors or dues-paying membership, as the case may be. This is too complex a matter to try to develop in a brief letter. I was impressed by the great degree of freedom which the professional staff would appear to have under your set-up.

On the whole, I am favorably impressed by the outcome as reflected in the publications I have seen. My impression is that the organization has been singularly fortunate in its executive directors and the staff they have been able to build around them.

Cordially yours,

KBP:rp

August 2, 1962

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
Provident Life & Accident
Insurance Company
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

Mr. Muse has forwarded to us your information on the formation of a Citizens' Council in Chattanooga.

We very much appreciate your sharing this information with us, and hope you will keep us informed as this group develops.

If there is anything the staff of the Council can do to be of assistance, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

HC
MJ - copy for Mr. Dabbs, Treasurer
Wright, + J Williams
MJ-file

1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tenn.
June 13, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your candid letter of June 3rd touched me. I didn't dream that I had stated your problem so nearly in your own terms.

But the world is moving, as Galilee said (and King Canute wet his feet finding out). The events of even the past ten days have made the role of the Council seem more critically important.

It happens that I have had occasion to review this particular point of organization practice in connection with a proposed set of By-Laws for the Chattanooga Symphony Association.

One possible course toward a solution might be presented like this.

1. Since the Council membership is not the primary source of financial support, they might be considered as having only two functions : (a) advice based primarily on their individual maturity and philosophic stand-point, (b) two way liaison with likeminded people in their area.

2. Redefining the function of the membership in this way would relieve them of a feeling of responsibility for the pronouncements of the Council and leave them free to develpp their individual points of view.

3. This psychological position would be reinforced if the Executive Committee were made largely or wholly a self-perpetuating group. For example, some procedure might be developed to have six members elected by the Executive Committee and three by the membership at large.

4. In that case, I think I would favor calling the present Executive Committee the Board of Directors.

Let me add a personal word. My present intention is to relinquish the presidency of the Chattanooga Symphony Association early in June 1964, shortly before I am scheduled to retire from the Provident. If you all are still interested in me a year from now, I expect that my concern with race relations will be no less than it has been.

Cordially,

K. B. Piper

June 3, 1963

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

I have mulled over your letter of last October 11 for a long time. You raise the question of the relationship of staff to Board, and that is a hard question, one that troubles me continually.

Our Board (technically, "the Council") meets once a year. Frankly, with such an arrangement, it cannot exercise much control. Some members criticize and some make suggestions and usually one or two fairly unimportant motions come from the floor and are passed. Year in and year out, some members have criticized -- from several directions -- the arrangements we have with the state councils on human relations; the criticism have had some effect, though in truth they tend to cancel each other out.

On the other hand, the Executive Committee meets four times a year and exerts an active, attentive overseeing of the staff. Nor is this attentiveness limited to meeting days. Officers and other Executive Committee members are in frequent, serious consultation with us.

We have also an important Personnel Committee (a sub-committee of the Executive Committee); a Finance Committee, which lately has had little to do; and each year, a Nominating Committee, composed entirely of non-Executive Committee people.

There are two special committees in being now. One was appointed at my request to advise with the staff on a thorough review and evaluation of program activities; two-thirds of the appointees are non-Executive Committee. The second is preparing proposals for a memorial to a deceased former Executive Director.

I wish for ideas and methods to get more work from the Board, -- and I mean that. Shortly after I took office I sent the enclosed letter to all members; it expresses still my ambitions for the Council. Many of the members are, of course, extraordinarily busy people.

I am enclosing also my annual reports of the last two years. Perhaps you would like to read them. Also, a copy of a recent statement by the Executive Committee.

With best regards, and I hope that we shall hear from you now and then.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

LWD Memo to Board - July 21, 1961
Annual Reports - 1961 and 1962
Press Release, May 26, 1963
Board List

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 21, 1961

To: Members of the Southern Regional Council
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Three months ago I took office, and since then I have been able to see and talk with many of you, though unhappily not all. This letter is intended to acknowledge the heavy trust you have accorded me, and my wish that I and all our staff will during the next year get to know each of you better and that you will become more closely associated with our work.

Let me carry that thought a little further. One of Harold Fleming's finest achievements was that he pulled together and put to work a competent staff, one which, I hope, represented you as you would like to be. Our objective now should be both to maintain and improve the quality and effectiveness of the staff, and to bring you into more active participation with it in policy and program planning. This is not said merely as a pleasantry. I think the natural development of the Council requires that now, after a solid staff has been built, there be a re-emphasis of the founding idea of the Council, as an active body of southern liberals, involving themselves directly in the planning, fulfillment, and evaluation of programs. I believe two things are true: the South needs a parliament of liberals, deliberating and speaking, and you are it; secondly, a good staff will know how to draw strength, not enfeeblement, from a vigorous Board.

If this development occurs, the Council will be an increasingly useful servant of its ideals and its region, and the country which embraces them both. There will be much to do. I think, in fact, that the period of the Council's greatest value is here at hand. Our organization performed a magnificent service by keeping alive during the hard times of 1954-58, making its voice heard, and keeping the facts straight. An organization such as ours will find, however, its largest opportunities in the fluid situation we presently have, and in the move forward which the South will surely make in the next decade. We have now the opportunity to lead. We are not on the defensive any longer.

Even though the problems are as rough as ever in a few states (and may well get worse), we do now live and work in a greatly changed South. We need to be alert to that fact. We need to forsake defensive thinking and speaking. We need to hasten our pace and lengthen our stride. We need to learn the practical wisdom of impatience.

In other ways, too, the role of the Council is changing. Now as in the past, Negroes are the prime movers in the reform of the South. The Negro movement has, however, become much more complex during the past 18 months: new organizations and methods and men have appeared. I think the Council can and should welcome this, for the movement has gained a larger popular following, and its virility and dedication have been boosted. At the same time, we have now an administration in Washington which not only is sympathetic, but is keenly desirous of itself supplying initiative in the civil rights struggle.

The Council has, over the years, had the confidence and respect of its allied agencies. I think I can report to you that respect and confidence have never been higher than they are now.

We have much to do. I have the humbling knowledge that if, a year from now or two years from now, the Council is as effective as it was when Harold Fleming passed direction to my hands, I and my colleagues shall have failed. For Harold gave us momentum, and we have to maintain it. The state councils and our field

activities in general should be strengthened. Our publications should be more ambitious, and our research more thorough.

The people to accomplish these things are here. I would like to use this letter to announce three recent staff appointments. James A. Moss, on July 10, became Director of Research. Dr. Moss' most recent appointment was on the sociology faculty of Union College. His research and writings in racial relations have been sustained, numerous, and highly regarded. He will shortly leave us, for a month, to deliver this year's lectures on American racial relations at the Salzburg Seminar in Austria.

Margaret Boozer joined the staff July 3 as Research Assistant. During a varied career she has, among other activities, taught sociology at Little Rock Junior College; done editorial work for the Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church,U.S., and, most recently, taught Latin in the DeKalb County (Ga.) high schools. We welcome her and James Moss with real pleasure.

Margaret Long, on July 5, became Director of Information. Mrs. Long has been a staffer on newspapers in Atlanta, Richmond, Macon (Ga.), Chattanooga, and Columbus (Ga.), as well as for the Associated Press. Her most recent affiliation was as a columnist for the Atlanta Journal, where her writing in promotion of civil rights won for her this year the Florina Lasker award of the American Civil Liberties Union. She has written two novels and numerous magazine articles. We welcome her warmly.

With staff people such as these, joined with our veterans, the Council is well prepared to meet its responsibilities.

LWD/sm

original ltr
Sent to Henry Clark
8/17/63

August 12, 1963

Mr. K. B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

Thank you for your letter of June 13 (and for some time later sending the page from the Free-Press, a paper I don't often see).

I intend to share your letter with some of the Council's officers. The suggestions seem to me very much worth pursuing. I do have some doubts about converting the Executive Committee into a largely self-perpetuating body.

I was especially gratified by the last paragraph of your letter. I only wish that I could in 1963 put your name before the Nominating Committee. You may be sure that I shall do so next year.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Bc: Ben Muse

August 21, 1963

"Pi" Gen,

Mr. Kenneth Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

Les Dunbar has shown me the editorial from the Chattanooga Free Press which you recently sent to him. We thought you might be interested in reading the pamphlet cited in the editorial as well as the companion piece to it. Both are enclosed. It's nice to know that while they hardly agree with us on anything, the editors of the Free Press do take the trouble to read our publications. Again, many thanks for sending us the editorial.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

September 8, 1963

file

ML — return to LDL

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Chatt. News Free Press 9/7/63

This editorial needs an answer, perhaps better indirectly than directly. What I would like to say - and will not- goes something like this.

You old mid-Victorian hypocrite ! Here you are, pretending that practically no one mates out of wedlock. You probably know better and if you don't, any competent social worker or Salvation Army officer can set you straight.

You think it is tragic that this white boy has married this negro girl. You may be right. The situation may well be tragic. But suppose he hadn't married her. Would it be less tragic if she had given birth to a fatherless mulatto and tried to raise the child without his help ? Or given the child up for possible adoption ? In either case, the white boy might have married "within his own group". He might not even know the result of his campus romance.

On the other hand, he might have known, and carried always the guilty knowledge that his pleasure had handicapped an intelligent woman who was trying to rise higher than her ancestors.

And what does this line of thought do for the laws against inter-racial marriage ? Here is no high-minded attempt to preserve racial purity. These laws serve merely to stifle the conscience and afford a legal escape to any white man who might be tempted to legitimatize his mulatto offspring.

By and large the South has shown complete tolerance toward the mixing of the races as long as the mother is negro and the children identified with the despised minority. There lies southern guilt and the slimy quicksand beneath "the southern way of life".

Ken Piper

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31-3
39

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

September 11, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The enclosed pamphlet was something of a jolt, especially the reference to our mutual friend, Benjamin Muse, on the last page.

Other material from the Southern States Industrial Council has usually contained some assumption which I could readily identify and allow for. This time I didn't recognize one.

Has your staff done a study of the Gesell report?

I find myself curiously in sympathy with some of the Chattanooga News Free-Press editorial remarks on the evils of centralized authority. I'm old enough to remember how many pious, sincere people gave their whole-hearted support to national prohibition and thereby prostituted our whole governmental apparatus.

This is not to criticize those who are pushing but merely to call attention to the clumsy, unwieldy weapons which the federal authority seemingly must use.

Very truly yours,

Ken Piper

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1963
RECEIVED

Make folder

"Pi"

September 23, 1963

Mr. Kenneth B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Gen. Carroll

Commissars in the U.S.A by Sensing

Dear Mr. Piper:

We have done no staff study of the Gesell report, but I have read it. Having done so, I must say that its recommendations were not recognizable to me in the form in which they were expressed by Mr. Sensing.

filed in Research "Armed Forces, 1963 - Materials"

For example, he says, "Girls who believe in segregation are not to be allowed on bases for social functions." The report discusses service clubs, used by whites and Negroes alike, and remarks that:

> "...there are instances when too few or no Negro girls are brought to the base, thus creating unnecessary tensions. There is also evidence that on occasion civilian hostesses have imported attitudes which are inconsistent with Department of Defense policy."

The report goes on to say:

> "These problems are not necessary and should be eliminated without delay. To do this, commanders should take affirmative action to insure that there is no de facto segregation or discrimination at any of these club facilities. In addition, Negro girls should be secured for dances, and greater care should be taken in the selection and training of hostesses and other civilian personnel operating service clubs."

Similarly, Mr. Sensing says that, "promotion of officers should be based on their 'initiative' and 'accomplishments' in forcing integration."

As far as I can see, all that the Gesell report says on this point is that it should be clear that officers showing initiative and achievement in improving racial relations will enhance their performance ratings and obtain favorable consideration for promotion; and that it is "especially important" that officers be assured that they will not incur official disfavor for such efforts.

I share your concern, as I am sure Ben Muse does also, for keeping the military clear of involvement in social and civic problems. On the other hand, the military has responsibilities for its own men and functions. It is very hard to thread one's thoughts through these sometimes conflicting considerations. In this area, as in so many others in American life, we are now caught in the dilemma caused by so many years of systematic discrimination against Negro citizens. If we are going to rectify the consequent injustices, and if we are going to ameliorate the economic and social burdens which injustice has fastened onto American life, there may well be a strong necessity now for conscious, systematic policies to root out discrimination.

Likewise, I share your concern about centralization, but I think here, too, the sad fact is that we are caught in a dilemma of our own creation, and by "our" I particularly mean Southerners. It has been fashionable to speak of the astuteness of southern Congressmen, and, indeed, southern politicians generally. And they have been astute in controlling and leading Congress and in delaying for so long the acceptance in the South of the Supreme Court's voting and schools decisions. But I would say that their very astuteness and defensive success has had a large part to do with the deeply disturbing loss of confidence one encounters everywhere in the country today in Congress and in federalism. Their success as Congressional leaders has gone a long way toward destroying Congress. And their success as state leaders has gone a long way

toward undermining the principles of federalism. Because I believe in federalism, I derive intense gratification from the move now going on throughout the country to reapportion state legislatures on an equitable basis, because this opens up to us one last chance to make state governments responsible and effective. And because I believe in legislative supremacy, I look forward to the day, if it ever comes, when Congress may reform itself so that it can become an effective body to accomplish action, and not just to defeat it.

I happened to draw the unwelcome assignment not long ago of being the reporter for a conference on civil rights legislation which I attended at the Notre Dame Law School. The report of the conference is now at the printer's, and should be published soon. I am enclosing, for your possible interest, my draft report, and have marked a few sections which pertain to this matter of federalism. I hasten to add that my colleagues at the conference have, in some cases, not accepted my language, and so this draft is not exactly what is being published.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BC:Mr. Benjamin Muse

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

September 25, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your generous letter of September 23rd does exactly what I hoped for. Reading the quotations which you think underlay Mr. Sensing's remarks, I can understand how a convinced segregationist might feel that he was really only putting in simple language, the intent of the Gesell report.

In fact, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to visualize some of the sociological problems which may readily follow these social functions. It must take a bit of doing to keep them at a satisfactory level even without the complications which desegregation might introduce.

I like particularly your candid recognition of the dilemmas which we inherit as a logical, almost predestined, consequence of our history. My inclination would be to join the southern politicians in our "peccavimus". It has been precisely our distaste for politics at the local and state level, which has created the power vacuum for Uncle Sam to fill.

Thank you too for the opportunity to read the confidential draft of your report on the Notre Dame conference.

Cordially yours,

Ken Piper

KBP/rp

November 6, 1963

Mr. Kenneth Piper
1129 Concord Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee (37405)

Dear Mr. Piper:

Thank you for your letter of October 18, and the attached clippings. But most especially I want to tell you how much we enjoyed having you and your family visit us. Now that you have a reason to come to Atlanta, I hope we shall see more of you. Perhaps on one of your visits you may also have a chance to drop in our offices.

Best wishes to Mrs. Piper.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

October 18, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The dialogue between Mr. Vinson and the Atlanta Constitution puzzled me until I realized that the two parties were talking about different groups of people.

Mr. Vinson was pre-occupied with the white people involved. This becomes crystal clear when he says "To maintain the status quo of a community, therefore, is, in your opinion, to engage in social reform". He is thinking of the white commanding officers, of the white businessmen near a post, of the white soldiers and the white women who attend social occasions.

I wish the "Constitution" had stated its position more bluntly and thereby clarified the actual dilemma. Discussion of racial questions is more illuminating when it does not require decoding. Blunt statement also makes for clarity of thought.

Consider, for example, the choices facing the commanding officer of a typically mixed group quartered in the deep south. He will have a large contingent of whites, a minority of negroes, perhaps a few men of oriental descent. It would be unrealistic at the moment to assume, as the Constitution seems to, that the minority comes from one or more "open communities". As I read the news, I must question where such would be found. Are there actually American negroes from any part of the country who are unacquainted with discrimination ?

The commanding officer has a duty to all his troops, growing out of the paramount responsibility to train them ever more finely toward combat-readiness. If he is white, it is to be hoped that he will allow for his own prejudices. Probably he would be well advised to over-compensate somewhat in handling the problems of the minorities. Yet I can hardly see the wisdom of instructing or coercing him to place the problems of the minorities in paramount position. If his discretion is reduced, it can only mean an equal diminution in his responsibility for morale. Then who assumes that responsibility ?

My own conclusion would be that the armed forces cannot be used to inhibit discrimination in local communities without grave danger to morale and the forging of new weapons for the Commander-in-Chief, at the expense of our liberties.

* * *

I'm enclosing the reports on Governor Wallace's appearance here. Looks like he had astute coaching on the local climate.

* * *

It was a real pleasure to meet the Dunbars face-to-face and particularly to find you in the same church as the Decatur Pipers.

Cordially,

K. B. Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37405

Copy to Mr. Muse:

I think you will find the Southern States Industrial Council eminently respectable. Their slant is not the same as yours or mine, obviously.

PA ✓
✓ JV
MJ - file

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

December 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Sending you the enclosed is a sort of conceited thing to do. My only excuse is that it includes a sort of manifesto on my views which may be of interest.

I gave the interview on November 19th and had no opportunity to see the result until it appeared in print.

Several people have expressed appreciation for the fact that I was willing to have my views known and indicated that they intended to be less reticent themselves.

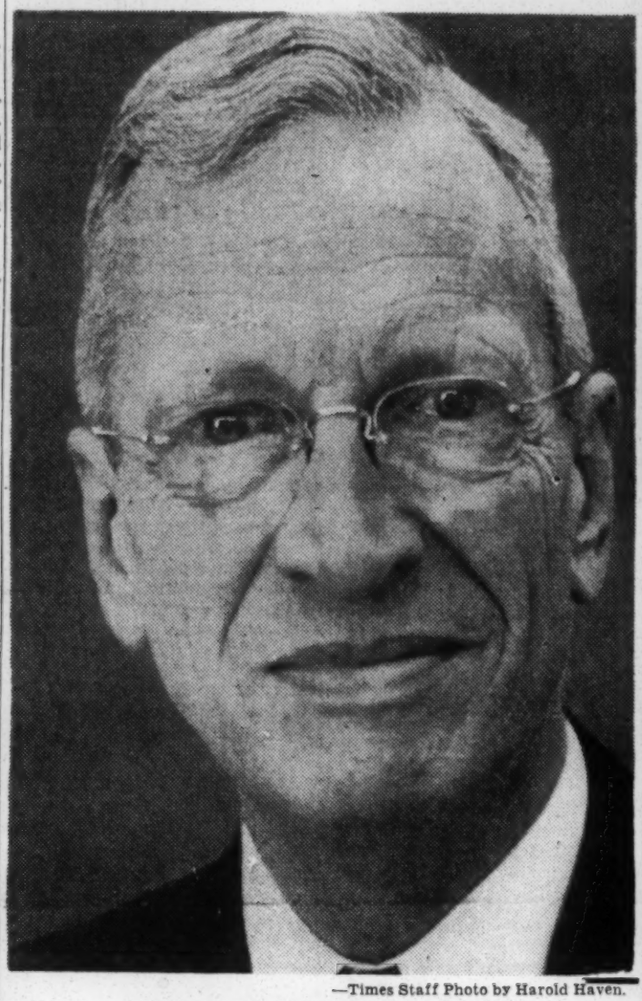
Cordially yours,

Ken Piper

K. B. Piper

KBP:sww
Enclosure

Hopes For 3 Centuries



—Times Staff Photo by Harold Haven.

KENNETH BRETT PIPER

By CHARLES PENNINGTON

Kenneth Brett Piper is a tall, lean, vigorous man who cherishes the hope that he might become one of a very few men to live in three centuries. Born July 13, 1899, he believes he has a fair chance of living through the 20th Century and into the 21st.

He mentions this possibility with a delightful grin, however, which suggests he is not likely to lay any wagers nor to make it a dedicated purpose. Although his demeanor is solemn and dignified on first impression, his casual conversation soon reveals subtle wit and sparkling humor.

A vice president of Provident Life and Accident Insurance Co., Ken Piper is credited by many of his associates with shouldering much of the responsibility for the supervision of construction of the company's gleaming new home office building across from the courthouse. This he modestly denies, asserting that Provident's executive committee devoted much more time to the building project than do those elite groups of most companies. The fact remains, however, that he was relieved of most of his other duties in 1957 so he could devote almost full time to the building. He was named secretary of the building committee, which held more than 300 meetings before the handsome structure was completed. He only refers to his part in the building program as a "once-in-a-lifetime privilege."

Proud of Provident

Ken is exceedingly proud of Provident and its leadership. He joined the company in 1933 when it had some $58 million of life insurance in

that "you can't divide mankind into 'good guys and bad guys' and that every man and woman carries the mark of human limitations." He believes the hope for world peace lies in worldwide individual respect for human dignity.

An active participant in the civic and cultural life of his community, Ken is currently president of the Chattanooga Symphony Association and a member of the Allied Arts Council. He is a member of the Chattanooga Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Community Relations Conference, the Torch Club, Kiwanis Club and the Mountain City Club. He is an elder and member of the board of trustees of Northside Presbyterian Church, where he teaches an adult Sunday School class.

He told his class not long ago that "the love of God transcends our world and its politics, and His sovereign power reigns free over it. None of our relative human political efforts is the direct and unequivocal expression of the purpose of God."

Wears Phi Beta Kappa Key

Ken was born in Somerville, Mass., oldest of the three sons of James and Eula Brett Piper. His father was for many years manager of the New York office of the National Railways of Mexico, and the family moved to Brooklyn before Ken was of school age. He attended the public schools there and later he attended Erasmus Hall, where he was graduated in 1917. He enrolled at Columbia University in New York and joined the Student Army

Times Staff Photo by Harold Haven.

KENNETH BRETT PIPER

By CHARLES PENNINGTON

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Proud of Provident

Ken is exceedingly proud of Provident and its leadership. He joined the company in 1933 when it had some $58 million of life insurance in force and on that basis was 120th among life insurance companies in the United States and Canada. As of this past March 31, Provident had more than $4 billion in life insurance in force and ranked 30th among similar companies. Provident showed a corresponding growth in accident and health insurance, and its total advance is reflected in the increase in its home office personnel from 130 in 1933 to more than 800 in 1963.

Ken attributes this phenomenal growth to the "competent, conscientious men who lead the company and who are more diligent than average among executives." It is due to "their fortunate emphasis from the early days on group and health insurance, plus a determination to be outstanding in the field of life insurance. The emphasis was on growth rather than on large dividends to stockholders, and an insistence on dealing fairly with all claimants and with its agents."

Ken plans to retire next June 30. Then after a couple of months off to relax he expects "to strike out in some new direction, perhaps in the field of selling." It won't be in the insurance field — he considers that unethical. Neither will he be "somebody's 'bargain' just because I happen to be on pension." If he doesn't do that he plans to get into some "specific, scheduled endeavor, perhaps the literacy movement." He plans to stay in Chattanooga and expects "to have a very good time for a long time to come."

A man of strong personal convictions, Ken Piper is a champion of civil rights, "but not a rabble rouser." Long before the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 he was convinced that "separate - but - equal" education could never be a fact and that it meant a separate culture in a single society. He regards himself intellectually as a champion of the underdog—"not as a social worker, but my feeling is more than futile sentiment." He is a political independent ("not that I'm proud of it") but, like many Americans, he was personally shattered by the assassination of President Kennedy and the loss to the world of a powerful leader.

A reader of philosophy and a religious man, Ken believes that "you can't divide mankind into 'good guys and bad guys' and that every man and woman carries the mark of human limitations." He believes the hope for world peace lies in worldwide individual respect for human dignity.

An active participant in the civic and cultural life of his community, Ken is currently president of the Chattanooga Symphony Association and a member of the Allied Arts Council. He is a member of the Chattanooga Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Community Relations Conference, the Torch Club, Kiwanis Club and the Mountain City Club. He is an elder and member of the board of trustees of Northside Presbyterian Church, where he teaches an adult Sunday School class.

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Wears Phi Beta Kappa Key

Ken was born in Somerville, Mass., oldest of the three sons of James and Eula Brett Piper. His father was for many years manager of the New York office of the National Railways of Mexico, and the family moved to Brooklyn before Ken was of school age. He attended the public schools there and later he attended Erasmus Hall, where he was graduated in 1917. He enrolled at Columbia University in New York and joined the Student Army Training Corps, but was never called to active duty. An excellent student, he majored in math and history and was graduated with a B.A. degree in 1920, and as a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

He accepted a post as assistant professor in physics on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. After he had been there about a year he met Alice Turner Doolittle at a garden party. She was born in Lebanon, the daughter of American missionaries, but she was educated in the United States, at Oberlin Academy in Ohio, and at the University of Minnesota School of Nursing. She returned to the Near East to work in a Syrian mission and, after a year in the language school, she joined the nursing staff of a tuberculosis sanatorium. About two years after they met, Ken and Alice were married on Nov. 29, 1923, and they returned to the States in January, 1924.

While looking for a teaching job in this country Ken encountered George Brett, a cousin of his mother's who was teaching an actuarial course at Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. in New York. He introduced Ken at Metropolitan and Ken accepted a job offer of the company. In 1927 he accepted a post with Woodward, Fondiller, Bryan & Sharp, insurance consultants. From that company he came to Provident in July 1933 as an actuary. He was elected vice president and actuary in 1946, and in 1948 he dropped the title of actuary to accept broader administrative responsibility. He helped supervise construction of the West Building, adjacent to the old Provident Building as an emergency measure just before the Korean War, but at that time the company was acquiring property for site of its present home office building.

Ken and his wife live at 1119 Concord St., across from the Chattanooga Golf and Country Club. They have two sons, George Willard Piper, manager of local sales for the Mueller Co. here, and Richard Kenneth Piper, a ministerial student at Emory University. The sons have provided their parents with eight attractive grandchildren—seven girls and one boy.

December 11, 1963

Mr. Kenneth Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Piper:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 10, and the enclosed clipping. I think this is great, and I was delighted to have the opportunity to learn more about you; I feel I already knew all the essentials.

With best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

KENNETH B. PIPER
1119 CONCORD STREET
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENN.

T.A.
PW
MJ - file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You were more than kind to interrupt your moving day for me. I wondered afterward when you finally called it a day.

It was a pleasure and privilege to see Mr. Muse again and to be with your other friends.

In a group of a dozen business men this week, there seemed to be no question that lectures open to the public should be open to all the public, an acceptance of an "open society" as the necessary trend. The discussion brought out encouraging instances of non-discriminatory employment.

Cordially,

Ken Piper

Feb. 6, 1964

File
"Pi" gen. corresp.

December 23, '53
A special day!

Dear Dr. Poe,

The warmest praise to you for that fifty years of service to these Southern States, and the people in them. No one I know has more faithfully seen and done what was right.

And how good that you honor two Negroes as men of the year in Southern Agriculture.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

December 31, '53

Dear Mr. Potts,

We were all so pleased with your kind gift of a whole twenty dollars to our year-end need that I have neglected to try to answer the main body of your letter.

I've puzzled and puzzled over people that could be useful. For Spanton's subject you would have to have somebody with both Ag College and Gov't experience. Seems to me only the USDA could give you such a man. The truth is that there's almost nobody now that knows what to do about holding place for the smaller man in Southern agriculture. The times call for statemen, and they aren't here. Tuskegee will have to make some; I don't know anybody else that is honestly trying.

I have to be in New York the week before your conference, and I have promised to be up there again either the week of your meeting or the week afterwards, depending on the choice of the people who are asking me (a Union conference). If I'm down here I'll try very hard to go over for a couple of days of the meeting, just to be present, and see what people are thinking. I can't promise with sufficient definateness to earn a spot on the program, but if I can show I will.

Be bold. Ask for what's right. It should be got. And people want real remedies now, not pussy-footing. They will soon get tired of Eisenhoover, and be wanting answers. Tuskegee should have some.

Sincerely,

GSM

January 15, '54

Dear Mr. Potts,

I'm mighty sorry, but I had promised off to a meeting at N.Y. University (about schools and the Court) for either the last week in January or the first in February, and the guy took the last one in January, so I'm sunk on getting to your meeting -- much as I would like to be there, and put some questions here and there!

Did you see that in Eisenhower's speech to Congress about farm policy he said that as to small farmers there would be some further "study" during 1954? I'm for action, not study. So are you!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

January 11, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are including a program of the Professional Agricultural Workers Conference and the Farmers Conference. As a result of the tips and hints in your letter, you will note that we have made some revision in Section III of the program. I believe we have consultants who, for the most part, will not hesitate to point out the source of our major social and economic problems.

I hope we will be bold enough to emphasize what is right for the best interest of this region and this country. I think we also need to focus attention on making the maximum use of all opportunities now available for the benefit of the people we are responsible for reaching.

We hope that you will find the time to come down and give us the benefit of your wide experience. You may also be able to ask some questions no one can answer.

Very truly yours,

L. A. Potts, Dean
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE

LAP:crm
Enclosure 1

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE

RECEIVED
DEC 21
Southern Regional Council

December 17, 1953

Doctor George Mitchell
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

PS.

Attached you will find a check for Twenty Dollars to assist with the excellent work of the Council.

We are also sending a proposed program of the Professional Workers Conference to be held here in January. You will note we have listed on the program Dr. W. T. Spanton, Chief of Agricultural Education, to discuss "Specific Training for Making the Maximum Use of Available Resources, Information and the Services of Existing Agencies". We have just been notified that a previous engagement will prevent him from accepting this invitation.

Please let me know if you are acquainted with any one identified with the Regional Education program, or any other person qualified to make constructive suggestions to the group of professional workers who plan to attend the Conference; a list of these workers is attached. Our purpose for holding this conference on "Servicing Southern Agriculture for Maximum Productivity and Full Employment" is to stimulate and encourage agricultural leaders to become more active in working with farm families, to help them increase their income and to focus attention on the importance of a larger number of competent workers to assist the families.

If you have the time, we shall be happy to have you meet this group and help them to understand the significance of the graft on the front page of the October-November issue of The New South. This meeting may also provide an opportunity to secure additional members.

Dr. Allbaugh of the Tennessee Valley Authority has been invited to replace Dr. Houchins. We shall be happy to provide space for you to supplement the facts he is to present. We are anxious that these workers have a full view of our responsibilities and opportunities. Your reaction at an early date will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

L. H. Potts, Dean
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE

Acknowledgement card sent 12/21/53

LAP/f
Enclosure

The PROGRESSIVE FARMER
RALEIGH BIRMINGHAM MEMPHIS DALLAS

INSURANCE BUILDING
RALEIGH, N. C.

February 5, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Friend:

In the library of my Longview home are several shelves of books autographed for me by their authors who were my friends and other "very special" volumes.

These books range all the way from a volume of Confucius' sayings given me in Peking in 1910 by a descendant of Confucius of the 76th generation....books by American public men as conservative as Wm. H. Taft, as liberal as Josephus Daniels and as radical as Henry Wallace....books by three Britishers equally famous and charming, Lord (James) Bryce, Sir Horace Plunkett and the Irish poet "AE"....a book autographed for me as long ago as 1905 (Lanier's Poems by his son Charles) and as recently as 1953, William Polk's Southern Accent....poems by three well loved friends, John Charles McNeill, Edwin Markham, Benjamin Sledd.... my great friend Walter Page's Rebuilding Old Commonwealths....college textbooks I inherited as a farm boy from my more fortunate cousins who attended Chapel Hill and Trinity (now Duke)....an old 1833 astronomy which made all the constellations my neighbors....textbooks my mother used when she and Walter Page were students at an old time "academy" at Cary around 1870 and --AND--

.....

"Oh, well," I can hear somebody say, "just start a 70-year-old man reminiscing (and especially if he loves books) and he'll never, NEVER stop". So I pause right here (come to see me if you can stand to hear more) and I now turn directly to the special point and object of this letter.

I have indeed long had a great many volumes I prize. But from now on there will be ONE incomparably more highly prized volume than any other. And you know now what it is--the volume of letters you and other friends sent and which was presented to me last week at the banquet given in recognition of my 50 years service as President of The Progressive Farmer Company 1903-53.

The fact that ~~you~~ contributed to that volume will always add to its worth and charm for me, and to its interest for my children and grandchildren in the years ahead. The fact that you may have strained your conscience unduly in what you wrote will never diminish my pleasure in your letter--no matter how much it may embarrass you with St. Peter! And again I thank you with all my heart.

I only wish I had a letter from your father also, who was one of my best-loved friends

Sincerely your friend,

Clarence Poe

Clarence Poe:r

Five Editions TEXAS MISSISSIPPI VALLEY KENTUCKY-TENNESSEE GEORGIA-ALABAMA-FLORIDA CAROLINAS-VIRGINIA

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

1201

=(48)

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is TIME at point of destination

1955 APR 5 PM 4 01

AA44 RA394

TU ATLANTA

R.RGA476 PD=WUX RALEIGH NCAR 5 342PME=

:DR GEORGE W MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL ATLA=

I AM WRITING AN ARTICLE ABOUT ECONOMIC RISE OF NEGRO WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR RUSHING ME ANY DATA YOU HAVE ON THIS SUBJECT=

:WILLIAMS POE THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER

Rec'd 4:20 pm

APR 5 1955

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

*New South:
Oct-Nov, 1953
May-June, 1951
August, 1952
July, 1950
Augugt, 1954
April-May, 1954
January, 1954
January, 1953
March-April, 1953
Changing Patterns
Answers for Action
Equal job Opportunity is good business - Pres. Com. on Gov't Contracts
National Urban League ~~xxxxxx~~ reprint from Business Week, 12/18/54
Negro Police in the South, 1954 (mimeod.)

April 6, 1955

Mr. Williams Poe - progressive farmer
Insurance Building
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Poe:

I hasten to send you some of the things we have in print. *

I have been reading your items with much interest.

Warmest regards to Mr. Poe and to Larue.

Tip: Mayes Behrman does a job in Greensboro for the American Friends Service Committee. They call it the Job Opportunities Project. He is really negotiating agreement, Quaker-wise, on new type employment for Negroes in the Greensboro area. He has his feet on the ground and is doing a solid job with fresh and local thinking into it. My guess is that it will be quite worth your while to have him over to Raleigh to tell you what he is doing, for a better chance at jobs is a key to continuing improvement.

To me the basic factor in the whole matter is the status of the Negro in Southern agriculture. If he had more land ownership and many more long-term written leases, and if he saw a tolerably secure and appreciated future for himself in Southern farming, then I think all the problems of the next couple of decades would be much much easier to solve. Take a look at the map in the back of the pamphlet called Answers for Action: Schools in the South. The burden of the whole problem is to bring about in those orange and brown colored counties an understanding of Negroes as persons, instead of as hands. And I believe the basis for such an understanding is there.

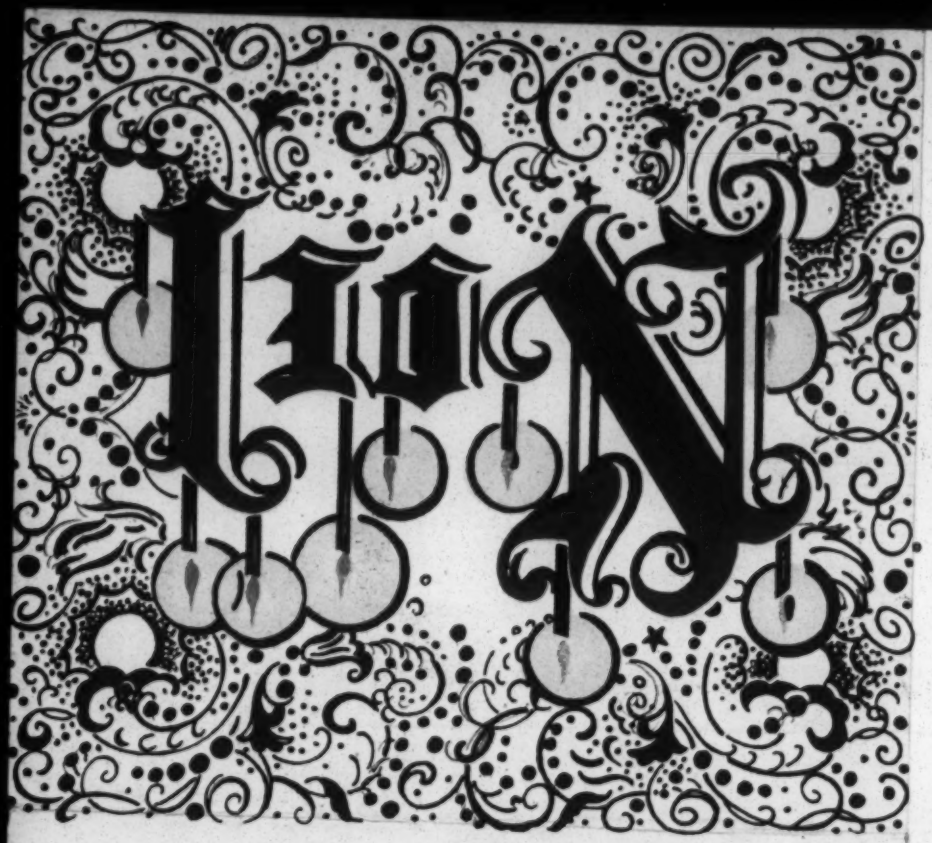
Clarence Poe's stand for peace is one of the sheet-anchors of civilization.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

* Under separate cover this date.



Please know, Mr. Mitchell, that I really did enjoy that afternoon Dec. '54 (luncheon and trip out to the college). (It was a luncheon where Dr. Paul Lawrence and Mozel Hill spoke — interracial).

I came to Texas, worked a while in Dallas in the State Welfare Office, and am now attending Social Work classes at the University. -

I shall write you from time to time. (Have been unable to get in touch with my sister). gp

(I miss life abroad, but I'm glad I'm here.)

MERRY CHRISTMAS

and

HAPPY NEW YEAR

— Gladys Powell
Dec. '55

Permanent address:

4712 1/2 Ave. G,
Austin,
Texas.

54
RYNART - CHICAGO
Made in U.S.A.

May 30, 1961

Lt. H. A. Poole
Box 1456
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lt. Poole:

As per your request by telephone, we are mailing you two copies of "School Desegregation: the First Six Years."

If we can be of additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures (2)

June 2, 1961

Lt. H. A. Poole (G.B.I.)
Box 1456
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lt. Poole:

In response to your secretary's telephone request of this morning, we are mailing you two copies of our Special Report, "The Freedom Ride," and the column by Eugene Patterson.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

POLIER, MIDONICK & ZINSSER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

SHAD POLIER
MILLARD L. MIDONICK
BARBARA L. ZINSSER
STEPHEN WISE TULIN

MURRAY HILL 7-3577
CABLE: POLMIDARM NEW YORK

File

November 20, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of November 17 and the enclosures. I hope to be able to read them over Thanksgiving.

I certainly expect you to let me know when you will again be in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

SHAD POLIER

SP/m

April 10, 1962

Mrs. Mina P. Shaughnessy
1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, New York

Dear Mina:

There have been a lot of fan letters. Here are two I thought you would especially like to see.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

file

HAAS, HOLLAND, FREEMAN, LEVISON & GIBERT

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON
ROBERT H. WALLING
HUGH W. GIBERT
RICHARD N. HUBERT

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
RICHARD D. FLEXNER
ROSE M. SCHREIBER

LAW OFFICES
2709 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

TELEPHONE 525-6141
AREA CODE 404

August 7, 1967

CERTIFIED MAIL # 290411
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bass
1014 Piedmont Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

See "PO" gen.

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Bass:

Mr. Dave Podhouser, a client of this firm, has asked me to advise you that he wishes to reoccupy the premises located at 1014 Piedmont Avenue, N.E. and presently being leased to you by Mr. Podhouser.

Notice is hereby given in accordance with the provisions of Georgia Law to terminate your tenancy sixty (60) days from the date of receipt of this letter. Demand is made that the premises be vacated by the end of that period.

If it is possible for you to make arrangements to vacate the premises immediately, Mr. Podhouser has agreed to refund your payment for August rent.

I would appreciate it if you would get in touch with me at your earliest convenience so that we may conclude the matter in a mutually agreeable manner.

Very truly yours

Edward L. Greenblatt

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
For the Firm

ELG/jbb

August 29, 1967

Dear Friends,

Recently we received the enclosed letter from Haas, Holland, Freeman, Levison & Gibert evicting us from our office and home. Jim Gehres, the tenant of record for the first floor of our building, where an integrated group of peace workers live, received a nearly identical letter the same day. As you will notice, the eviction was mailed the day after the Hiroshima Day demonstration and can be traced directly to our participationg in that demonstration.

The first reaction of most people who heard about our eviction was that we should "Protest!" However, after considerable thought, we decided at a Workshop meeting that this is not the proper course of action. First of all, we do not blame the Podhausers for our eviction. They resisted considerable pressure from neighbors and from the police before finally backing down and asking us to leave.

The Podhausers have put up with a lot for five months. For example, we gave a party on April 1 and had a great deal of police harassment, which we resisted with apparent success. We found out later, however, that Mrs. Podhauser had received a call after midnight from someone who said he was a policeman (about two hours after the police had left us, forced to admit that we weren't breaking the law.) He told her that there were all kinds of "niggers" around and asked her if she could "do something." Mrs. Podhauser told him that we were within our rights. The Podhausers have received numerous complaints from our neighbors and from the police which boil down to racial attacks and to the assertion that we are all communists. On various occasions it has been suggested, with no other evidence than our integration, that we engage in sex orgies or use narcotics.

The final blow came over Hiroshima Day weekend. There was a nearly continuous poster painting party here, and many out-of-town demonstrators made the house their headquarters. Although the noise was not bad and was indeed not even the subject of a police complaint, the sight of so many "peaceniks" and of the yellow submarine undoubtedly enraged some of our pro-war neighbors. The police visited us six times with such complaints as "too many cars" and two fire inspectors and a building inspector also dropped by.

Mrs. Podhauser and her son Dave, who actually owns this house, got numerous calls at all hours from irate neighbors. They were accused of being "Commies too" and of "being in with them." Someone threatened an American Legion picket line at their furniture stores and other harassment. Finally they couldn't take it any more.

We think the Podhausers have been heroic. They are not particularly against the war or for civil rights, but they do happen to believe in democracy and they know something about persecution. We feel that we have to accept the fact that they have taken as much as they can and be grateful that they have stood as much as they have.

If we have nothing but thanks for the Podhausers, we could perhaps protest against our neighbors, but we believe that they have as much right to complain about us as we do to complain about the war. Our real complaint is against the Atlanta police and officialdom for transmitting the pressure of a few bigots to the Podhausers, but it is hard to know exactly who is to blame and even harder to prove it.

Our real problem now is to find a new place. Because this is where most of our draft counsellees live, we think it should be in our present area, from about 18th Street to North Avenue and from Spring Street to Myrtle. There are several poss-

OVER

ible houses, but it remains to be seen whether we can get any of them at a reasonable price with a two-year lease. If you or anyone you know has property we can rent, please let us know. We expect that we may have considerable difficulty in getting something. We also need legal help, furniture, help in moving and painting, and financial help. We are grateful for any support you can give.

Peace,

Henry Bass

Henry Bass

Sue Bass

Sue Bass
Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence
1014 Piedmont Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
872-1137

December 29, 1969

Mr. Philip L. Pollack
314 N. Broom Street, #1B
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Mr. Pollack:

Regretably, I know of few programs in your specialty.

A good friend of ours is in the public school system in Richmond and would be aware, very likely, of programs with the disadvantaged. She is Mrs. Alice Mitchell, 325-B Shetland Court, Richmond, Virginia 23227.

The best program I know of is the Freshmen Studies Program at Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama. This program takes students from the public schools who have been subject to poor quality education and prepares them for college. The director of that program is Dr. John Monro, former Dean of Harvard College. You might very well find there the kind of interest colleagues you seek.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

314 N. Broom Street, #1B
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
December 17, 1969

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Mr. Julian Bond has referred your organization to me as a starting point in my seeking a teaching position for the summer of 1970.

I am a 1969 graduate of Cornell University with an AB degree in mathematics and am currently in my first year of graduate study in computer science at the University of Wisconsin. I am seeking a position for the summer teaching computer programming to high school or, preferably, college age youths with "disadvantaged" backgrounds.

If you have any such programs in need of teachers or know of any, I would be happy to supply a complete resume. My home town is Richmond, Virginia, and I would prefer that locality; however, the location is of small importance.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Philip L. Pollack

Philip L. Pollack

AT THE WORKSHOP

Lendon Sadler has just returned to Atlanta from a peace pilgrimage which included a visit with the New York Workshop in Nonviolence and participating in their Hiroshima Day demonstration at Expo 67. The September Newsletter will carry an account of his trip.

Lendon is going to be coordinating the distribution of leaflets for the door-to--door organizing project. 75,000 of them will be printed after final approval, expected from the Workshop meeting on Thursday, August 31. We hope that contributions will enable us to print another 75,000 soon so that we can reach as many Atlantans as possible. At a penny a leaflet it seems well worth it. Volunteers to help with the leafletting and follow-up are very badly needed. Please send in the coupon if you will be able to help.

On Saturday, August 26, the Workshop had the first meeting of its draft resisters. Over the past three months we have provided draft counselling to over 50 guys, selling 40 copies of the Handbook for Conscientious Objectors. Currently we are assisting almost 20 of them in processing their applications for classification as conscientious objectors and advising several others on other forms of resistance. A large part of the success of our program is due to the Fellowship of Reconciliation opinion survey, through which we have reached literally hundreds of men of draft age.

It seemed high time to start bringing our draft resisters together for joint action, so we had a preliminary meeting for this purpose on the 26th. A plan for picketting induction centers with possible civil disobedience in the near future. Also, we formulated a program to get more people involved in leafletting at coffee houses and in front of high schools to make more people aware of the alternatives to fighting in Vietnam. Last but not least we need to get more people involved in preliminary counselling, able to give informed answers to at least basic questions.

A second meeting will be held on Saturday, September 9. If you are at all interested in participating in thise program please call us and let us know as soon as you can. Since we believe that wars will stop when men refuse to fight in them, some of us feel that this is the Workshop's most important program.

The theatre party the Workshop had planned for War Games has been cancelled. Instead we will be selling tickets to all performances for a profit of 50¢ each. The profits of the first 100 tickets we sell will go to the Workshop. After that, the Atlanta Alliance for Peace, sponsors of the August 6 demonstration, will benefit. Tickets are $2.00 each and are good for any performance. War Games will be at the Festival Cinema, 142 Spring Street NW, from August 28 to September 3. Several peaceworkers are buying extra tickets to give to their friends and neighbors. Why don't you?

Harvey Clemens has requested that you jot down a few thoughts on the war and send them in so we can use them in making leaflets. It's pretty hard to write a new leaflet every week, so any help you can give will be appreciated.

A few things to remember:
Every Thursday at 9 PM weekly Workshop meeting
Saturday, September 9 at noon draft resistence meeting
Fri. noon--vigil at 5 Points.

☐ I can help with the door-to-door organizing project.
☐ I want to learn how to be a preliminary draft counsellor.
☐ Please send me _____ tickets for War Games. I enclose $_____.
☐ I enclose $_____ for the door-to- door organizing project.
☐ I enclose $_____ for the work of the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence.

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ ZIP _____

Mail to: Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, P.O. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Board of Police Commissioners

October 18, 1957

Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr.
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
News Department
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Bill:

It was good to hear from you after so long a time. Nothing could be more pleasant than a solid justification for paying St. Louis another visit and the prospect of seeing you and Carita out there.

I talked with Quig about the matter by telephone today. My first reaction had been doubt that I could bring anything useful to a discussion with Mr. Priest and his associates. But after talking with Quig and getting some idea of the broad-gauged approach to these problems that is going on in St. Louis, I got increasingly enthusiastic about the idea. I still don't know if I can be of any help, but it sounds like the kind of head-knocking that I am at home with. Certainly Sam Priest sounds like a first-rate guy.

I left it with Quigley that I could come out for a day or two week after next. He is to discuss that with Mr. Priest and let me know.

Thanks for thinking of me. I hope I will be seeing you and Carita soon.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(3)

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

NEWS DEPARTMENT

October 9, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn avenue NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold -

I had a telephone call this evening from Sam Priest, president of the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners. He referred to a conversation we had some months ago at a social gathering. In the conversation, we discussed some of the difficulties involved in the relations between the races - particularly as they related to police work in a metropolitan area - and I brought up your name. I said you were the soundest and most level-headed person I knew in the field, and told Mr. Priest of the work you were doing.

When Mr. Priest telephoned this evening, he said that he felt need of some advice and counsel and wanted to have a talk with you. He said he could either come down to see you, or that perhaps you might come up here at the expense of the police board. I said that I thought you might be prevailed on to come here if you thought the mission constructive. He was thinking in terms of your spending one day here, talking privately with him and perhaps with other members of the board. He intends to write you a letter, or telephone, and I said that I would be glad to write a letter to sort of pave the way.

I do not know precisely what problems Mr. Priest has in mind, but I gather that they relate to the general picture of the immigration of southern Negroes in massive numbers to St. Louis and other midwestern cities. Mr. Priest is an executive of Gaylord Container Corp., is of liberal mind and is considered absolutely first-rate in every respect. He is in addition an extremely nice fellow personally. I am certain that any help you gave him would be effort put to good use.

When and if you come up, count on staying with us. We have plenty of room. Carita and I regretted missing you and your wife when we were in Atlanta this summer. Maybe you could bring her along, too... You will be hearing from Mr. Priest.

Warmest regards,

Bill

William K. Wyant Jr.

Mrs. Helen

November 20, 1957

Colonel H. Sam Priest
President
Board of Police Commissioners
1200 Clark Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Colonel Priest:

My apologies for this delay in writing you, but I have been alternatively involved in illness and conferences ever since I returned to Atlanta.

First let me express my warm appreciation for the hospitality and enlightenment I received at the hands of you and your associates. It was, for me, a most pleasant experience.

While I was impressed by the magnitude of St. Louis's problems, I was even more impressed by the determined and intelligent fashion in which the Police Department and representatives of the community are searching for sound solutions. Most of my impressions are obvious ones which were discussed rather thoroughly while I was there. But, for what they are worth, I will try to sum them up briefly.

The high incidence of crime in predominantly Negro areas of the city, the seasonal increase expected about now, and the steps being taken to meet it are viewed more as a public relations problem than as a problem of police performance. The joint meeting of Police Department officials and the Police-Community Relations Executive Committee seemed to me a very

sound beginning toward averting any misunderstandings. A few observations:

(1) Our experience in the South has convinced us that the guiding principle in such situations should be the inclusion in planning and consultation of influential Negro leadership -- particularly those who are most inclined to be disturbed or critical. Much of the uneasiness arises out of the general exclusion of Negro leadership from the decision-making process. In this regard, Mr. Bohannon's suggestion was very much to the point -- that is, a meeting at which the local Negro editors, leaders of the NAACP and other such groups would be informed of the immediate problem and the Police Department's general plans for meeting it; and, in turn, would have a chance to air their doubts and gain reassurance. (The discussion between Mr. Bohannon and others at the meeting -- notably the two line captains -- was an excellent example of this process.)

(2) The importance of the facts themselves, as compiled by Captain Aylesword and Mr. Dickey, can't be underestimated. The information now on pin maps could be used with great effectiveness, in graphic form, with the district police-community relations committees and any meetings of citywide leadership. As Mr. Scwartz pointed out, this may be just what is needed to give the district committees a sharper focus and incentive to step up their activities.

(3) It seems to be generally agreed that one of the problems of the district committees is the type of community leadership to be involved. The present representation seems to run to "professional" persons who are somewhat removed from the day-to-day life of their neighborhoods. Involving the "natural," less sophisticated leadership is a difficult job, but might be well worth an effort. I suggested to Mr. McCrory that it might be useful for each of the district committees to make a detailed inventory of problem spots in its district, as a basis for planning their corrective programs. Perhaps the identification of more down-to-earth neighborhood leaders -- the law-abiding ones, of course! -- could be a by-product of such inventories.

(4) Any long-range approach to the areas of high crime incidence is less a police problem than a problem for community agencies concerned with housing, health, employment, recreation, and welfare. It would be a tribute to the leadership of the police-community relations group, however, if it should stimulate a broad-gauged, concerted attack on these problems by the appropriate groups in St. Louis. It would be presumptuous of me, after such a short exposure, to do more than suggest the bare

idea. If the idea is judged as having merit, St. Louis has plenty of resources for detailed planning and execution of it. But it does strike me that the findings of the Police Department might provide a springboard for such a mobilisation of community-wide effort. Perhaps the conference suggested by Mr. Bohannon could serve as a beginning. Perhaps the first stage could take the form of a community audit or self-survey. There are many ways in which it could be done, given sufficient interest and leadership. The city's excellent newspapers would be a great asset in such an undertaking.

St. Louis has set a fine example for other cities in its handling of school integration. The problems considered here are also common to many large cities, within and outside the South. If St. Louis could again blaze the way in this area, it would make a tremendous contribution to the unity and welfare of the country.

I hope there random comments are of some value to you and your associates. Again, my thanks for a valuable experience, and my warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Statement of Expenses)
cc: Mr. Martin Quigley
P. S. I am still looking for the best material on the migrant population and will write you again soon on that subject.

H.C.F.

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

Visit to St. Louis, October 30-31, 1957

Eastern Air Lines Fare	$ 71.50
Airport Transportation (Atlanta)	2.70
The Chase Hotel	15.56
TOTAL:	$ 89.76

Signed: _____
Harold C. Fleming

RECEIVED OCT 23 1957

MEMBERS
H. SAM PRIEST
PRESIDENT
RUSSELL L. DEARMONT
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALPHONSE G. EBERLE
PURCHASING MEMBER
KENNETH TEASDALE
TREASURER
MAYOR RAYMOND R. TUCKER
EX-OFFICIO MEMBER

BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS
1200 CLARK AVENUE
CITY OF ST. LOUIS
MISSOURI

October 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want you to know how pleased I am that you will be able to come to St. Louis and discuss our problems with us from October 30 to November 1. Bill Wyant has told me much about your work. I am sure from what he has said that you will assist us greatly here in devising some more effective ways in which we may attack our problems. In any event, it is good of you to be willing to come. Martin Quigley has told me of his conversation with you regarding the nature of our problems.

I am making a reservation for you at the Hotel Statler, which is in downtown St. Louis. As Quig indicated, we will be pleased to pay your traveling expenses and a per diem of $50.00 a day, if this is satisfactory with you.

We believe, by the way, that we should try to avoid any newspaper publicity on your visit this time.

Meanwhile, we shall be setting up a series of informal meetings and interviews for you. However, we shall leave you plenty of time to follow your own leads and shall try to help you in every way possible.

Sincerely yours

H. Sam Priest

President

HSP-c

December 31, 1957

Mr. James T. McCrory
Director of Community Relations
Board of Police Commissioners
1200 Clark Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your letter forwarding the expense check and bringing me up to date on your work.

I am glad to hear that the District Committees are progressing, both in numbers and in leadership. Although I don't know that I said so in my earlier letter, I think your full-time leadership will mean more to the program than anything else.

My best wishes for the New Year to you and Colonel Priest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl: N.Y. Times Reprint

RECEIVED DEC 26 1957

MEMBERS
H. SAM PRIEST
PRESIDENT
RUSSELL L. DEARMONT
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALPHONSE G. EBERLE
PURCHASING MEMBER
KENNETH TEASDALE
TREASURER
MAYOR RAYMOND R. TUCKER
EX-OFFICIO MEMBER

BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS

1200 CLARK AVENUE
CITY OF ST. LOUIS

MISSOURI

Central
1-12-12

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold,

My apologies for the delay in handling this, but Col. Priest has been beset by the same difficulties you mentioned in your letter - illness and conferences out of town - and asked me to pass on his verbal appreciation for your visit here. He will write as soon as he returns to his desk.

We still wrestle with leadership problems in the District Committees. The Committee whose ragged meeting you witnessed is being reorganized at the request of the membership. We may have found a kind of solution in the other committees where a "tutelage" system seems to be working rather well. In one, we began with a very sharp professional as acting chairman, he turned it over to a layman after three months and the two are now operating as a team. The same procedure is working in another committee and we plan to try it in the organization of two more committees in January-February.

The two "new" committees will result from requests from very active neighborhood organizations in both Police Districts which have not only asked us to organize District Police-Community Relations Committees but have "volunteered" some of their best lay people for leadership, which is very encouraging.

Col. Priest will mention other developments in his letter. I enjoyed meeting you very much and found your comments really helpful. For now, let me repeat Col. Priest's thanks and wish a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to you and your family and to Fred Routh, whom I met at the NAIRO convention in Kansas City.

Sincerely,

Jim McCrory

James T. McCrory
Director of Community Relations

JTM:s
Enc.: Expense Check

August 25, 1958

Mr. James T. McCrory
Director, Community Relations
Board of Police Commissioners
1200 Clark Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your letter and the welcome news that Colonel Priest and Chief O'Connell are willing to cooperate.

The opportunity has had careful consideration in Charlottesville. Because of the short time remaining before school-opening, it now appears that they will not take advantage of our proposal. This is also likely to be the case in the other Virginia communities.

If there should be any last-minute change of mind, I will be in touch with you. But in any case, it is clear that we are in for a long and difficult period of turbulence, and I have no doubt we will be calling on you for quiet assistance later if not now.

Meanwhile, appreciation and best regards to you, Colonel Priest, and Chief O'Connell.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MEMBERS
H. SAM PRIEST
PRESIDENT
RUSSELL L. DEARMONT
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALPHONSE G. EBERLE
PURCHASING MEMBER
KENNETH TEASDALE
TREASURER
MAYOR RAYMOND R. TUCKER
EX-OFFICIO MEMBER
CARL GIESSOW
SECRETARY

BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS
1200 CLARK AVENUE
CITY OF ST. LOUIS
MISSOURI

15 August 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Av., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have consulted with both Col. Priest and Chief O'Connell on your suggestion. They appreciate the problems facing the Virginia police chiefs you mentioned and would be very happy to invite either or both of the chiefs here for a visit, should it appear to you that the situation warrants this.

Many of the lessons learned in St. Louis in the course of the Fairgrounds Park riots were applied with considerable success during the integration of public schools. Chief O'Connell assures me that he and his commanders are more than willing to share this knowledge with the chiefs you mentioned.

In case you do feel a visit is wise, we would appreciate your advice on how an invitation should be handled.

Best regards,

Jim McCrory

James T. McCrory
Director, Community Relations

September 30, 1958

Mr. James McCrorey
Director, Community Relations
Board of Police Commissioners
1200 Clark Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Jim:

I wonder if you are acquainted with William Kephart's Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement; University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957? We recently secured a copy and, after studying it, are giving consideration to distributing it to Chiefs of Police in the larger metropolitan centers of the South.

We would very much appreciate your evaluation of this book to aid us in our deliberations. Your experience, training, and information in this area of law enforcement would make your judgment most helpful. The informal comments we would hope for are not for publication but only to assist us in our consideration of distributing the book.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

November 25, 1958

Mr. Paul M. Shields, Director
1959 Police-Community Relations Institute
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Shields:

Thank you for your letter of November 17 confirming Louis Radelet's invitation to me to participate in the '59 Police-Community Relations Institute. I will be happy to do so.

I am the Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council and this organization is not related to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, but is an independent agency covering twelve Southern states. I hope that in the final version of the program this will be correctly noted.

I am enclosing some information about the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:LS
Enclosure - Congressional Record reprint

F.S.E.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS AND PUBLIC SERVICE
SCHOOL OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC SAFETY

November 17, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

Mr. Louis A. Radelet of the National Conference of Christians and Jews has advised me of your acceptance of our invitation to speak at the 1959 Police-Community Relations Institute.

We appreciate your fine cooperation in this matter and will keep you advised on the future developments of the program.

Once again, our most sincere thanks for your splendid cooperation. I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul M Shields

Paul M. Shields, Director
1959 Police-Community
Relations Institute

PMS:ran

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

FOR

POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS INSTITUTE

May 24-29, 1959

Sunday, May 24:

2:00 Arrival and Registration - The Kellogg Center Conference Desk

Get Acquainted - Room _____(Sign up for tours of campus)

6:00 Opening Dinner - Big Ten Room

Presiding: A. F. Brandstatter, Director, Department of Public Safety, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University.

Welcome: Alfred Seeyle, Dean, College of Business and Public Service, Michigan State University.

Plan of Institute: Paul M. Shields, Director, Police-Community Relations Institute, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University.

Basic Assumptions: Louis Radelet, Director, The Commission on Community Organizations, Nation Conference of Christians & Jews, New York, New York.

8:30 Get Acquainted - Room _____

9:00 Staff Meeting - Room 103

Monday, May 25:

Call General Sessions in Room 103.

9:00 Morning Session
Announcements

9:15 Speaker: Dr. Mildred Peters, Wayne State University
College of Education, Detroit, Michigan

Topic: "A Look At Ourselves: Elements of Misunderstanding"

10:15 Recess

10:30 Work Groups
Formulation of Questions

12:00 Lunch - Big Ten Room

1:30 General Assembly and Discussion with Dr. Peters

3:00 Recess

3:15 Panel - Institute Participants
(followed by discussion)

4:30 Group Picture - in front of Kellogg Center

5:00 Recess for Dinner

6:00 Dinner - Big Ten Room
Speaker: John D. Holstrom, Chief of Police, Berkeley, California

Topic: "How Can Policing Become a Profession"

8:00 "Rumor Clinic" - Captain Norman Schleigh, Director of Training, Baltimore Police Department

Tuesday, May 26:

9:00 Morning Session
Announcements

9:15 Speaker: Dr. Carson McGuire, School of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas
Topic: "A Look at the Community: Conflict and Cooperation"

10:15 Recess

10:30 Work Groups (Formulation of Questions)

12:00 Lunch

1:30 General Assembly and Discussion with Dr. McGuire

3:00 "Brighton Orientation" - Robert H. Scott, Assistant Director in Charge of Youth Division, Michigan Department of Corrections

4:00 Trip to Brighton Rehabilitation Camp
(Buses will load at front entrance of Kellogg Center)

5:30 Picnic Supper at Camp Brighton

Wednesday, May 27:

(Joint session with probation and parole officers)

9:00 Morning Session
Announcements

9:15 Panel Discussion
Presiding: Vincent Reis, Director, Division of Prevention and Parole, State of Minnesota
Alice Overton, Director, Family Centered Project, St. Paul, Minnesota
William F. Proetz, Chief of Police, St. Paul, Minnesota

Topic: "A Community Looks At Prevention and Treatment"

12:00 Lunch

1:30 Work Groups (Formulation of Questions)

2:45 Recess

3:00 General Assembly and Discussion with panel members.

5:00 Recess for Dinner

6:00 Dinner - Big Ten Room
Speaker: Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor, Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas

Topic: "A Look At Others: Police-Press Relations"

8:00 Panel - Problem Clinic
(Institute Participants)

Thursday, May 28:

9:00 Morning Session
Announcements

9:15 Speaker: Mr. William M. Kephart, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Topic: "Racial Factors in Urban Law Enforcement"

10:15 Recess

10:30 Speaker: Dr. Harold Lett, Department of Education, State of New Jersey

Topic: "A Look At Others: Minority Groups and Police-Community Relations"

11:15 Speaker: Dr. Frederick B. Routh, Associate Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Southern Council

Topic: "Special Problems in Police-Community Relations"

12:00 Lunch - Big Ten Room
Speaker: Roy McCorkel, Director, Commission on Religious Organizations, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Topic: "My Brothers Keeper: Community Relations in Todays World"

1:30 Work Groups (Formulation of Questions)

2:45 Recess

3:00 General Assembly--Discussion with Dr. Kephart, Dr. Lett, Dr. Routh

6:00 Dinner
Speaker: Robert V. Murray, Chief, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C.

Topic: "A Police Chief Looks At Police-Community Relations"

8:00 "Film Clinic"
Robert Frehse, Executive Director, Detroit Round Table of N.C.C.J.

Friday, May 29:

8:00 Closing Breakfast - Room _____
Presiding: A. F. Brandstatter
Summary: Louis Radelet
Presentation of Certificates: A. F. Brandstatter

10:30 Formal Closing of Institute - Paul Shields
Benediction.

ran

December 16, 1958

Mr. Paul M. Shields, Director
1959 Police-Community Relations
Institute
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Shields:

Thank you for your letter of the 10th. Enclosed is a biographical sketch with far more information than you can use. I leave its editing to you.

I would like to be listed in the program as "Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia."

I look forward to meeting you, for Lou Radelet has said good things of you.

Best of season's greetings.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS AND PUBLIC SERVICE
SCHOOL OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC SAFETY

December 10, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

I have your kind letter of November 25th and enjoyed reading the Congressional Record containing the origin and aims of the Southern Regional Council.

We are now ready to submit our program to the printers. Could you, therefore, provide me with the following:

1. Biographical information.

2. Exactly how you would like to be listed in the program.

I am looking forward to meeting you and I am certain that your appearance will contribute greatly to the success of the 1959 Institute on Police-Community Relations.

Sincerely yours,

Paul M. Shields

Paul M. Shields, Director
1959 Police-Community
Relations Institute
School of Police Administration
and Public Safety

PMS:ran

28 - Police, Negro - Questionnaires + Corresp, 1945-46

September 8, 1942

Dr. E. G. Mackay
1384 Emory Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mackay:

As per your request the cards were sent out to all cities of Southern states having a population of 20,000 or more requesting information on Negroes serving on police forces. Replies are in from practically all cities and we find that Negroes are serving on the police forces in the following cities: Daytona Beach, Florida; Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma; Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky; Beaumont, San Antonio, and Galveston, Texas; Winston-Salem, Charlotte, North Carolina; Chattanooga, Tennessee.

I sent a second letter requesting information as to the effectiveness of their service. Enclosed you will find copies of the replies that I have received.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

28 - Police, Negro - Questionnaire + Corresp. 1945-46

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
City of Galveston

BRANTLY HARRIS
MAYOR PRESIDENT
MILDRED M. OSER
CITY SECRETARY
J. G. TOMPKINS
COM. FINANCE & REVENUE

ADOLPH D. SUDERMAN
COM. WATER WORKS & SEWERAGE
HERMAN A. BORNEFELD
COM. STREETS & PUBLIC PROPERTY
GEORGE H. GYMER
COM. POLICE & FIRE

CITY HALL AND AUDITORIUM

GALVESTON, TEXAS

September 3, 1942

Mrs. N. E. Tilly
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Methodist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Madam:

Your letter of August 18, 1942 has been somewhat delayed because of the death of our Mayor, Brantly Harris. However, I beg to advise that of the seventy-five patrolmen employed by the Galveston Police Department, thirteen are negroes, who are very effective maintaining order in the negro sections.

Very truly yours,

Geo. H. Gymer

Commissioner Police and Fire

GHG:RJ

cc - Mayor Pro Tem J. G. Tompkins

28-Police, Negro - Questionnaires + Corresp 1945-46

CITY OF LOUISVILLE
KENTUCKY

WILSON W. WYATT
MAYOR

August 25, 1942

VINCENT THOMAS
SECRETARY

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary
Woman's Society of Christian Service
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I received your letter requesting information about our Negro policemen. We have employed colored police officers both as uniform and plain-clothes men for several years. Their services have been satisfactory, expecially in handling crowds and large gatherings of colored people at dances, athletic events, parades, etc. They do a fairly good job in the arrest of criminals and in securing the necessary information and evidence for the proper prosecution of criminal cases. I am very glad indeed to furnish this information.

Yours very truly,

Wilson W. Wyatt

WWW:jl

28 - Police, Negro
Questionnaires & Corresp
1945-46

CITY OF TULSA, OKLAHOMA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE

PHONE 5-1211

GEORGE H. BLAINE
CHIEF OF POLICE

THOMAS I. MUNROE
FIRE AND POLICE COMMISSIONER

August 25, 1942

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary
Women's Society of Christian Service
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Mayor Veale has handed me a letter from you, dated August 18th, making inquiry as to the services of our negro police officers in reference to law enforcement.

We have eight negro policemenm assigned to our colored section. We have about 25,000 negroes in our City.

As to keeping order in the negro section, we can say that the services of these negro officers are very good, but in respect to enforcement of our liquor and gambling laws, we cannot say the same, as it is really a problem to find colored officers who will enforce our porhibition and gambling laws.

Hoping that this is the information that you desire, I am

Very truly yours,

Geo. H. Blaine
Chief of Police

GHB:O

28 Police, Negro - Questionnaires + Corresp. 1945-46

City of Daytona Beach

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
T. N. JOHNSON, CHIEF

August 22nd. 1942

Woman's Society of Christian Service,
Mrs. M.E. Tilley, Secretary,
1013 Highland View,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Madame:

In answer to your letter of August 18th. wish to advise that the Daytona Beach Police Department has used Negro policeman exclusively in our colored section for the past 10 years. The activities of our Negro policemen are strictly confined to the colored section. And they are not permitted to deal with any situation in which a white person is involved, even though the offense occurs in the colored section.

Under these conditions we have found the use of Negro policemen entirely satisfactory.

Very truly yours
T. N. Johnson
T.N. Johnson,
Chief of Police.

28 - Police, Negro
Questionnaires & Corresp
1945-46

CITY OF LEXINGTON

KENTUCKY

T. WARD HAVELY
MAYOR

AUGUST 20, 1942

MRS. M. E. TILLY, SECRETARY,
WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE,
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.,
ATLANTA, GA.

MY DEAR MRS. TILLY:

IN REPLY TO YOUR LETTER OF AUGUST 18, REQUESTING INFORMATION AS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR NEGRO POLICE,

WE HAVE TWO NEGRO POLICEMEN AND ONE NEGRO POLICE-WOMAN, ALL OF WHOM ARE UNDER CIVIL SERVICE, ON THE POLICE FORCE OF LEXINGTON. THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE CONFINED TO THE NEGRO SECTIONS OF THE CITY AND WE HAVE FOUND THAT THEY DO VERY GOOD WORK AND ARE EFFECTIVE IN KEEPING DOWN DISORDERS IN THE LOWER SECTIONS.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

T. W. Havely

MAYOR
TWH/KH

28 - Police, Negro - Questionnaire & Corresp, 1945-46

July 14, 1942

Chief of Police
Anniston, Alabama

Dear Sir:

The Methodist women are making some studies of our South and we would very much appreciate it if you would advise us whether or not you have Negro policemen serving on the police force of your city. Enclosed you will find a card for your convenience in replying.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary of Christian Social Relations
Southeastern Jurisdiction
The Methodist Church

Ala.
Anniston
Bessemer
Birmingham
Mobile
Montgomery

Ark.
Ft. Smith
Little Rock
Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

Fla
Jacksonville ✓
Miami ✓
St. Petersburg ✓
Tampa ✓
West Palm Beach ✓
Daytona Beach
Lakeland
Miami Beach

Ga.
Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Rome
Savannah
Athens
Macon
La Grange

Ky
Covington
Louisville
Newport
Greenshoro
Paducah
Lexington

La
Alexandria
Baton Rouge
Lake Charles
Monroe
Shreveport
New Orleans

Miss
Greenville
Hattiesburg
Jackson
Laurel
Meridian
Vicksburg

N.C.
Asheville
Charlotte
Durham
Greensboro
High Point
Raleigh
Rocky Mount
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

Okla
Muskogee
Shawnee
Okla homa City
Tulsa

S.C.
Charleston
Greenville
Columbia

Tenn.
Chatlanooga
Jackson
Johnson City
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

Texas.
Abilene
Amarillo
Beaumont
Dallas
El Paso
Ft. Worth
Galveston
Houston
Port Arthur
San Angelo ✓
San Antonio
Waco

Va
Alexandria
Danville
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Roanoke

28-Police, Negro
Questionnaires +
Corresp., 1945-46

Atlanta, Ga.
Feb. 5, 1943

To The police Committee of The City of Atlanta,
Honorable Cecil Hester, Chairmen.

Gentlemen;-

We, two hundred and more Methodist women from our churches of the city assembled in a study class at Druid Hills Church, wish you to know that we are seriously concerned over the alarming number of murders committed in our city and are deeply ashamed over the un enviable record our city has of leading the nation in the number of homicides per capita.

We cannot lay all the blame to the fact of our large colored population because cities with more Negroes than ours have no such record, nor are we recording any censure of our police force and its efficiency.

We realize that these murders are for the most part killing of Negroes by Negroes and we are interested in the plea of our Negro citizenry that they, for their own protection, be given Negro police to serve in the Negro community.

We, therefore, do request the Police Committee to make a study of the effectiveness of Negro police in other cities and take under advisement the feasibility of adding Negro policemen to our force to serve in Negro communities only.

Deeply concerned about the welfare of our city, we are

The Methodist Study Class

_____

_____

Police, Negro

August 4, 1944

Mr. Joseph E. Weckler
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weckler:

Thank you for sending me your booklet "The Police and Minority Groups." I consider this to be a very valuable piece of work, and you deserve the congratulations of all people who are interested in better race relations and better police administration.

We certainly want to mention the booklet in the next issue of our monthly paper, the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. We shall include the data about prices and the address of the International City Managers' Association.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

August 2, 1944

Southern Frontier
Dr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. Will Alexander asked me to send you a copy of my booklet The Police and Minority Groups. It has just come off the press.

You may be interested to know that post card notices of publication which were sent out about ten days ago have already resulted in orders for over 300 copies. A sizeable number of police chiefs have seen the materials in manuscript form. All of them have approved it and some have been enthusiastic in their comments.

I suggest that if you mention or review the booklet in the monthly summary, you indicate the scale of prices and that copies of the booklet can be purchased from the International City Managers' Association.

Sincerely yours,

J E Weckler

Joseph E. Weckler

JEW:af

September 20, 1944.

Miss Julia Waxman
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Waxman:

We have made inquiries which we hope will bring in the information which you requested concerning the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities. As soon as we have something definite to report, we shall write you again. We are under the impression that Newport News, Durham, Greensboro, and Miami have recently added Negro policemen, but we are not listing them until we obtain authentic information.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

September 8, 1944

Dear Doctor Johnson: Dr. Will Alexander has suggested that we write you for complete information on the employment of Negro policemen in southern cities. According to an article by Dr. Charles Johnson written some weeks ago, there are eighteen southern cities employing a total of one hundred ten colored policemen. I have listed on the attached sheet the breakdown of this employment. It is Doctor Alexander's belief that some additions have been made to these forces and that other cities - he mentioned especially Durham, North Carolina - have also begun to employ Negro officers. Would you be good enough to check the information on the attached sheet and bring it up to date? We shall appreciate your cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Julia Wayman

JW:ES

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Arkansas	8	
Daytona Beach, Florida	4	
Fort Myers, Fla.		
Miami, Fla. (1944)	6	
Sarasota, Fla.		
Lexington, Kentucky	3	1
Louisville, Kentucky	18	
Owensboro, Kentucky	1	
~~St. Louis, Missouri~~	~~84~~	
Durham, N.C. (1944)	2	
Greensboro, N.C. (1944)	2	
Charlotte, North Carolina	4	2
High Point, North Carolina	2	
Raleigh, North Carolina	1	
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1	
Muskogee, Oklahoma	2	
Tulsa, Oklahoma	8	
Beaufort, SC		
Knoxville, Tennessee	5	
Chattanooga, Tenn		2 detectives
Austin, Texas	3	
Beaumont, Texas	2	
Galveston, Texas	13	
Houston, Texas	4	
San Antonio, Texas	7	

October 3, 1944

Miss Jessie P. Guzman
Acting Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Miss Guzman:

Let me thank you for your letter of September 27. The information which you gave us concerning Negro policemen and firemen will be very useful.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

September 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your communication of September 20 to Mr. Work has been referred to me.

Our records from 1938 to the present show that the following southern cities have Negro policemen: Louisville, Kentucky; Lexington, Kentucky; Owensboro, Kentucky; Galveston, Texas; Austin, Texas; Beaumont, Texas; Houston, Texas; San Antonio, Texas; Knoxville, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Florida; Fort Myers, Florida; Miami, Florida (1944); Sarasota, Florida; Charlotte, N.C.; Greensboro, N.C. (1944); High Point, N.C.; Winston Salem, N.C.; Durham, N.C. (1944); Raleigh, N.C. (Plain Clothes); Muskogee, Oklahoma (Plain Clothes); Tulsa, Oklahoma; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Maryland; Buford, S.C.

Real Says also Chattanooga, Tenn 2 detectives

Put on cards in letter

Listed 10/5/44 M

The only records that we have showing information on firemen in addition to the ones you mentioned indicate that Atlanta, Georgia and Warrenton, N.C. have Negro firemen

I trust that this information is what you desire.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

ACTING DIRECTOR
Department of Records and Research

CITY OF MIAMI

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - -	SIX	None
Number of Negro policewomen - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since September 9, 1944
(Date)

Comments: _____

Date October 9, 1944

Signed Dan D. Rosenfelder
Dan D. Rosenfelder

Position DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

CITY OF Durham, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - -	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since July 1, 1944

(Date)

Comments: They have done a good job, in fact much better than we expected

Date October 9, 1944

Signed H. E. King

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - -	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since January 19th, 1944
(Date)

Comments: Two Uniform colored Police Officers have been employed by this department assigned as foot patrolmen in the colored district. Their services have been very satisfactory.

We expect to hire two more colored officers in the near future to be assigned as patrolmen in the other colored district in our city.

Date October 24th, 1944 Signed L. L. Jarvis

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

Law Enforcement

March 15, 1945

Mr. Dan D. Rosenfelder
Director of Public Safety
City of Miami
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Rosenfelder:

The Southern Regional Council is planning a conference on law enforcement with special reference to the relation of the police to racial friction. We have followed with much interest the outstanding job which you have done in training and placing twelve colored men on the Miami police force, and we feel that you could make a distinctive contribution to a conference of this sort. The tentative dates for this meeting are April 12-13. It would be held at the Atlanta Biltmore.

Mr. Theo Hall, Chief of Police at Wilmette, Illinois, who has taken a special interest in race problems and who has written a pamphlet on "Police and Minority Groups," has promised to be present when we hold this conference. We would be very fortunate if we could have you and Mr. Hall address a public session on the afternoon or evening of April 12 and meet with a selected group of police officials on the following day.

If you can come, we shall be glad to take care of your expenses and provide an honorarium of $25.00.

Since the Southern Regional Council is a relatively new organization, you are probably not very familiar with it. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of enclosing a memorandum which will give you some information on the background and purpose of the Council. One of our main concerns is the problem of interracial peace — a problem which is certainly going to be more acute in the post-war period — and we feel that Negro police, properly trained and carefully selected, can play an important part in fostering better race relations and reducing Negro crime.

I hope very much that you can find the time to take part in this conference. I shall look forward to hearing from you. Since we are anxious to complete our plans as soon as possible, a reply by telegram would be helpful.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

Memo on SRC

Negro Po

April 5, 1945

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

Dr. Johnson is out of town for a few days, but before he left he asked me to send you the enclosed list which contains several cities not on your list. However, we do not have any statements from these additional cities as to their experience with their Negro policemen.

Our list is compiled from information received from the Rosenwald Fund and from the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute.

Cordially yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Enclosure

P. S. I am also enclosing a list of the mayors and chiefs of police in cities employing Negro policemen which a staff member compiled for Dr. Johnson recently.

lee

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 23, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville
Tennessee

Dear Doctor Johnson:

On January 22, 1944 you sent to me the enclosed statement with regard to the use of Negro policemen in Southern cities. I have been making pretty general use of this statement in New Orleans and at the present time it looks as if there might be the possibility of our having some Negro policemen appointed. The Mayor and the Chief of Police have been approached by a number of influential people of both races. The daily papers have been giving good publicity and one paper has written an excellent editorial in favor of Negro policemen.

There is now some thought of our mimeographing 100 copies of this statement to be placed in the hands of influential people, but before making these copies I wanted to ask whether you had any more recent information which might be added to this statement. I hope that it will be convenient for you to look into this for us promptly.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Guy Johnson at the Southern Regional Council and one to Dr. Robert C. Weaver at the American Council on Race Relations with the hope that they will also send to me any information which they may have on the subject.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:McA
Enclosure

Air mail special delivery.

SOUTHERN CITIES EMPLOYING NEGRO POLICEMEN

	City	Number	In Uniform	Plain Clothes	Radio
Arkansas	Little Rock	8	8		
Florida	Daytona Beach	4	4		Yes
Kentucky	Lexington	3*		3	In cruiser
	Louisville	18	14	4	
	Owensboro	1	1		
North Carolina:	Raleigh	1		1	
	Charlotte	4	4		
	Winston-Salem	1			
	High Point	1			
Oklahoma	Muskogee	2		2	
	Tulsa	8	7	1	Two-way
Tennessee	Knoxville	5	5		
Texas	Austin	3	3		One-way
	Houston	4	3	1	
	San Antonio	7	5	2	
	Galveston	13	10	3	4
	Beaumont	2	2		

Comment:

Arkansas

..... there followed shortly a tragic incident which involved the shooting to death of a Negro sergeant by a member of the city police force which, although the policeman was exonerated, aroused the Negro populace. It was then that Negro M.P.'s were appointed to patrol the Negro business district and the Urban League of Little Rock was called upon to furnish the names of 10 Negro men to be recommended for jobs as civilian policemen. Eight Negro special policemen were trained and appointed, without examination, at regular rookie salary. Since their appointment the following results were seen:

1. Crime markedly reduced
2. Racial clashes have not occurred
3. Boisterousness and vulgar languate on the street have almost disappeared
4. Public pride in policemen of its own has brought effective cooperation from the Negro community

---

*Two policemen - one policewoman.

Florida — Daytona Beach Police Department has employed Negroes for ten years, for the colored section. They are not permitted to deal with any situation in which a white person is involved, eventhough the offense occurs in the colored section.

Kentucky — Lexington - Has Negro radio patrolmen. The policemen are not in uniform but act as plain clothes men. They serve in Negro districts. There is one policeman - a collect graduate and a woman of intelligence who commands the respect of the Negroes of her district.

The chief of police feels that crime has been curtailed in the Negro district during the past few years.

Louisville - Colored officers have been employed for a number of years and have done satisfactory patrol work. Some colored detectives are employed and their work is satisfactory. Two men are employed on the vice squad. "Their work is satisfactory, and we have not had any particular opposition to them."

Selection of the men is on the merit basis -- proper training is stressed before they are placed on duty.

Owensboro - One Negro policeman is employed. (Two have been employed but one resigned -- another will probably be appointed in his place in the near future.)

"We have found him to be very efficient in the performance of his duties, all of which are strictly confined to the colored district only."

North Carolina — Charlotte - "At the present time we have four Negro Special Police Officers. These men are selected because of their education, training, temperament, and general adaptability to perform the work of a police officer. They are assigned districts in the Negro sections and are restricted by Ordinance to these districts. They do not mane any arrests except in these districts and among the Negro population. Their work has been very satisfactory and their addition to the Police Department has relieved to some extent the tension between the two races. The relationship between the white and Negro Policemen is very good and they have been able to perform their duties in a satisfactory manner and have been able to help solve many crimes here in this community. I believe that the service they have rendered will be approved by both the Negro and white races."

North Carolina — Charlotte - While the men are not under Civil Service as yet, as are other police officers, and the Negroes receive only $110 monthly to $165 received by the whites, equalization of salaries has been promised for the near future.

Negro officers are not limited to Negro arrests. Negroes have objected to being arrested by Negro officers, however.

There is a good Juvenile Court set-up in Charlotte, employing two Negro policewomen for Negro juvenile cases.

Winston-Salem - Winston-Salem has one Negro policeman who works with juveniles particularly.

High Point - The city of High Point is now employing the services of two Negro policemen for service in the Negro sections, thus joining other North Carolina cities which are following this plan.

Oklahoma

Tulsa - Negro policemen have been employed for more than fifteen years through the civil service system. There is a restricted district for Negroes and it is served by Negro officers.

"Tulsa's experience through the years with Negro policemen has been very fine. We have some very loyal and efficient Negro officers, who take a great deal of pride in their work in apprehending Negro criminals and maintaining peace and order in their part of the city."

Texas

Austin - has Negro radio patrolmen

San Antonio - "We are very fortunate in having some very good Negro policemen, having ability, quality and bravery. They have made a very enviable record. There has never been any racial antagonism in San Antonio, whether the Negroes be on the police force or off the police force. I am not considering attempting to run a police department without the efficient help of Negro members now employed on our force."

Galveston - There are 75 patrolmen employed by the Galveston Police Department, 13 of the 75 are Negroes, who are effectively maintaining order in the Negro sections."

Supplementary Notes

From the Southern Frontier, March 1, 1943. "Negro Police Auxiliary Make Good in Macon." "Macon has 65 auxiliary policemen under O.D.D., who serve without pay in uniforms bought by themselves. Selected from Macon's civic leaders and commanded by G. F. Hutchings, a local Negro business man, they work under the direction of the police Department.

Chief of Police Robert L. Miller reports marked improvement in law enforcement during one year of service by auxiliary service. Assistant Chief of Police J. C. Smith states that "working in some of the city's most difficult districts, they have set a remarkable record for efficiency."

St. Louis, Missouri - Negro policemen have been employed for 42 years. They were put on as an experiment but are now permanently employed. There are 24 policemen, 9 uniformed men who patrol beats, 9 special officers, 1 sergeant, 1 lieutenant, 2 policewomen, 2 prison guards.

Law Enforcement

April 9, 1945

Mr. Theo E. Hall
Chief of Police
Village of Wilmette
Wilmette, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hall:

Thank you for your letter of April 5. We certainly want you to be with us when we hold our conference on law enforcement and race relations if you can possibly come, and we are suggesting one of the following dates in the hope that you can come -- May 29,30,31. As soon as you can tell which of these dates will probably be most convenient for you, please let us know.

With deep appreciation for your interest and cooperation,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Village of Wilmette

Wilmette, Illinois

THEO E. HALL
CHIEF OF POLICE

April 5, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have held off answering your letter of March 28 until now, in an effort to work out my personal schedule so that it would comply with your plans.

It now appears that May will be somewhat difficult for me as I had planned a long awaited vacation with my family from approximately May 10 to May 25, which I hope to spend on my parents' Kansas farm. In addition, I will need to make at least two trips to a city in New York during May in connection with police consulting work for Public Administration Service.

It would therefore appear that the very latter part of May would be the only free time during that month available in my schedule. May I suggest that you plan the meeting for whatever day that is most convenient and I will make every attempt to meet it at that time.

I am sincerely sorry that I can give you no more definite assurance; as I believe my interest and sincerity in police and minority group problems is well known.

Sincerely yours,

Theo E. Hall

Chief of Police

TENTATIVE PROGRAM: SPECIAL SMALL CONFERENCE ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND RACE RELATIONS

Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

April 12, 1945

AFTERNOON OR EVENING

Theo Hall (Chief of Police, Wilmette, Illinois) —

"The Police and Race Relations."

Dan Rosenfelder (Director of Public Safety, Miami, Florida) —

"Negro Police in Miami". (TENTATIVE)

Note: We also hope to have a closed conference, perhaps on the morning of April 13, which would be attended by a selected group of Georgia police chiefs and mayors.

Law Enforcement

April 23, 1945

Mr. Theo Hall
Chief of Police
Wilmette, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hall:

The latest news about our proposed conference on Law Enforcement and Race Relations is that we think it best to postpone it to late summer, say sometime in September. The pressure of our duties is such that we feel that we cannot do justice to the conference if we try to hold it within the next month. Furthermore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson's field workers who were to help us with this conference will be very busy with other institutes for the next three months.

I hope that this change will be more convenient for you and will be better all around.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN AS OF AUGUST 1, 1945

City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Arkansas	8	
Deland, Florida	1	
Daytona Beach, Florida	4	
Fort Myers, Florida	1	
Miami, Florida	12	
*Sarasota, Florida		
Sanford, Florida	2	
Lexington, Kentucky	3	1
Louisville, Kentucky	18	
Owensboro, Kentucky	1	
Charlotte, North Carolina	4	2
Durham, North Carolina	2	
Greensboro, North Carolina	2	
High Point, North Carolina	2	
Raleigh, North Carolina	1	
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1	
Muskogee, Oklahoma	2	
Tulsa, Oklahoma	8	
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12 (1 detective)	
*Beaufort, South Carolina		
York, South Carolina	1	
Knoxville, Tennessee	5	
Chattanooga, Tennessee	2 detectives	
Austin, Texas	3	
Beaumont, Texas	2	
Galveston, Texas	13	
Houston, Texas	4	
San Antonio, Texas	7	

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*Exact number of policemen not known.

Police, Negro

September 27, 1945

Dr. Wallace M. Alston
Druid Hills Presbyterian Church
1026 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Alston:

At the request of Mrs. A. H. Sterne, I am enclosing a survey on Negro police in Southern cities made by the Southern Regional Council. As you perhaps know, this is the project of the Fulton and DeKalb Interracial Committee, and we have the cooperation of the Council of Church Women.

We think there are four bases on which we can make our plea:

(1) The tragic need for policemen in the city, as revealed by the police department itself.

(2) The employment of Negro police will increase interracial good will.

(3) It will most certainly lower the crime rate. This has been demonstrated in other cities.

(4) Before the election Mayor Hartsfield committed himself to a committee from the Southern Regional Council as being favorable to the employment of Negro police.

We feel that if the Christian Council will add its voice to ours, we can not fail to get the employment of Negro police by the Police Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DRT:m
Enclosure

Police Negro

November 1, 1945

Miss Marjorie Dykes
Phi Mu House
Williamsburg, Va.

Dear Miss Dykes:

We have received ~~a~~ your request for information concerning the amount of Negro crime in relation to the use of Negro police. I am sorry to have to tell you that there is no reliable information available on this subject.

Of course, there is a lot of statistical data in the reports of Police Departments in various cities in the South, but it will be quite a job to compile it and make the proper statistical calculations. This would involve not only the figures for arrests of Negroes, but the computation of arrest rates per thousand people based on estimated population between censuses. We are planning to make such a study, but we are just beginning to collect the basic information.

It may be that you will have to change the subject of your term paper to some other phase of crime or race relations. I wonder if you have read Myrdal's An American Dilemma. It contains several good chapters on crime and the administration of justice. You might also be interested in looking up an article on "The Negro and Crime" which I published in The Annals of the American Academy, September, 1941. This article contains some figures on homicide which might be of special interest to you.

I am enclosing a copy of our latest tabulation of Southern cities which use Negro policemen. I am very sorry that we are not able to help you on the subject which you have chosen.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1945.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3 Georgia

Dear Sir,

If you could send me some information, I'd appreciate it very much.

I'm writing a term paper here at William and Mary College dealing with the relation of the amount of Negro Police to the Crime Rate in Richmond, as compared with other Southern Cities, such as Atlanta,

Note:
not sufficient data available for such a study. We are beginning to collect it, but it will be a considerable time before it is in a form for any use. She had better do her term paper on some other aspect of crime.

MBJ

Refer her to Myrdal's book, and to my article in Crisis, and to Statistics on Negroes in state & Federal Prisons.

Memphis, Charlotte, and New Orleans. Has Atlanta installed any Negro Police? Could you send me detailed information or sources of it, in these cities, as to the conditions possibly resulting from this, such as the state of the crime rate, and charts indicating negro areas, slums, and areas of tensions, as well as the negro and white population?

As the paper is due in December, I'd appreciate a prompt answer. Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
(Miss) Marjorie Dykes.
Phi Mu House, Williamsburg, Va.

Police, Negro

November 30, 1945

Mr. C. L. Harper
NAACP
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harper:

Dr. Reid has given me a copy of his suggested petition on the use of Negro police in the city of Atlanta. I think it is very well stated with the possible exception of a word in point (3) of the document. Since the Police Committee of the City Council may be a little sensitive on this whole matter, I suggest that a word such as "acute" might be a happier choice than the word "damnable" in describing the situation mentioned in point (3).

The Southern Regional Council is going ahead with the work on the matter of Negro police in the way that we agreed upon after our conference with Mayor Hartsfield. A number of church and civic groups have been approached and some of them are definitely interested in the project. One very strong civic group has devoted a meeting to the question and is now thinking of sponsoring a forum on it. If it can go through with this idea within the next two or three months, it will be able to bring the whole matter to the people in a more effective way than any race relations organization could do. In the meantime, I am working with some newspaper people in the hope that they will be willing to come out editorially in favor of Negro police.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 28, 1945

Mr. C. L. Harper
NAACP
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harper:

I am sorry to have been so dilatory in preparing this petition on the use of Negro police in the city of Atlanta. I hope this draft will serve your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid

IDR:rha
cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council

General Council

(Insert Names of Members)

City of Atlanta

Attention of the Police Committee

(Insert Names of Members)

Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned citizens and taxpayers of Atlanta are firmly convinced of the necessity of having Negro personnel serve as foot patrolmen and radio patrolmen in this community.

Our convictions are based upon the facts that

(1) areas of Negro residence in this community are underpoliced to such an extent that effective security is not so possible in these areas as in areas inhabited largely by white persons;

(2) the incidence of arrests and crimes, other than those involving large amounts of property, but especially those involving crimes against the person, is so high that the condition warrants special constructive police action;

(3) the experience of residents of these areas has been such that there has developed a fear of rather than a respect for police authority, a situation that has become so acute ~~intolerable~~ that in many situations residents fear calling in the police authority, lest the immediate situation be aggravated by their presence; and, finally

(4) we believe that the utilization of Negro police in Atlanta will be of great aid in promoting a better understanding, observance and enforcement of the law by all peoples.

(5) Because Negro police officers are now being successfully used in several Southern cities, including Little Rock, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Fort Myers, Miami and Sarasota, Florida; Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, High Point, Raleigh and Winston Salem, North Carolina; Muskogee and Tulsa, Oklahoma; Beaufort, South Carolina; Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; Austin, Beaumont, Galveston, Houston and San Antonio, Texas--we see no reason why the city of Atlanta should be less active than these other Southern cities in facing the problems herein involved.

We, therefore, petition the General Council through its Police Committee to authorize and to take such immediate action as is necessary to recruit, train, and utilize Negro persons of the best character and ability obtainable, as police officers in this city.

Police, Negro

January 3, 1946

Mr. Robert W. Flack
City Manager
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Flack:

The Atlanta chapter of the American Association of University Women is interested in studying the question of the use of Negro police in Negro areas of Southern cities. They would like to hold a forum on this subject at their meeting on February 16.

Because of the interest of the Southern Regional Council in the matter of Negro police, the program chairman of the Atlanta AAUW has asked me to obtain as a speaker someone who has had experience in the use of colored police and who looks with favor upon the practice. I wonder whether you would be willing to address this group on February 16. If you can come, your expenses will be borne by the AAUW. If you can not come, will you kindly suggest someone else who might make this address?

Hoping to hear from you soon, and with best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

HHF:m

Police, Negro

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

DORIE M ILLER POST

UNITED NEGRO VETERANS

January 11, 1946

Atlanta,, Georgia

236 Auburn Avenue

Ma. 1435

Negro Veterans and Peoples 2nd appeal

To Organized Labor:

The veterans and citizens are calling a mass meeting this sunday 3 p.m. at the Butler St. Baptist Church corner of Baker to launch a campaign for Negro policemen on the streets of Atlanta.

We feel that Democracy for all is a part of your program and principles; on this basis we ask you to participate in this mass gathering. Democracy and economic prosperity to be permanent must spread to all people; regardless of race, creed or color.

Yours truly,

E. J. Bordie

Police list sent to her
2-8-46 -
Police

Copy to Dr. Johnson

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
ATLANTA BRANCH
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Henry Yancey, City Manager,
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Yancey:

As Dr. Guy B. Johnson has already told you, it was at the request of our organization that he asked you to come to Atlanta and be one of the speakers February 16th at our forum concerning the use of negro policemen in negro areas.

We are so happy to learn through Dr. Johnson that you can come, for we feel that your statement of the actual experience of your city will carry much weight.

Of course we want both you and Dr. Johnson to be guests at our luncheon at the Biltmore Hotel Saturday, February 16th, at 1:00 o'clock. The forum will follow the luncheon immediately, and other speakers besides Dr. Johnson and yourself will be Miss Emily Woodward, Director of Georgia Public Forums, and Mr. Walter Paschall, News Editor of Radio Station WSB.

Assouring you that we are looking forward to the pleasure of having you with us, I remain

Sincerely,

Geraldine H. Burns

Mrs. W. C. Burns,
Chairman Program Committee,
3916 E. Brookhaven Drive

February 2, 1946

Police, Negro

March 18, 1946

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Dr. Weaver:

Dr. Ira De A. Reid recently gave me a copy of your letter of January 11 concerning the police training manual which the American Council on Race Relations has developed in cooperation with the Attorney-General of California. A copy of the manual has also reached me.

The police training manual is a splendid piece of work. It is very much the sort of thing that we are planning to do for use among Southern police officers as soon as we can find a man to head up a special project along that line. Much of the material in your manual is suitable for our purpose. Could we get permission to use some of ~~that~~ it, provided proper credit is given?

If you can spare us 25 more copies of the manual, we would like to purchase them. I would like to put them in the hands of a selected group of peace officers in order to get their reactions and suggestions as to the sort of thing that they would find most useful.

With highest regards,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:jm

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 1, 1946

Dear Bob:

Thank you ever so much for your very informative letter of January 11th concerning your Manual for Official Committees. I am referring your letter to Dr. Guy B. Johnson at Southern Regional Council, who will follow through on the manual.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha
cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Director,
Community Services Division
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

C
O
P
Y

January 11, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

I have your letter of January 8. Thanks for your kind words about our Manual for Official Committees. We are, of course, extremely interested for the manual to have the greatest possible use and effectiveness and trust that you and your associates may be able to accelerate that development.

Before I answer your specific inquiry relative to police training let me raise another question with you. A teacher of race relations in The New School for Social Research ordered a quantity of our Community Relations Manual for his course stating that it filled a special need. That led me to consider whether or not there might be a similar use for that manual in other courses of race relations. Before pursuing this idea I should like to get your reactions to the feasibility of it and your suggestions as to how I can get in touch with the proper people. As far as I can discover there is no list of actual persons who conduct such courses and I think it foolish to send the material to the department of sociology. Perhaps you have some suggestions.

We have just completed a course in police training for Richmond, California. This was conducted in cooperation with the Attorney General of the state and a training manual is about to be released by the Attorney General's office. I would suggest, therefore, that as soon as this manual is available (a matter of weeks now), we send a few copies to you. Although the manual will, for the most part, be applicable to southern police forces there are some regional comparisons in it which might have to be deleted in a southern issue. I think, however, on the basis of this document we might be able to discuss more fully the specific question which you raise.

With personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Bob

Robert C. Weaver, Director,
Community Services Division
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Police, Negro

March 18, 1946

Dr. R. B. Eleazer
810 Broadway
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Eleazer:

I have been going over the police training bulletin which was developed by the California Department of Justice in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations. It is very much the sort of thing we want to do for use among Southern police, but as you know it would need to be re-written completely in order to make it an effective instrument for use in the South.

If we had had sufficient staff we would have developed a project on this subject long before this. I feel that we must get going with something on this right away. What I would like to do is to develop a tentative manual, show it to a number of police officials, incorporate their best suggestions, and then get together a special committee composed of law enforcement officials to sponsor the use of the manual.

Would you have time to undertake the writing of a rough draft of the proposed manual? I believe we could allow as much as $100 as an honorarium for this work. If you have the time and are willing to undertake it, please let me know as soon as you can and I will send you what ideas I have on the subject.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

March 15, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. R. B. Eleazer
Department of General Church School Work
General Board of Education of the Methodist Church
Methodist Building, 810 Broadway, P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Eleazer:

Thank you for your nice letter of March 12 in which you express your interest in the police training bulletin. Also, many thanks for the publicity which you gave it in your bi-weekly Interracial Notes.

Under separate cover I am sending you several additional copies of the manual for your own use. I am enclosing a flyer which lists the regular prices for single and quantity copies.

Your idea for distributing copies of the manual to southern police chiefs impresses me as an extremely sound and constructive one. I think you should know, however, that some copies have already been sent on to police chiefs in the major communities, but we have only covered a very small proportion of the men you would be contacting.

If you do proceed with further distribution of the manual, I am quite certain that you will be interested in knowing that we have just been successful in securing the services of Joseph Kluchesky, ex-chief of police of Milwaukee, as our police training consultant. In this capacity, Mr. Kluchesky, who had an outstanding record in the city of Milwaukee, will be available to provide professional advice and assistance to local police departments interested in setting up police training programs. Since Mr. Kluchesky is a member of the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy, has been active in the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and is well known to them, I believe that a number of the southern police chiefs might well be interested in calling upon him for advice and assistance.

Thanking you again for your interest, I am

Very truly yours,

Enclosure

A. A. Liveright

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH
Methodist Bldg., 810 Broadway
P. O. Box 871, Nashville 2, Tenn.

March 12, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liveright, Director

My dear Mr. Liveright:

I am very much impressed by the value and potential usefulness of the Police Training Bulletin which you sent me some days ago. As you will see from the enclosed, I have made an annoucement about it in our bi-weekly Interracial Notes, and have also called it to the attention of Dr. Guy B. Johnson, secretary of the Southern Regional Council, expressing the opinion that it might well be placed in the hands of at least all our Southern police chiefs. Please advise me on what terms single copies and quantities are available. I would like another personal copy, since I have passed mine to the chairman of the local interracial committee.

Yours very truly,

/s/ R. B. Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
A WORLD SERVICE AGENCY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATHANIEL F. FORSYTH, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
WALTER TOWNER, DIRECTOR
J. A. GREENE
R. B. ELEAZER
ALLEEN MOON
CHARLES C. TURNER, JR.
METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

March 20, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Undoubtedly the police bulletin would be much more effective in the South if rewritten. Your suggestion that I undertake the job is interesting, but I doubt that I could do it well, or indeed that I can find time right soon to do it at all. However, I will think it over carefully, and may give it a try, provided you do not in the meantime find someone better prepared to do it.

Cordially,

R B Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

RBE:PP

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

March 15, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. R. B. Eleazer
Department of General Church School Work
General Board of Education of the Methodist Church
Methodist Building, 810 Broadway, P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Eleazer:

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If you do proceed with further distribution of the manual, I am quite certain that you will be interested in knowing that we have just been successful in securing the services of Joseph Kluchesky, ex-chief of police of Milwaukee, as our police training consultant. In this capacity, Mr. Kluchesky, who had an outstanding record in the city of Milwaukee, will be available to provide professional advice and assistance to local police departments interested in setting up police training programs. Since Mr. Kluchesky is a member of the faculty of the FBI National Police Academy, has been active in the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and is well known to them, I believe that a number of the southern police chiefs might well be interested in calling upon him for advice and assistance.

Thanking you again for your interest, I am

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

Enclosure

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HERE'S WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT

"A GUIDE TO RACE RELATIONS FOR POLICE OFFICERS"

Police Training Bulletin published by
California Department of Justice

Joseph T. Kluchesky, former Chief of Police (retired), Milwaukee, Wis.:

"...contains much valuable material that should be used in training peace officers in the vitally important field of race relations...should be made available to law enforcement agencies throughout the country."

Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General, State of California:

"The great merit of this bulletin is that the information it contains has been developed by policemen for policemen, with the aid of expert consultation and guidance. It approaches the problems of race relations, not from an academic standpoint, but from the point of view of the practical policeman."

George W. Bongley, Acting Chief of Police, Richmond, Calif.:

"The officers of our Department who attended this school...(from which bulletin was developed)...have shown deep interest in this problem. I want to...personally thank you because of your foresight in organizing such a school and also for the privilege of attending the discussion sessions."

Dr. Gordon W. Allport, Chairman of Psychology Department, Harvard University:

"The police of America are our chief line of defense against riots and other serious expressions of group conflict. Both by preventive work and by skillful handling of critical situations...they can save the country from irreparable damage. Like specialists in any field they must have modern and expert training in...both the background of the problem... and the special skills...needed in coping with it."

A patrolman who took the Richmond, Calif., course, George W. Meyer:

"I was very pleased with the way in which the classes were handled. After attending the classes...I understand things a lot better...a real step in the right direction."

Reprints available from the American Council on Race Relations
32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1, Ill.

10¢ each -- $4.00 for 50 -- $7.50 for 100 --(Larger quantity prices on request)

ALSO -- "Race Riots Aren't Necessary"

How to recognize and prevent an impending riot, how to handle it if prevention fails, how to get at the causes to make race riots impossible in your community.

10¢ each $4.00 for 50 $8.00 for 100

Police Negro

CITY OF GREENSBORO

NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
THE CITY MANAGER

March 21, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of March 15th.

I have had manuscript of my talk mimeographed and am enclosing copy for your record.

I have had a request from the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce through our local Chamber, and am forwarding a copy direct to the Atlanta Chamber.

You are at liberty to publish such portions of the enclosed as you may see fit, deleting that portion not suited to your needs, preserving, of course, the essential facts.

If I can be of further service to you in this or other matters please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Very cordially yours,

H. A. Yancey

H. A. YANCEY
City Manager

HAY:g
enc.

Negro Police

March 15, 1946

Mr. Henry A. Yancey, City Manager
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Yancey:

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has a committee which is studying the question of Negro police. I told the chairman of the committee about the excellent talk which you gave at the Atlanta AAUW meeting on February 16, and he requested that I ask you for a copy of your talk,

Do you mind if we publish your speech, perhaps condensed slightly in a forthcoming issue of New South? It is the most straightforward and objective treatment of the subject of Negro police that I have ever seen, and we would certainly like to print it if you have no objections.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Enclosed The South is Yours, and Feb. New South

Circulate to Trigg ✓ Return to GBJ
Warwick ✓

Police Keep

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

March 27, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Just before Dr. Weaver left, he showed me a copy of his letter in which he answered some inquiries which you had raised about our police training program.

As he indicated, we will be more than happy to have you use either the complete "Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers" or to use sections of it in any material you develop.

In addition, it seems to me that Chief Kluchesky, who has joined our staff as police training consultant, might be of considerable use to you in helping to promote the police training program in southern communities. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the outline for promoting police training in various communities, as well as a copy of a memorandum to our field staff outlining further particulars with respect to our action in various communities.

If you are really planning to move ahead actively on police training, it occurs to me that we might cooperate in the following ways:

1. Arranging for Kluchesky to talk to various police chiefs at several meetings in the South.

2. Having the representative of the Southern Regional Council who will follow through on police training sit in as observer at one of the police training programs. (We will undertake the conducting of such programs in Minneapolis during the last week in April and in Cleveland probably during the last two weeks in May.)

3. If you should desire, it might be possible to have Kluchesky cooperate with you and the police chief of one southern community in the establishment of a police training program sometime next fall.

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Walter Wanger - Louis Weiss - Walter White - Richard Wright - Donald Young

Naturally, these suggestions are very tentative, and will depend upon the type of promotional program you are planning to develop yourself. We shall, however, be more than happy to work with you in any way you suggest.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

Enclosures - 2

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

March 21, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your letter of March 18 with reference to our police training manual. We are glad to know that you are well impressed with the booklet and we shall be happy to send you twenty-five additional copies of it.

In connection with your interest in using materials in the manual, we are happy to grant you permission with the understanding as you suggest that proper credit will be given.

At the present time we have employed a consultant who is in the process of outlining and stimulating local training programs for police in the North and West. It occurs to us that any person whom you might secure to head up your project of a similar nature might benefit from the experience which our worker in this field has secured. I am asking Mr. Liveright to communicate with you further relative to this work of Mr. Kluchesky (who is in charge of our police training activities) and I am confident that a satisfactory arrangement can be secured.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division

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Walter Wanger - Louis Weiss - Walter White - Richard Wright - Donald Young

May 15, 1946

Secretary
North Carolina League of Municipalities
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send us a copy of your Report Number 53 dealing with the use of Negro police in Southern cities.

Enclosed is 25 cents in coin in payment for this report.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Police Mgmt

May 31, 1946

Dr. A. A. Liveright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Dr. Liveright:

I am sorry that I have been so much on the go recently that I have not acknowledged your letter of May 13. The list of Southern police departments which have ordered the pamphlet, "A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers", as well as the other material which you sent me earlier, will be very useful to us in our project on police training. Now that we have some of our other jobs out of the way, we are ready to set forth on the preparation of a manual for Southern police. I shall be getting in touch with you again when we get a little further along on this.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

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Secretary

May 13, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Knowing that you are contemplating some work on police training in the South, I have prepared the attached list of requests from Southern police departments for our pamphlet, "A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers." Although we haven't had too many requests from the South, the attached list will give you some indication of interest which has already been expressed. This list may be of some use to you for whatever plans you have in mind.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

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SRC
7-46

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN

State and City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
ARKANSAS		
Little Rock	8	
FLORIDA		
Key West	2	
Daytona Beach	6	
Deland	1	
Fort Myers	2	
Miami	~~18~~ 24	
Sanford	2	
Sarasota	*	
Tampa	~~4~~ 6	
Ocala	1	
Gainesville	2	
KENTUCKY		
Lexington	3	1
Louisville	25	
Owensboro	1	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ahoskie	1	
Asheville	2	
Charlotte	~~6~~ 10	2
Durham	6	
Greensboro	~~4~~ 6	
High Point	2	
Raleigh	2	2
Winston-Salem	3	
OKLAHOMA		
Muskogee	2	
Oklahoma City	12	
Tulsa	14	

State and City	Policemen	Policewomen
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Beaufort	*	
York	1	
Summerton	*	
TENNESSEE		
Chattanooga	2	
Knoxville	5	
TEXAS		
Austin	3	
Beaumont	2	
Galveston	14	
Houston	5	
San Antonio	9	
Port Arthur	1	
Dallas	2	(Feb. 12)
VIRGINIA		
Newport News	~~1~~ 3	
Norfolk	6	
Richmond	4	
Roanoke	2	
GEORGIA		
Savannah	12	

*Exact number of policemen not known.

Questionnaires & Correspondence on Negro police 1944, 1945, 1946

II. HAVE NEGRO POLICE BEEN SATISFACTORY?

In the Southern cities which are using Negro police, there is almost unanimous agreement by mayors and police chiefs that Negro policemen are satisfactory. Following are some typical comments:

"We are very fortunate in having some very good Negro policemen, having ability, quality, and bravery. They have made a very enviable record .... I am not considering attempting to run a police department without the efficient help of Negro members now employed on our force."--Commissioner of Police, San Antonio, Texas.

"Our Chief of Police tells me he considers that crime has been curtailed in the Negro district during the past few years. The colored policewoman, Augusta Strong, is a college graduate and a woman of intelligence who commands the respect of the Negroes of her districts. The policemen are not in uniform but act as plain clothes men and serve only in Negro districts. They do not have authority to arrest white people."--Mayor, Lexington, Kentucky.

"Tulsa's experience through the years with Negro policemen has been very fine. We have some very loyal and efficient Negro officers, who take a great deal of pride in their work in apprehending Negro criminals, and maintaining peace and order in their part of the city. You understand, we have a restricted district for Negroes and the Negro officers work this district only. These officers are directed by and under the command of white officials." --Mayor, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"We have four of these men who are known as special police officers who patrol specific areas in the Negro sections and are all on duty at night. These men are of the best of the Negro race in Charlotte and were very carefully selected and recommended by the best educated Negro element of the city."--Charlotte, North Carolina.

"It has been my experience that trouble in the Negro section has been reduced considerably by the presence of a Negro policeman there."--City Manager, Deland, Florida.

"The city of Fort Myers employs one Negro policeman. This practice has been followed for the past twelve years and has been found to be the most satisfactory arrangement possible in handling the Negro population. The Negro leaders in our community are heartily in favor of this policy."--Mayor, Fort Myers, Florida.

Copies Of This Memorandum May Be Obtained From

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 18, 1946

Mr. Benjamin R. Andrews
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Andrews:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 7. We appreciate the suggestion you made with regard to urging the appointment of Negro policemen. We have this problem on our minds and are working on it at present.

We have made several approaches to the city government on this subject during the past two years, and so far we have got no where. Recently we have been cultivating the interest of other agencies, such as the Chamber of Commerce and the civic clubs, in the hope that if they can be sold on the idea of Negro policemen, they will have more effect on the actions of the city government. We believe we are making some progress.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

BENJAMIN R. ANDREWS
SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Oct 7

Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs:

The proposal to increase Atlanta's police force might be an occasion for urging the appointment of Negro policemen.

Sincerely

Benjamin R. Andrews

(SPC Faculty)

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

PLOSION

Continued From First Page

econd degree burns of the body.

Clifford Johnson, 41, Clay-t, Del., assistant superintend- right arm fracture and first second-degree burns.

Thomas C. Smith, 45, assistant one engineer, serious burns.

George E. Weber, 23, Lynwood, Pa., volunteer fireman, serious burns.

Smith told hospital attendants he was sitting in front of Plant No. 5, just across the Delaware-Pennsylvania line in Delaware when a "tremendous explosion" followed by a sheet of flame and a shower of sparks occurred.

He lost consciousness after that, Smith reported.

More than two hours after the initial blast huge billows of flame and smoke were rolling skyward as firemen from communities and industrial plants along the Delaware River industrial area rushed to the scene.

The huge plant stretches more han a mile along 10th Street and extends a mile eastward to the river.

Thousands of spectators were ollecting at the scene. Police stablished firelines a third of a ile from the plant as the fire-ghters fought to smother the ames with chemicals and fine-ray hoselines.

Police Group Favors Adding Fifty to Force

Recommendations for the hiring of 50 additional city policemen and for creating non-parking zones on two downtown thoroughfares were approved at a meeting of City Council's Police Committee last night.

Ed A. Gilliam, chairman of Council's Finance Committee, said he would introduce a measure in Council Monday night to hire the additional men and another to designate both sides of Spring Street between Walton and Baker and the south side of Fair Street between Peters and Walker as non-parking zones at all times.

Another proposal with committee approval that Council will be asked to consider is one to bar right turns from 4 to 6 p. m. daily from Peachtree into Ellis St.

The question of abolishing left turns in downtown Atlanta was turned over to Chief Hornsby, Assistant Chief Ellis, and Lt. Thomas for study. They will report to the Police Committee at the next meeting.

Action on a petition of the Ruptured Duck Transportation Company, Inc., for permit to operate a co-operative taxicab company was deferred until Oct. 17.

ASK THE MAN WHO KNOWS PAINT
Will tell you..
IF IT'S STUCCO OR MASONRY
USE ROCKTITE

November 2, 1946

Editor, Sumter Daily Item
Sumter, S.C.

Dear Sir:

I read with interest your editorial of October 24 on Negro Policemen. You are certainly right in saying that those who look on the use of Negro policemen as an unprecedented innovation are ignorant of the facts.

Several Southern cities have used colored policemen for a long time. The number of such cities has grown steadily, and there are now nearly forty that we know of that use Negro police. I am enclosing our latest tabulation of Southern cities which use Negro policemen.

We are a bi-racial non-political organization striving to bring about a better South for all. When we began operations three years ago we absorbed the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation and broadened its work to include much more than the problem of race relations. The South Carolina Interracial Commission has become one of our state divisions, and its chairman is Mr. Marion Wright, Conway attorney.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

TELEPHONE 3-1911

North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation

336 S. SALISBURY ST.
Raleigh, N. C.

DIRECTOR
CYRUS M. JOHNSON

GENERAL OFFICERS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
GOV. R. GREGG CHERRY
RALEIGH
STATE CHAIRMAN
REV. LEON RUSSELL
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MAY 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

We have been sending this with the statement to city officials that might use Negro police.

There are eight municipalities in North Carolina that are using Negroes in their Police Departments. Recent contacts with the Chief of Police in these cities indicates that the Negro police are of aid in the policing of Negro neighborhoods, in the apprehension of criminals, and may well be of particularly valuable aid in crime prevention.

The Commission believes that, besides being of aid as the contacts indicated, the use of Negro police helps to make for more wholesome citizenship on the part of our Negro population by giving them an added feeling of responsibility in upholding law and order. This makes for better relationships in all activities.

I am enclosing statements from persons that have worked with Negro police indicating what their experience has been.

Other information on interracial cooperation will be available at intervals from this office. Suggestions as to desired information are welcome.

Sincerely,

RECEIVED
MAY 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

Cyrus M. Johnson
Director

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An Affiliate of
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

F. N. LITTLEJOHN, CHIEF OF POLICE, CHARLOTTE

"We do employ Negro policemen, now having 10 uniformed Negro police. Six years ago we experimented by placing four carefully selected Negroes on our Police Force. They were employed on a yearly basis, holding office at the will of the Council. The experiment proving successful, we have since added six additional Negro officers, who are under Civil Service and occupy identical status with that of the white patrolmen, work the same hours and are paid the same salaries. We shall add additional Negro policemen as monies are made available. In cities with considerable Negro population, carefully selected Negro enforcement officers are not only satisfactory, but essential.

W. G. MORRISS, CHIEF OF POLICE, AHOSKIE

"The town of Ahoskie employed one Negro policeman in October 1946. His work has been very satisfactory in the colored part of town. We hope, as our town continues to grow, to add another Negro to our force."

JOHN M. GOLD, CHIEF OF POLICE, WINSTON-SALEM

"At the present time we have three Negro police officers on our force, two being employed in February 1945 and the other shortly thereafter. So far their services have been satisfactory and they have been of some assistance to us in our problems. There is a possibility of hiring additional Negro officers. The Negro officers are required to meet the same qualifications as other officers, they receive the same pay, work the same hours, and generally speaking perform the same type of duties as other officers."

C. C. STOKER, CHIEF OF POLICE, HIGH POINT

"On August 8, 1943, the city of High Point employed two Negro policemen. Their work has been very satisfactory, and there is a possibility the number will be increased."

L. L. JARVIS, CHIEF OF POLICE, GREENSBORO

"We do employ Negro policemen in our Police Department. At the present time we have six Negro policemen, the first having been employed, January 1944."

H. E. KING, CHIEF OF POLICE, DURHAM

"We have six Negro policemen on our force the first being employed July 1944. We have all we need at present for the colored population, but if the colored population increases then there will be a possibility of increasing the number."

WALTER F. ANDERSON, DIRECTOR STATE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

"While Chief of Police in Winston-Salem and in Charlotte, I had the opportunity to evaluate the desirability of employing Negro police in the Negro populated sections of the city. The contribution they can make to the community through its police department depends upon the type of personnel employed, the local territory to be patroled as well as the training and supervision given to the personnel employed. The selection of the personnel and then the training of that personnel to do police work is exceptionally important as one of their big jobs will be that of interracial cooperation.

In communities where the population is one-fourth or one-third Negro population you cannot advantageously employ one-fourth or one-third of your police personnel as Negro police officers but in communities of like population, one, two or even more depending upon the size of the community could be employed successfully, as these men not only could patrol and do a good job of policing among their race, but they could also, if the right type of personnel and properly trained, could do an excellent job in crime prevention especially with the juvenile groups. One of the forward steps now being taken toward law enforcement in this State is in the field of Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency and Negro police can be utilized in this endeavor."

NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
Box 1208, Raleigh, N. C.

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Police, Negro

This letter to chiefs of police in cities on attached list

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

"Carbon Copy"

September 12, 1947

Chief of Police

Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is in process of revising its lists of Southern cities using Negro policemen. Our revised list is enclosed. If you will be kind enough to complete the attached form, that will give us, correctly, information for which we have had many calls.

Your comments on whether you have found Negro policemen useful will be especially valuable.

Cordially yours,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN

State and City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
ARKANSAS		
Little Rock	8	
FLORIDA		
Clearwater	5*	
Daytona Beach	6	
Deland	1	
Fort Myers	2	
Gainesville	2	
Key West	2	
Miami	24	
Ocala	1	
Sanford	2	
Sarasota	**	
Tampa	6	
GEORGIA		
Savannah	9	
KENTUCKY		
Lexington	3	1
Louisville	25	
Owensboro	1	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ahoskie	1	
Asheville	2	
Charlotte	10	2
Durham	6	
Greensboro	6	
High Point	2	
Raleigh	2	2
Winston-Salem	3	

State and City	Policemen	Policewomen
OKLAHOMA		
Muskogee	2	
Oklahoma City	12	
Tulsa	14	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Beaufort	**	
Summerton	**	
York	1	
TENNESSEE		
Chattanooga	2	
Knoxville	5	
TEXAS		
Austin	3	
Beaumont	2	
Dallas	2	
Galveston	14	
Houston	5	
San Antonio	9	
Port Arthur	1	
VIRGINIA		
Newport News	3	
Norfolk	6	
Richmond	4	
Roanoke	2	

*Volunteer special policemen, unpaid by city

** Exact number not known

SEP 15 1947

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN

State and City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
ARKANSAS		
Little Rock	8	
FLORIDA		
Clearwater	5*	
Daytona Beach	6	
Deland	1	
Fort Myers	2	
Gainesville	2	
Key West	2	
Miami	24	
Ocala	1	
Sanford	2	
Sarasota	**	
Tampa	6	
GEORGIA		
Savannah	9	
KENTUCKY		
Lexington	3	1
Louisville	25	
Owensboro	1	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ahoskie	1	
Asheville	2	
Charlotte	10	2
Durham	6	
Greensboro	6	
High Point	2	
Raleigh	2	2
Winston-Salem	3	

State and City	Policemen	Policewomen
OKLAHOMA		
Muskogee	2	
Oklahoma City	12	
Tulsa	14	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Beaufort	**	
Summerton	**	
York	1	
TENNESSEE		
Chattanooga	2	
Knoxville	5	
TEXAS		
Austin	3	
Beaumont	2	
Dallas	2	
Galveston	14	
Houston	5	
San Antonio	9	
Port Arthur	1	
VIRGINIA		
Newport News	3	
Norfolk	6	
Richmond	4	
Roanoke	2	

*Volunteer special policemen, unpaid by city

** Exact number not known

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Oklahoma City, Okla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	5
Number of Negro policewomen	-	-

This city has used Negro policemen since 1920 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 9-16-47

Signed Frank Thurston

Position Exec. Secy Police Dept.

CITY OF Muskogee, Okla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 1938
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments I have found the two colored officers very useful.

Date Sept. 15, 1947

Signed A. N. Chambers

Position Captain

CITY OF TULSA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	13	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	1	

This city has used Negro policemen since MAY, 1920
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on no more needed at present
(Date)

Comments

Date Sept 15, 1947

Signed Roy Hyatt
Roy Hyatt

Position Chief of Police
Tulsa Police Department

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF SAVANNAH

Savannah, Ga.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	9	none
Number of Negro policewomen	-	

This city has used Negro policemen since May 1, 1947 5-1-47
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on do not know
(Date)

Comments On May 1st, 1947 we employed a total of 9 uniformed colored Police Officers to work in colored districts only, and to arrest only colored people. These men were selected by leaders of their own race, and were men of either High School or College educations. ~~Thus far they have made a good record.~~

Date Sept. 16, 1947

Signed James W. Rogers

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	
Number of Negro policewomen		

This city has used Negro policemen since January 19, 1944
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments It is with pleasure that we share with you the profitable experiences we have had with our six negro police officers here in our City, the first two having been employed by this Department on January 19, 1944. Their services have been very satisfactory, and at all times we have had the cooperation of our white officers and also of the public in the colored districts in which they are working. I am glad to say that the negro officers are a contribution to the negro districts and an asset to our Police Department.

Date September 17, 1947

Signed L. L. Jarvis
L. L. Jarvis

Position Chief of Police

Police, Negro

(handwritten)

C
O
P
Y

C
O
P
Y

Colored Civic League
P. O. Box 634
Melbourne, Florida
Sept. 22, 1947

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
2845 Corinthian Ave.
Jacksonville, Florida

Sirs:

As per request, I am sending to you a brief report of the activities of the Colored Civic League concerning Negro police protection in our town.

The Colored Civic League is a non-profit organization, consisting of Negro property owners and tax payers. For the sole purpose of directing the Civic side of the Colored section of town.

Four weeks ago I spoke to the city commission in behalf of the Colored Civic League. Giving them four reasons we needed a Colored police in Colored town. All reasons concerned immorality. The policeman was voted on and passed upon then and there. And provided us in the next years budget, in October 1947.

We are also sponsoring a voting campaign. Urging all eligible citizens to register and vote in city election in November. The campaign is proving very successful.

I am enclosing $1.00 as a subscriber for the "New South."

Thanking you for your letter, I remain

Yours truly,

(signed) N. L. Coates, Pres.

Police, Negro

September 23, 1947

Mr. Joseph I. Richman
17 East 74th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Richman:

We are currently revising a list made in 1945 of Southern cities useing Negro police. I attached that former list and its accompanying memorandum.

We have just lately written to the police chiefs and asked them for the lastest figures. About three-fourths of the answers are now in. I enclose, therefore, a list as thus far revised and we have marked our records to send you the completely revised list when issued.

If you can contribute any information on this general sub- we will be glad to receive it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

17 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.
Sept. 19, 1947

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am currently in Savannah, where I have been gathering material on the addition of Negro policemen as law enforcement officers.

Lt. Truman F. Ward, of the Savannah Police Department, was kind enough to show me some material your organization issues on Negro police work throughout the South. I am keenly interested in the subject and would appreciate any information you may have.

Since I will be returning to New York on Sunday, your earliest attention would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours

Joseph I. Richman

Joseph I. Richman

28 - Police, Negro

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

FT SEP 29 (00);,,

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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QC59

1947 SEP 29 PM 6 06

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MRS M E TILLY=

ACTING CHAIRMAN 1013 HIGHLAND VIEW NORTHEUAST ATLA=

DEEPLY REGRET ILLNESS PREVENTS MY COMING TO ATLANTA AM MAILING STATEMENTS FOR YOUR USE IF DESIRED=

EMANUEL LEWIS.

N Carr B

J Burphow
at 632P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Emanuel Lewis
Attorney at Law
606 Realty Building
Savannah, Georgia

September 29, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Acting Chairman
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I deeply regret that illness prevents my coming to Atlanta. I sent you a telegram to this effect just a few minutes ago.

Just as soon as I found that I could not make the trip, I arranged with my assistant to substitute for me. However, a death in his family on yesterday has made this impossible.

I dictated a statement to be sent to you which could be read to your meeting, if you so desire. It is pretty lifeless, but I don't think much of statements on these sort of things anyhow.

If you want negro policemen in Atlanta you can get them without any great effort. All that needs to be done is for the colored people to qualify as registered voters. Then a committee from their number can call on the appropriate authorities and it will not be long before you will have negro policemen. Agitation might delay it for sometime. It is the sort of thing that has to be handled quietly and without fanfare by all concerned. That is the method to achieve prompt results.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Lewis
By M. M. Cullum

L/c

I deeply regret that illness prevents my attending the annual meeting of the Fulton County Interracial Committee to discuss our experience in Savannah with negro policemen. I dislike very much having to write any paper on any subject, and this subject is one that is best handled by questions and answers rather than by a formal presentation.

We have in Savannah nine negro policemen. They work in shifts of three from their own precinct headquarters. The commanding officer of the precinct headquarters is a white sergeant, there also being three of these officers. The negro officers receive the same pay as the white officers. They wear Savannah Police Department uniforms while on duty and while in court attendance.

We put on negro policemen without any preliminary ballyhoo. They were privately trained for two months by the Chief of Police assisted by officers of his choice, and were appointed, sworn in and assigned to duty all on the same day.

The negro policemen patrol sections of the city which are predominately negro in population. They were instructed to call for assistance of white policemen in the event of any difficulty with white people. So far as I know, no incident has occurred to create any race issue.

The negro policemen are essentially rookie officers of good caliber. However, their activities have progressively improved law enforcement in this city. They frequently make cases at the very beginning of a disturbance because of their presence on the scene, when otherwise more serious violations of law would result. They are very determined in pursuit of wrong doers, and make captures that are really outstanding. Their appearances in court are very dignified and have received commendation by disinterested observers.

Naturally the presence on the police force of members of their race has given our negro population a sense of participation in government which has been very helpful so far as the operation of law enforcement agencies are concerned. They feel to a much greater extent that they are part of the government and it is their laws which are being enforced.

The resentment against negro policemen is at a minimum, largely because of their performance.

I have no doubt but that Atlanta and many other Southern cities will have negro policemen in the not too distant future. The record in Savannah, Miami, Winston-Salem and many other Southern cities shows that outside of any question of ideology, their addition to the police force is practical, wholesome and effective from the strict point of view of police duty.

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HERBERT T. JENKINS, CHIEF
LT. J. F. BROWN, SECRETARY

ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

September 29, 1947

Mr. R. L. Russell
Ga. Com. on Interracial Co-Operation
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Russell:

Upon my return to the city I find your letter and invitation of September 26th, to attend the Atlanta-Fulton County Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Due to previous committments, I find that it will be impossible for me to attend.

Any time that the Atlanta Police Department can be of service to you, do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

H. T. Jenkins

Chief of Police

HTJ:gp

ATLANTA THE DOGWOOD CITY

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, we are concerned about the Negro homicide rate in our city which contributes toward making Atlanta one of the crime centers in our nation;

WHEREAS, we believe that the use of Negro police in Negro areas will decrease homicide and rapidly lower the crime rate;

WHEREAS, Negro police are being used successfully in at least twenty-eight Southern cities, including Little Rock, Arkansas; Miami, Florida; Louisville, Kentucky; Raleigh, North Carolina; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Houston, Texas;

Therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that we urge the government of the City of Atlanta to take steps to train and employ Negroes on the city police as soon as possible;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge other civic groups in Atlanta to join with us in the appeal to city officials.

Signed:

Mrs. A. H. Sterne

Mrs. Carmen Dobbs

Mrs. W. B. Suddeth

Mrs. Guion Johnson

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Committee - Atlanta Council of Church Women

We, the women from the various churches of the Atlanta-East and the Atlanta-West Districts, in a study class at Druid Hills Methodist Church have faced some of the conditions in our city that should not be in any city in any country.

As citizens of Atlanta , we take our fair share of blame that all is not well within our capital city and as citizens we take our share of the responsibility to make well all the unhealthy and unwholesome conditions.

We are both shocked and disturbed over the prevalence of crime and the inevitable smir ch that has come upon the name of our city. as it is listing as almost leading the nation in the number of murders committed each year.

We believe the use of Negro policemen in Negro areas would act both in preventing crime and in the solving of crime.

We therefore call upon our Police Committee of our City Council to take steps to train and enploy Negroes on the police force to serve in the Negro sections.

PROGRAM

ANNUAL MEETING

Fulton County Interracial Committee

SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

3:00 to 5:00 P. M.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, 33 PRYOR STREET

Presiding, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Acting Chairman

PRAYER ..... Dr. S. F. Lowe, Director, Radio Commission, Southern Baptist Convention

GREETINGS ..... Dr. George Mitchell, Director Southern Regional Council

OUR MEMBERSHIP OBLIGATION ..... Dr. R. L. Russell, State Director, Georgia Interracial Committee

PLAYGROUNDS AND PARKS FOR OUR NEGRO COMMUNITY ..... Mr. Ralph Robinson, Director Negro Boy Scouts, Atlanta Area

Mr. R. L. Doyal, County Commissioner

DISCUSSION

FACING THE NEED FOR NEGRO POLICE IN ATLANTA .....

Atlanta Council of Church Women - Mrs. R. L. Turman
Atlanta Christian Council - Dr. Harrison McMains
Methodist Women - Mrs. F. M. Hatcher
American Veterans Committee - Mr. John Glustron
N. A. A. C. P. - Rev. M. L. King

NEGRO POLICE AND THE CITY OF SAVANNAH .....

Judge Emmanuel Lewis, Judge City Court, Savannah, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
September 29, 1947

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN

STATE AND CITY	NUMBER OF NEGRO POLICEMEN Uniform	P.C.*	NUMBER OF NEGRO POLICEWOMEN
ARKANSAS			
Little Rock	4		
FLORIDA			
Clearwater	5**		
Daytona Beach	6		
Deland	1		
Fort Myers	2		
Gainesville	2		
Key West	2		
Miami	20		
Ocala	1		
Sanford	2		
Tampa	6		
GEORGIA			
Savannah	9		
KENTUCKY			
Lexington		2	1 (P.C.)
Louisville	15	6	2 (P.C.)
Owensboro	1		
NORTH CAROLINA			
Ahoskie	1		
Asheville	2		
Charlotte	10		
Durham	7		
Greensboro	6		
High Point	2		
Raleigh	2		2
Winston-Salem	5		

STATE AND CITY	NUMBER OF NEGRO POLICEMEN Uniform	P. C.	NUMBER NEGRO P'WOMEN
OKLAHOMA			
Muskogee	2		
Oklahoma City	6	5	
Tulsa	13		1
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Summerton	(exact number not known)		
Clover	1		
TENNESSEE			
Chattanooga		3	
Knoxville	5		
TEXAS			
Austin	5		
Beaumont	2		
Dallas	2		
Galveston	11	5	
Houston	4	2	
San Antonio	9		
Port Arthur	6 (incl.4 "special" Negro officers)		
VIRGINIA			
Newport News	4		
Norfolk	7		
Richmond	5		
Roanoke	4		

	States	Cities	Negro Policemen Uniform	Negro Policemen Plainclothes	Negro Policewomen Uniform	Negro Policewomen P.C.
TOTAL	10	43	186	23	3	3

*P. C.--plainclothes officers
** Volunteer special policemen, unpaid by city

DATES ON WHICH NEGRO POLICE WERE FIRST EMPLOYED

State and City	Date
ARKANSAS	
Little Rock	Sept. 15, 1942
FLORIDA	
Clearwater	Feb. 15, 1947
Daytona Beach	*
Deland	*
Fort Myers	1935
Gainesville	March 1, 1946
Key West	1940
Miami	September, 1944
Ocala	*
Sanford	*
Tampa	1944
GEORGIA	
Savannah	May 1, 1947
KENTUCKY	
Lexington	approx. 10yrs ago
Louisville	1923
Owensboro	*
NORTH CAROLINA	
Ahoskie	*
Asheville	April 1, 1946
Charlotte	July 1, 1941
Durham	1944
Greensboro	Jan. 19, 1944
High Point	Aug. 9, 1943
Raleigh	*
Winston-Salem	1945
OKLAHOMA	
Muskogee	1938
Oklahoma City	1920
Tulsa	May, 1920
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Summerton	*
Clover	*
TENNESSEE	
Chattanooga	(Approx. 10 Yrs. ago)
Knoxville	*
TEXAS	
Austin	1905
Beaumont	1919
Dallas	Feb. 10, 1947
Galveston	1870
Houston	30 or more years ago
Sam Antonio	40 or more years ago
Port Arthur	1945
VIRGINIA	
Newport News	May, 1946
Norfolk	Nov. 7, 1945
Richmond	May 1, 1946
Roanoke	June 16, 1947

NOTE: This information was obtained by means of a questionnaire mailed to Chiefs of Police by the Southern Regional Council on Sept. 12, 1947

* Cities which have not replied to the SRC questionnaire.

II. HAVE NEGRO POLICE BEEN SATISFACTORY?

In the Southern cities that are using Negro police there is almost unanimous agreement that Negro policemen have proved valuable. Following are some recent comments of police chiefs:

> "Colored police officers have been a great asset in the suppression of crime in our colored districts and have been extremely valuable in handling of inter-racial problems. Greater cooperation is obtained from all elements of our colored population through this medium." -- Chief of Police, Miami, Fla., September 19, 1947.

> "These two officers are assigned in the area of the heaviest concentration of Negro population. They are both college graduates and met the same requirements set up for white officers. Through their presence and efforts, crime in the district to which they are assigned has dropped 25%." --Chief of Police, Dallas, Texas, September 15, 1947.

> "Our Negro police have done an excellent job, and they work in uniform in a colored area; we expect to employ two more in the near future." Chief of Police, Newport News, Va., September 15, 1947.

> "It is with pleasure that we share with you the profitable experiences we have had with our six Negro police officers here in our City, the first two having been employed by this Department on January 19, 1944. Their services have been very satisfactory, and at all times we have had the cooperation of our white officers and also of the public in the colored districts in which they are working. I am glad to say that the Negro officers are a contribution to the Negro districts and an asset to our Police Department." --Chief of Police, Greensboro, N. C. September 17, 1947.

> "The City of San Antonio is fortunate in having some of the best Negro officers that can be had. They are loyal and efficient policemen and take pride in their work. These officers are under the command of white officials. They work both in uniform and in plain clothes and perform their duties in Negro districts only. We feel that they do an invaluable police service." -- Chief of Police, San Antonio, Tex., September 20, 1947.

Copies of this memorandum may be obtained from

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

CITY OF Owensboro, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	Two	None.
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None.

This city has used Negro policemen since Jan 1, 1939. (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments Since we have employed Negro police officers, we have very little trouble in the Colored district.

Date Sept 29, 1947

Signed Vernie Bidwell

Position Chief of Police Owensboro, Ky.

RECEIVED SEP 30 1947 Southern Regional Council

CITY OF LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -		2
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		1

This city has used Negro policemen since APPROXIMATELY 10 YEARS
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1947

Signed A. B. Asire

Position CHIEF OF POLICE.

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Louisville, Kentucky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	15	6
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -		2

This city has used Negro policemen since 1923
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have had colored police on the force since 1923, and find that it is a very satisfactory arrangement in the area in which they are assigned.

Date 9-15-47

Signed C. E. Heustis

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Oct. 4 - '47

Dear George:-
Love & greetings to each of your family! Am lame handed - so can write little. Thank you for the "New Faith." Enjoyed it. Am wondering why Charleston is not on front page lest! The bad negro policeman 30 yrs. ago — or thereabout. How I do miss you all - and watching the dear girls develope. Hope all are well & happy — Love - M. T. F.

Community Methodist Church

CORNER OF GRANDVIEW AND HARVEY AVENUES
ON THE PENINSULA
Daytona Beach, Florida

MRS. A. C. GROSE
DIRECTOR
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

LEWIS N. HEAD
MINISTER
PHONE 2215-W

Oct. 6, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

My apologies for the seeming indifference of Chief Johnson.

I have secured, by telephone, the information asked for on the enclosure and for that reason have filled the blanks myself.

The thinking, interested Christians of Daytona Beach are none too pleased with the place of the Negro as a citizen in our Community. But we are hopeful for the future because of the intelligent and effective work of the "Good Neighbor Committee", the Y.W.C.A. and the United Council of Church Women; the latter organization having recently become inter-racial largely through the efforts of Mrs. L. O. Turner, formerly of Atlanta. She tells me that she has worked with you in Atlanta. She is a highly capable Christian woman who is giving excellent leadership to the Women of Daytona Beach.

Naturally, we think the leadership of the Florida W. S. C. S. is tops and we love hearing others say so.

If I can be of further service, don't hesitate to ask me.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Head

Mrs. Lewis N. Head

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Knoxville, Tenn

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	7	none
Number of Negro policewomen	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since 20 years or more
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on No knowledge as to plans
(Date)

Comments

Date October 6, 1947 Signed Mrs. B. R. Stout

Position

Dear Mrs. Tilly: One negro policeman has been on the force for such a length of time that he is about ready to retire. The plan in the city is that a certain age and length of employment entilles employee to retirement.

Hope this will help you in your survey - Pearl Stout

CITY OF Chattanooga, Tennessee

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have three special negro detectives whom we find very valuable in policing in the negro section of this city. They do not make arrests in any other section and arrest only negros. Our budget will not allow us to employ any more negros at the present time. We have one maid who works with the colored ~~women who are in jail but no policewomen. We have had these~~ special men for approximately ten years.

Date September 27, 1947

Signed Ed Ricketts

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Petersburg, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -		
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		1

This city has used Negro ~~policemen~~ policewoman since October 16, 1938
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date October 8, 1947

Signed J. C. Beasley

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since November 7, 1945
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date September 17, 1947

Signed C. M. Lindsay
C. M. Lindsay

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	5	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since May 1, 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date September 16, 1947

Signed J. S. Howerton
Major J. S. Howerton

Position Supt. of Personnel

CITY OF Roanoke, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since June 16, 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments service satisfactory

Date September 15, 1947

Signed _____
Superintendent of Police
Captain H. C. Ferguson
Position _____

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Cou

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since May, 1946 (date first Negro policeman was employed)
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments Our negro police have done an excellent job, and they work in uniform in a colored area, and we expect to employ two more in the near future.

Date September 15, 1947

Signed J M Peach
J. M. Peach

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Portsmouth Va

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - None - - - - - - - -		
Number of Negro policewomen- - - None - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on Unknown (Date)

Comments _____

Date Sept. 15th., 1947

Signed O. B. Dunn
O. B. Dunn

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ft Myers, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 1935 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments Proved very Satisfactorily

Date 10-15-47

Signed J D Butterworth

Position Chief Police.

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1947
Southern Regional Co

CITY OF OCALA, FLORIDA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	None	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments The Sheriff Office this county has one negro officer the city does not have any at this time.

Date October 13th, 1947

Signed J. H. Spencer
J. H. SPENCER,
Position Chief of Police.

CITY OF DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	6	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 1935 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments Because of low salaries offered Negro policemen, only those of meager education and with no specialized training can be hired. However they have rendered effective and satisfactory service.

Date Oct. 6, 1947

Signed Mrs Lewis N. Head (for Chief Johnson)

Position

CITY OF Daytona Beach, Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	6	—
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since 1934 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on — (Date)

RECEIVED OCT 8 1947 Southern

Comments

Date 10/6/47

Signed T. N. Johnson

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF SANFORD, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	None
Number of Negro policewomen	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since March, 1944
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments Our one colored policeman is confined strictly to the negro district, and it has been very satisfactory and without criticism from our white citizesn, and the colored are well pleased. In fact, they petitioned the City to employ a negro policeman for their business section of the City.

I believe that most cities will find that working negro policemen in colored sections will be most satisfactory.

Date Oct. 1, 1947

Signed H. N. Sayer

Position City Manager

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF St. Petersburg, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments A Civil Service examination was held with seven negro applicants. Only two qualified, and one of them will be further investigated as to suitability. Our budget provides for hiring of four negro uniform officers.

Date October 1, 1947

Signed J. R. Reichert
J. R. Reichert

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1947

CITY OF DeLand Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	none	

This city has used Negro policemen since 1935 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on none (Date)

Comments Services very satisfactory

Date Oct 1, 1947

Signed Geo W Stone

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Tampa Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1944 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on ——— (Date)

Comments Service satisfactory

Date

Signed J. S. Rodriguez

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gainesville, Florida.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	1
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since March 1, 1946 (Date)

This city will hire or 1 additional Negro policemen on Oct.1, 1947 (Date)

Comments The choice of a discreet negro policeman is a pre-requisite to satisfactory service. The negro officer now employed by this dep't. was formerly a Military Police here, and was well known to us to be one who did not abuse the authority of a badge and gun. His hours of duty are from 6;00 p.m. to 2;00 a.m. He is only authorized to arrest negroes, or to investigate disturbances or accidents in which all participants are negroes.-- Unless he actually sees a white person committing a felony, then he may arrest person.

Date Sept. 22, 1947

Signed R.G. Zeigler
R,G.Zeigler,
Chief of Police,
Position Gainesville, Fla.

This negro, working under above conditions, has been very satisfactory, to the Police Department, and to the negro citizens.

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1947
RECORDS
Southern Regional Conf

CITY OF *Miami, Florida*

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	20	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since *September, 1944.*
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments *Colored police officers have been a great asset in the suppression ofcrime in our Colored Districts and have been extremely valuable in handling of inter-racial problems. Greater cooperation is obtained from all elements of our colored population through this medium.*

FRANK MITCHELL, Chief of Police
By

Date *September, 19, 1947.*

Signed *Fred E. Bratt.*
Captain Fred E. Bratt

Position *Acting Chief of Police*

CITY OF Sarasota, Florida.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments This city formally used two negro policemen but after the change to city manager form of government these men were discharged by the city manager.

Date September 15, 1947

Signed E. A. Garner

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
17 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF MELBOURNE

MELBOURNE, FLORIDA

ADMINISTRATIVE
DEPARTMENT

September 15, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Answering your letter of the twelfth, no final action has been taken on the appointment of a colored policeman.

Just what will be done about this will be better known after our new budget goes into effect, this in November, and at that time consideration will be given to the completion of your form.

R. B. Meserve

R. B. MESERVE
City Manager

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Key West, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	none
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since 1940 (Date)

~~This city will hire Negro policemen on~~ _____ (Date)

Comments Work Very good among their people. This City does not permit the Colored Policeman to arrest, White persons. Their work is confined to their color.

Date Sept. 15 1947

Signed B. G. Perez

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Clearwater Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -		5
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		0

This city has used Negro policemen since 2-15-47 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments Entirely satisfactory. Our present men are volunteers on special occasions. Two were formerly full time Uniformed men (years ago) & all work well

Date 9-15-47 Signed J. E. Elliott

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Police, Negro

Memo

October 16, 1947

To: Dr. Mitchell
From: Margaret Price
Re: Police Statements for Muriel Williams
(for A.U.C.)

The only statements of chiefs of police (other than those on mimeographed sheet, which Mrs. Williams has) which seem to indicate satisfactory relationship between Negro policemen and white policemen are attached.

For further information Mrs. Williams might write to chiefs in Miami, Dallas, Newport News, Greensboro, or San Antonio (statements included in mimeographed listing of Negro police), or to those in Gainesville, Florida, and Sanford, Florida (statements attached).

Attached, also, is an excerpt from a speech made by Henry Yancey, former city manager of Durham, N.C., in which he discusses the attitude of white policemen toward Negroes.

A third statement is that of Chief Jarvis, of Greensboro, to Harold Fleming.

A copy of Mr. Yancey's speech will also be helpful.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

Chief L. L. Jarvis, Greensboro, told Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council, in an interview on October 2, 1947 that "there were a few white policemen who didn't like the idea (of Negro policemen) when it was first suggested. Once the Negro officers were appointed, however, they saw that it was the proper thing to do." He added that there had never been a breath of trouble between white and Negro officers since Negro policemen had been employed.

COPY

J. B. Mobley, Jr.
City Manager

CITY OF GAINESVILLE
The University City
Florida

April 18, 1947

Mrs. William C. White
State Secretary
Christian Social Relations
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

This is to advise that the City of Gainesville, Florida employs one Negro police officer who works on a full time basis. This Negro police officer works only in the colored section and has proven most satisfactory. In fact, this office has not received the first complaint from our white residents as well as colored residents.

The officer is doing a good job and in my opinion we will employ from one to two more Negro police officers within the next twelve months.

Yours very truly

(signed)

J. B. Mobley, Jr.
City Manager

COPY

CITY OF SANFORD, FLORIDA

The Celery City

Commission-Manager Plan
April 16, 1947

Mrs. William C. White
c/o Methodist Womans Conference
Community Methodist Church
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

This is in reference to your inquiry relative to the employment of negro policemen.

We have only one negro policeman on our force, who has been employed for almost three years, and he is confined strictly to the negro district where all businesses are operated by colored people with the exception of a few foreigners. It has been very satisfactory and without criticism from our white citizens, and the colored people are well pleased. In fact, they petitioned the City to employ a negro policeman for that section of the City.

He does not mingle with the white policemen except when it is necessary to call in to the station for additional assistance, and about the only time he comes to the station is to attend court. He reports on duty from his home and the Chief or Captain gives him his order on the job.

I believe that most of the cities will find that working negro policemen in colored sections will be more satisfactory because they can manhandle and use more drastic measures, if necessary, in making an arrest, without the resistance and complaints generally received from the colored people against white policemen. However, they will have to be very careful in selecting their men and confine them strictly to the colored section.

I trust this is the information desired.

Yours very truly,

(signed)

H. N. Sayer
City Manager

COPY

R. E. Kurtz,
Mayor

Councilmen
L. H. Blouch
R. J. Segraves
J. L. Shay
J. N. Shearer
Fred Skinner

CITY OF FORT MYERS
FLORIDA

Charles Chandler
City Clerk

C. J. Raby
Assessor

J. Douglas Bartleson
Chief of Police

April 15, 1947

Mrs. Wm. C. White
876 13th Aven., So.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Dear Mrs. White:

This is to confirm our conversation several days ago relative to negro policemen in colored sections.

The City of Fort Myers has two negro policemen who have been on duty for several years. These policemen have been very satisfactory, I know we would not be without them.

Much depends, however, on the type of men selected for this work. We have been exceedingly successful by keeping high type men in this work. The success or failure of a good colored policeman depends on the selection of a high type employed.

Very truly yours,

(signed)

R. E. Kurtz
Mayor

COPY

CITY OF LAKELAND

LAKELAND FLORIDA

April 5, 1947

Mrs. William C. White
State Chairman
Christian Social Relations
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

This is to advise that we have twelve auxiliary negro policemen who are used entirely in the colored section of town.

These men have been carefully chosen, are of good character and do a very good job.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Charles Larsen
City Manager

COPY

CITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

H. C. Gooch, City Manager

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

March 31, 1947

Mrs. William C. White
St. Petersburg
Florida

Dear Madam:

The City of St. Augustine, for a number of years, has employed a colored man in the capacity of "Special Officer" who has full police power and acts as a plain-clothes officer working in and about his own people, for the purpose of protecting their property, their lives, and their business enterprises from the various rackets and methods used to prey on these people.

I do not hesitate to say that this has been entirely satisfactory and the City of St. Augustine intends to continue, if not increase, this service.

Very truly yours,

H. C. GOOCH
City Manager

HCG/al

COPY

CITY OF DELAND
FLORIDA

March 19, 1947

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:

ADMIN: GSR:ved
Police Dept. - 2010

Mrs. William C. White
State Secretary
Christian Social Relations
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

This is to advise that the City of Deland, Florida, employs one Negro Police Officer who works on a full time basis.

This officer has been employed for a number of years and works only in the colored district.

Having this Negro Police Officer has been a very satisfactory arrangement and no complaints are received from either the white or colored residents.

Very truly yours,

Geo. S. Rattenbury
Assistant City Manager

COPY

March 11, 1947

Hon. Frank Whitehead
Mayor
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mayor:

Mr. Ed Ray asked me to write you concerning our experience with negro police officers.

Previous to the placing or working negro police officers (uniformed) in the negro business district of Tampa, we were constantly beset with complaints about white officers beating up Negroes, minor racial disturbances, etc. Since using Negroes, this has been eliminated almost entirely. The negro officers have been more tough or strict than the white officers, were, but negro businessmen and their leaders have given their support and backing to the negro police.

We placed two on the Department at first, about two years ago. As this appeared successful, we placed two more, then October 1, 1946, we placed two more, giving us a total of six as of this date.

These negroes work in uniform, and their activities are confined to their own race and their district.

Their starting pay is $15.00 a month less than the white officers. They have been schooled in their duties (highly necessary).

A committee of six leading negro citizens were selected by me, a doctor, a newspaper editor, two ministers, and two business men. These men interviewed negro applicants and screened them out. Then they made their recommendations to us; usually, we requested them to recommend on a ration of 3 to 1 for a position. We then checked on those recommended and chose from their list of recommendations. This all seemed to receive the backing of the negro population of their own officers, and as I said, worked highly satisfactorily.

The negro officers work the same hours as the white officers. At present, they are not under Civil Service, but if it continues to work as satisfactorily in the future as in the past, they will probably be placed under Civil Service.

Yours very truly,

(signed)

J. L. Eddings
Chief of Police

JLE/f

Police, Negro

October 23, 1947

Associated Negro Press
3407 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

The enclosed copy of NEW SOUTH contains the results of our most recent survey of the extent and effectiveness of the use of Negro police in the South. The Associated Press is releasing the information on its wires, and it occurred to us that your service might find it interesting enough to warrant a release.

While we have run similar surveys, we feel that this one is significant both for the increase in the number of Negro officers employed and for the excellent results reported by chiefs of police of the cities employing them.

The results of the survey were first announced by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, in an address to the Social Workers Club of Atlanta on October 22. In his introductory remarks Dr. Mitchell said: "Most of us in white circles do not understand how intensely Negro urban communities themselves long for effective law enforcement. Negro businesses are harried by the results of poor law enforcement, and respectable Negro citizens are worried and distressed by the amount of crime in their neighborhood that goes virtually unpunished. Many Southern cities have proved to their own satisfaction that Negro police are outstandingly successful in combatting Negro crime."

We shall be glad to have you use any of this material in any way you see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

~~Police Study~~
Police, Negro

October 24, 1947

Mr. Frank Mitchell
Chief of Police
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I enclose five copies of the results of the circular inquiry which the Council made last month on the use of Negro police. You will remember that you were kind enough to give us your valued comments which were printed on page two.

Just after this material had gone to the printer someone handed me a news clipping from the Los Angeles Tribune of September 6, 1947. I attach a copy of this clipping.

The statements in it are so pat and quotable that I have on a couple of recent occasions used them publicly. The Council ordinarily is careful to check back on material of this kind. I should be very grateful if I may have word from you as to whether the Los Angeles story may be considered as accurate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Attachment

GSM:ee

Police, Negro

October 27, 1947

Miss Peggy Case
Station W B G E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Case:

Here is the dope on Negro Police.

I have marked my calendar to show me in your hands for five minutes, November 3, at 7:00 P. M.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Clover, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	1
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used one Negro policeman since 1942* (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments The one negro policeman has given efficient service. *Exact date of employment not certain, "about five years" and employed only for the week ends. Mr. Hamm, chief of Rock Hill Police told the writer, "I would not recommend the hiring of negroes for police service, but I will not oppose same."

Date Oct 24 / 1947 Signed Mary Ge Mayson

Position Member of S.C. Com. S.R.C

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1947

CITY OF CHARLESTON, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ ✓
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ ✓
(Date)

Comments _____

Date October 8, 1947

Signed Chris H. Ortmann
Chris H. Ortmann
Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Beaufort S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since none (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on no plans. (Date)

Comments This City employs 6 uniformed white Policemen including the Chief.

Date Sept 17, 1947

Signed A M Heape

Position Chief of police

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF York, S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since Never had any on force
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on De not contemplate using any
(Date)

Comments You evidently have us confused with our neighboring town of Clover,S.C.

We understand they have one part time Negro policeman.

TOWN OF YORK, YORK,S.C.

Date September 13, 1947.

Signed M.F. Lapock

Clerk & Treasurer.

Position

Police, Negro

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Birmingham
Alabama

My dear Sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Memphis
Tennessee

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Jacksonville
Florida

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Nashville
Tennessee

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police

New Orleans

Louisiana

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Covington
Kentucky

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Shreveport
Louisiana

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police

El Paso

Texas

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

October 30, 1947

Chief of Police
Arlington
Virginia

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

October 20, 1947

Chief of Police

Atlanta

Georgia

My dear sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

October 29, 1947

Chief of Police

Fort Worth

Texas

My Dear Sir:

The enclosed leaflet is based upon replies of Chiefs of Police in all of the Southern states in which there was reason to believe Negro police are being used.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

Police, Negro

October 28, 1947

Governor Roy J. Turner

State Capitol

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Governor Turner:

The enclosed leaflet on the use of Negro Police in Southern cities will I am sure be of interest to you.

Respectfully yours,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

A copy of the October, 1947 issue of the NEW SOUTH and the letter above was sent to Governors Roy J. Turner, Oklahoma, James E. Folsom, Alabama. Jim Nance McCord, Tenn. R. Gregg Cherry, N. C., James M. Davis, La., Millard F. Caldwell, Fla., Beaufort H. Jester, Texas; M. E. Thompson, Ga., William M. Tuck, Va.; ~~William Preston Lane, Maryland;~~ Fielding L. Wright, Miss. Ben T. Laney, Arkansas, and J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Simeon Willis, Kentucky.

Police, Negro

November 3, 1947

League of Municipalities

14 S. Hull St.

Montgomery, Alabama

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Municipal League
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Georgia Municipal Association
1403 C. & S. Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

League of Municipalities
Barnett Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

League of Texas Municipalities
2220 Guadalupe Street
Austin, Texas

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl.
GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Municipal League
Cotton States Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl.

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Municipal League
Twin City Bank Building
North Little Rock, Ark.

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Municipal Association
City Hall
Baton Rouge, La.

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Mississippi Municipal Association
610 First Federal Savings Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl.

GSM:s

Police Negro

November 3, 1947

League of Virginia Municipalities
Travelers Building
Richmond, Virginia

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl
GSM:s

November 3, 1947

League of Municipalities
Raleigh Building
Raleigh, N. C.

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl

GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Municipal Association of South Carolina
Old Library Building University Campus
Columbia, South Carolina

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl.
GSM:s

November 3, 1947

Oklahoma Municipal League
915 Braniff Building
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Gentlemen:

It occurred to us that the members of your League would be interested in the use of Negro police in Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encl.

GSM:s

C
O
P
Y

CITY OF MIAMI, FLORIDA

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF POLICE

November 3, 1947

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 24th enclosing copies of the "New South" and a copy of clipping which appeared in the Los Angeles Tribune on June 9, 1947.

With reference to your request concerning the accuracy of the clipping, advise that this information is not part of an authorized release from this department and I have no figures to support the accuracy of the statements made in this article on the reduction of expenses to the extent of $50,000 per year. Further, Detective Crane has been removed from his supervisory position at our Colored Precinct Station and I believe that his remark quoted as, "The Negro policemen enforced more law in the colored areas of Miami in six months than the white officers have been able to do in the past six years", was extremely untactful and would cause hard feelings while we are at the same time trying to build up a spirit of cooperation between the white and colored police officers.

It is difficult to give actual figures and compare the efficiency of colored officers with that of white officers inasmuch as our colored districts were policed by about four to six white officers while it is now policed by nineteen colored officers. You can readily see there should be some increase in efficiency and our records indicate that there has been a great reduction in homicides, assaults, gambling, illegal weapon carrying and violations of all kinds.

For your information, a copy of "New South" was delivered to Inspector H. S. Redman, Commanding, Special Service Bureaus, in which is included the Colored Precinct Station now under the supervision of Lt. O. W. Faircloth.

Very truly yours,

(signed)

Frank Mitchell
Chief of Police

FM/jm

Police, Negro

November 7, 1947

Mrs. Frances C. Dwyer
Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dwyer:

Mrs. W. B. Suddeth has just advised me that you are to approach Councilman Hester on the subject of Negro police and that you would like to have any of our material that might prove helpful.

I am enclosing a copy of our October NEW SOUTH, which summarizes fairly completely our findings with regard to the use of Negro police in the South. I hope that the facts and figures presented will be of some use to you.

I might add that indications are that even more Southern cities than we have listed are successfully using Negro policemen. Since publication of this issue, we have learned that El Paso, Texas, has four and Corpus Christi two colored officers.

Please accept our best wishes for your efforts to bring better law enforcement to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Questionnaires & correspondence in preparation of Negro police date 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Hot Springs Arkansas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 9-1-47 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments THEE MEN SO FAR HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES VERY GOOD OFFICERS, AND WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THEM.

Date 11-8-47

Signed H. E. Armstrong

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Little Rock, Ark.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	4	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 9-15-42
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 9-15-47

Signed Col. M. H. Pettie

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gastonia, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments Three or four Negroes will be employed as uniformed policemen as soon as adequate quarters can be arranged for them. Action has already been taken by the Board of Aldermen. They hope to have the quarters worked out before the first of the year.

Date Nov. 15, 1947

Signed _____

Position _____

Cyrus M. Johnson

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1947

CITY OF Raleigh, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2 patrolmen, used in civilian clothes	
Number of Negro policewomen	2 as school patrol	

This city has used Negro policemen since approximately four years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments

Have been satisfactory

Date October 10, 1947

Signed R. R. Hargrove

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Asheville N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - One - - - - -	Blue	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since Sep 1945-
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We find that our Negro Policeman gives us perfect satisfaction.. we walk him in the Colored section and he has been doing good work

Date Sep 28th 1947 Signed W. G. Morris

Position Chief Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Winston-Salem, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	5	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1945 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on during next fiss. yr. 2 more. (Date)

Comments

We feel that the negro officers have been of some assistance to us and so far we are very well pleased with their services.

Date 9-15-47

Signed John M. Gaed

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF ASHEVILLE NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since April 1st 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have found it to be very satisfactory to have Negro police officers for work in the Negro sections of the City, and it is probable that we will employ one or two more within a year.

Date 15 September 1947

Signed Eric R. Hall
Eric R. Hall,

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF High Point

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -	none	

This city has used Negro policemen since August 9, 1943
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments The two negro policemen that we now have in service are preforming their duties in a satisfactory manner.

Date September 15, 1947

Signed A C Stokes

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF DURHAM NORTH CAROLINA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1944
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments Their work has been very satisfactory

Date September 15, 1947

Signed H. E. King

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charlotte, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	10	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since July 1st, 1941
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments The list of Negro Police in Southern Cities shows 2 Negro Policewomen, this is in error, as we have never had any Negro Policewomen.

Date September 13, 1947

Signed F. N. Littlejohn
F. N. Littlejohn

Position Chief of Police

November 17, 1947

Dr. H. Boyd Hall
722 Artesian Street
Corpus Christi, Texas

Dear Dr. Hall:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of November 3 with its valuable information about Negro police in Corpus Christi.

I shall be mindful of your wish not to be quoted but what you have told us greatly strengthens our records in general.

It was kind of you to become a member of the Council. I assume that a formal receipt has already been sent you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

DIAL 9724

DR. H. BOYD HALL
DENTIST
722 ARTESIAN ST.
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS

Nov. 3, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta Georgia

Gentlemen;-

By way of information I wish to say that Corpus Christi Texas has two Colored police officers on the force. This has been so for a number of years. They are both college trainedmen. They are fully qualified in that they have passed the civil service examination. They are fully paid in that they recieve the same pay that the White officers with the same seniority. And fully authorized in that they are instructed to arrest anyone thatviolates the law. However, their beat is in the Colored section.

During the war we had three. Being a defence center, demobilization has decreased the population some, hence relieved the necessity for some officers of both races. A large minority of the Colored people of this city are not pleased with this move on the part of a very liberal chief of police. They wish to operate their gamboling dives, and this

DIAL 9724

DR. H. BOYD HALL
DENTIST
722 ARTESIAN ST.
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS

effectively prevents them from making it profitable anyway. It also interferes with other profitable but criminal racketts. The Chief of Police is very religeous and means business about it. So in the neighborhood that they are expected to patrol, they are not popular.

But a small majority of the self respecting Negro population appreciates this move and acts accordingly.

Respectfully,

H. Boyd Hall D.D.S.

H. Boyd Hall D.D.S.

P.S.
Although this information is very factual indeed, I would not like to be quoted. I dont need any more local enimies.

November 18, 1947

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter,, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

Thank you very much indeed for your journey to Summerton and the report of your interesting experience.

We are glad to have the situation straight.

We have no record of receiving here any reply from the mayor to our letter to him.

I suppose the thing for us to do is to drop Summerton from our official published list of cities and towns having Negro pplice, but to be mindful of it in statements that we know also of other towns in which Negroes are employed professionally in the police department.

I am anxious to have an opportunity to talk with you and shall try to be in Sumter sometime this Winter.

We missed you at the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Summerton, S.C.

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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REV. A. J. WRIGHT BENNETTSVILLE

29 E.Calhoun St.
Sumter,S.C.
November 9,1947

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S.Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was not unmindful of your request, too long ago, to get information from the sheriff in Summerton. In fact, I took it so seriously that I went in person to that town and asked the gentleman about your letter. He assured me that he had turned the matter over to the mayor; that a council meeting had acted on it "last night" and action would be taken, necessarily by the mayor. I politely expressed surprise, but the officer assured me that the mayor and council did the hiring and firing, and he was powerless. AT his suggestion I saw the mayor. He assured me that he had written you that very morning. That he was entirely disapproving of giving out such information, that he desired no publicity whatsoever on the subject, that they had no Negro policeman in Summerton except a Negro who was used in the Negro district on Saturday afternoons, and that he did not care to say anything further about it. If you could have seen the expression on his face I am sure you would have retreated, as I did, with the conviction that there is no value in arguing against a feeling,- and a fear.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

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South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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I did venture the assertion that we in South Carolina had been very much gratified at the reported evidence of prO-gressive thinking in Summerton and its basis for the claim that the State was not entirely behind in actions taken by other cities of other states in the South. It made no impression. Will you tell me why there is so much fear in people here? I long to talk with you, and hope if you come this way you will let me know. It would be a great privilege to go to Atlanta this week; practicably impossible for me. I hope you will have a courageous and wise conference. "God keep you, and keep you at it"

My best wishes and great faith always,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

Police, Negro

November 20, 1947

Mrs. William C. White
876 - 13th Avenue South
St. Petersburg 5, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

Thanks for your letter saying you will get behind the Negro police issue in St. Petersburg. Hope you are successful! It looks as though we will soon have Negro police in Atlanta, too.

We have been so rushed with post-annual meeting business that I have not had time to copy the police letters. I will get to them right away, though, and return the originals to you.

Mrs. Havens was here when you letter came, and she suggested that you get in touch with Mr. G. D. Rogers, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, in regard to a bathing place for Negroes. She says that Mr. Rogers has recently purchased some land, or is contemplating doing so.

Thanksgiving greetings!

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Vice-President
MRS. W. H. BECKHAM
461 S. W. 22nd Road
Miami

Recording Secretary
MRS. H. L. DOBBS
1528 S. W. 1st Street
Miami

President
MRS. EDWIN B. WHITE
2344 Gilmore Street
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876 - 13th Avenue, South
St. Petersburg 5, Florida

Woman's Society of Christian Service

Florida Conference

The Methodist Church

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:
Is my face red - didn't know that my own city had not kept their promise to put on Negro police. Am still more ashamed to admit that I took the newspaper's word for it when it came out saying that they had done so. However--- I am meeting with two ladies tomorrow afternoon who will help me get behind it. Have called them together for the purpose. I had thought our next project in St. Petersburg would be to get a bathing place for the Negroes but it looks as though there is still work to be done on Negro Police.

It is not important - but if you have time you can make copies of those letters. I might want them in a hurry sometime.

Get in touch with me Roger

Sincerely,
Mrs. Wm. C. White

Mrs. Wm. C. White

Policemen, Negro

November 24, 1947

Mrs. F. R. Allison, Chairman
Intercultural Committee
Young Women's Christian Association
Corpus Christi, Texas

Dear Mrs. Allison:

We greatly appreicate your writing to us about the ommission of Corpus Christi in the listing of Southern cities using Negro police. Since publishing the list we have discovered that several more cities employ Negro police, and so we are preparing a supplement. Corpus Christi will be included in the supplement.

We are always appreciative of letters from our readers, even if the matter involves a mistake or a disagreement. If we can ever be of service to your Intercultural Committee, we hope that you will call on us.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Policemen, Negro

Young Women's Christian Association

215 NORTH CHAPARRAL STREET
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS

November 24, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
ATLANTA
Southern Regional Council

Miss Margaret Price
Research Ass't., Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

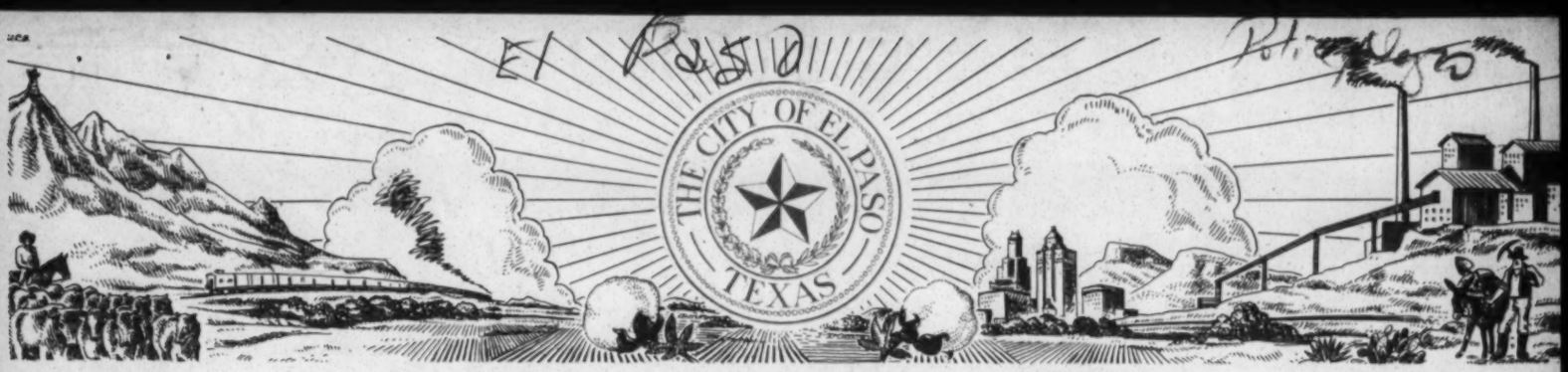
Dear Miss Price:

We have read with interest the October issue of "New South", and wish to state that Corpus Christi was omitted in the list of Texas cities employing Negro uniformed policemen. The Negro population is 7% of the total, and the Corpus Christi Police Department employs two Negro policemen, but no Negro plainclothesmen nor Negro policewomen.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. F.R. Allison

Mrs. F.R. Allison
Chairman, Intercultural Committee



CATTLE * IRRIGATED VALLEY * SUNSHINE CITY * COTTON * MINING—SMELTING

POLICE DEPARTMENT

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1947

November 3, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 30, 1947 received; together with a copy of the New South magazine.

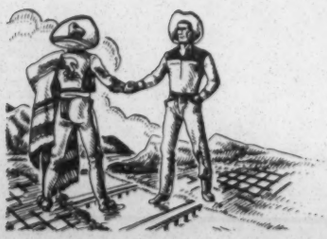
It is with enterest that I note the encreasing number of southern cities in which Negro police are being used. We have employed two Negro members in the uniform branch of this department since December of 1945 and the arrangement has proven very satisfactory.

Very truly yours,

L. T. Robey

L. T. ROBEY
Chief of Police

LTR/r



THE PASS TO THE NORTH
International Border on the Rio Grande

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF San Antonio, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	5	4
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since Forty years of more
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on Whenever replacements are needed
(Date)

Comments The City of San Antonio is fortunate in having some of the best Negro Officers that can be had. They are loyal and efficient Policemen and take pride in their work. These officers are under the command of white officials. They work, both in uniform and in plainclothes and perform their duties in Negro districts only. We feel that they do an invaluable Police service.

Date 9-20-47

Signed Fred Palmer

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF AUSTIN

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1905 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on - (Date)

Comments In my opinion, the special value of a negro policeman is in the handling of his own people.

Date 9-18-47

Signed R. A. Thorp

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF PORT ARTHUR, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	"

This city has used Negro policemen since 1945 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments We have four special negro officers in uniform. They have proven very satisfactory and we are not contemplating any change.

Date Sept. 15, 1947

Signed Claude W. Goldsmith
CLAUDE W. GOLDSMITH

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Houston, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	2
Number of Negro policewomen	none	

This city has used Negro policemen since 30 years or longer
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 9/15/49

Signed B.W. Pappe

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF GALVESTON, TEXAS,

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	11	5
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	NONE	NONE

This city has used Negro policemen since 1870
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We find the negro policeman to be very beneficial to this Department, especially among the colored population in running down marijuana smokers and sellers, also in keeping down gambling among their race.

Date Sept. 15, 1947

Signed Dunway W. Harrison

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF DALLAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since February 10, 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments These two officers are assigned in the area of the heaviest con-concentration of negro population. They are both college graduates and met the same requirements set up for white officers. Thru their presence and efforts, crime in the district to which they are assigned has dropped 25%.

Date September 15, 1947

Signed C. H. Hanson

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Beaumont, Texas.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1 Since 1919, 2 Since 1940
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 9/15/47

Signed Artie Ollock

Position Chief.

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Police

FRED C. PARKER, JR.
CHIEF OF POLICE

POLICE DEPARTMENT

CITY OF BATON ROUGE,

LOUISIANA

December 3, 1947

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATT: George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

Gentlemen:

This is to advise that the Baton Rouge Police Department employs no negro policemen.

Yours very truly,

Fred C Parker Jr.
Fred C. Parker, Jr.
Chief of Police
City of Baton Rouge

FCP,Jr./ea

Police, Negro

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
50 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

December 16, 1947

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It may be helpful to your program to know that the City of Asheville, after an experience of about two years, has announced that a police cruiser will be added to help the work of its Negro officers. I would suggest that you ask City Manager, Pat M. Burdette, to give you a letter stating the city's experience with Negro officers and telling accurately what services have been added on the basis of this satisfactory experience.

Cordially,

GMS:f

P.S. It is so good of you to review the Negro Year Book for The Packet. Please tell us where to send the three-year subscription which you earn by doing the review.

Police, Negro

December 23, '47

Mr. Wm. M. Cooper
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cooper,

I think it would be excellent if Hampton would put on a training institute for Negro policemen. Of course, I recognize, as you do, that in all probability the men most needing training are the white policemen, certainly on matters of attitude and courtesy. Still, until the forces of progress can contrive general police training courses that will give material of this kind to all policemen, it will be highly desirable for the Negro policemen to have a special opportunity for police training in general. And also, I remember, Negro policemen in their daily routines are the most effective educators of their white fellows, and undoubtedly things can be got across in such an institute as you propose that will speed and steady this process.

The Council is still trying to raise the money for two full-time people, to travel and work for a couple of years, all over the South, in matters of police protection. We have some good hopes, but not yet the money. Meanwhile, until we get our travelled experts, there is not a lot we could add to your plans. We have a draft of a manual for police training, but don't think it usable as yet. Maybe we could polish it up and get your group to be guinea pigs, and test it out.

The best man we have found for a speaker is Henry A. Yancey, City Manager at Charlotte, N.C. He put on Negro police when he was city manager at Greensboro, and did it again in Charlotte. He has spoken on the subject before, and done well. See. p. 4 in our enclosure.

We'll help in any way you wish. Let us know more.

Sincerely,

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF SUMMER AND EXTENSION STUDY

December
5
1947,

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

For sometime Hampton Institute has been interested in offering an institute or workshop for Negro police who as yet may not be integrated into the total training program for their respective cities. We have been advised that the coming summer will be a good summer to offer such a workshop but before making commitments we would like to get your opinion as to whether such should be offered and if it is offered, may we count on the Southern Council for assistance. Two years ago in making preliminary plans for such a workshop we found the police officials in nearby cities as well as the F. B. I. very cooperative in suggesting what the program should include and leaders who should be invited to make presentations. Kindly feel free to make any suggestions whatever that you believe will contribute to the program.

Also let me know if the Southern Council will be able to send us a speaker for a one or two day program on Race Relations. Accept my thanks for whatever help you find it possible to give. Let me know if your travels bring you within range of Hampton in the next few days.

Very sincerely yours,

W M Cooper

William M. Cooper
Director Summer Study

WMC
qr

Police Negro

For Copy and other correspondence, See Havens, Mrs. Henry

January 2, 1948

Mrs. Henry W. Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville 5, Florida

Dear Mrs. Havens:

Your plans sound splendid to me.

I can't be enthusiastic about Mr. Sutton's expectation that other Florida cities using Negro police would, at the invitation of the Council, write officially to Mr. Sutton. Were I a police official or civic official of another Florida city, I would think it most queer that an official of a sister city corresponded with me through an organization in Atlanta.

The Atlanta Chief of Police, for instance, went out with a team to find out how this worked in other cities. Clearly, the other cities would expect to hear directly from Jacksonville. If for some reason Sutton cannot write them, then a body like the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce could (that was done in Atlanta and doubtless elsewhere).

[illegible] letter indicates that Sutton and his committee gave [illegible] mature consideration and decided in favor of [illegible] Council to write the other cities. So there must be [illegible] reason. But still I am not convinced.

I do not know Mr. Armwood.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Police Negro

January 15, 1948

Mr. William M. Cooper
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Until I can get the money to put two good people on and talk with police officials, I won't have any real knowledge of how Southern police forces are operating. My guess is that their own training systems, as applied to Negro police, are skimpy.

Possibly the prestige of some agency of the Federal Government would carry your point with local police systems. If, for instance, the FBI cared to use Hampton's facilities, I believe you would find the police forces tumbling over themselves to cooperate. Next time you are in Washington why not explore that with people in the FBI?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF SUMMER AND ADULT STUDY

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

January
Sixth
19 48

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Preliminary inquiries indicate that various cities employing Negro police are offering their own training programs and give no encouragement to go ahead with our plans. For example, Colonel Darton of the Richmond Police Force informed me this morning that as far as he knows all cities employing Negro police are conducting training programs which surpasses any program that educational institutions including Hampton Institute could offer. Kindly let me know if there are other people I could contact on this point and if you think police in other sections of the country are less fortunate than those in Virginia. You understand we are eager to be of assistance if needed, but do not want to duplicate or compete with adequate programs already underway.

Accept my best wishes for the new year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. M. Cooper

William M. Cooper
Director Summer Study

WMC
qr

Police, Negro

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

January 16, 1948

DIVISION OF SUMMER AND EXTENSION STUDY

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very grateful for your letter of January 13, 1948. I plan to be in Washington next week and will use that opportunity to get in touch with the FBI Office. In addition, I am planning to write the chiefs of police in several southern cities where Negro police are employed to get their reactions concerning the Institute.

Accept my thanks for your assistance and look to hear from me again when I know something more.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W M Cooper

William M. Cooper,
Director Summer Study

WMC:ht

Police Negro

March 10, 1948

Mrs. Frances A. Ewell
Council of Social Agencies
314 Market Street
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mrs. Ewell:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 1 with its news of the good work which is being done towards the appointment of Negro police in Jacksonville.

Thank you too, for your check renewing your membership in the Council for 1948.

We are delighted that you found the extra copies of New South useful. Please let us hear from you further whenever we can be of help.

With heartiest good wishes for your undertaking, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

CHESTER BEDELL
PRESIDENT

FRANK H. ELMORE, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. WALTER S. JONES
VICE-PRESIDENT

SHERWOOD H. SMITH
SECRETARY

JOSEPH F. MARRON
TREASURER

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

314 MARKET STREET
TELEPHONE 5-5358
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

MARY E. JUDY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE
VOLUNTEER OFFICE

VOLUNTEER OFFICE BRANCH
1203 DAVIS ST.

March 1, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Henry Havens has sent me recently copy of The Atlanta Constitution reporting assignment of eight Negro police in Atlanta, to be effective this week. That is fine news!

We are continuing to work hard during our local Commissioner of Police the Chief of Police and County Sheriff with endorsements from church and civic organizations. Results are expected soon.

Thank you very much for sending this office the extra copies of The New South for

October 1947 as these are very much needed in connection with efforts to secure Negro police here.

Enclosed please find my check for $2.00 as renewal of my membership in Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours
Frances A. Ewell

28- Police, Negro

10 East 138 Street Apt 7-B
New York 35, New York
May 13, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming;

My sincerest thanks for the complete and well prepared information on Negro Police in the South.

I have in mind two stories, one for the Afro American of Baltimore, which expressed interest in this some time ago and another for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. Both will show the growth of the practise and some quotes from the NEW SOUTH will be used.

Thanking you again and with sincerest wishes for the continued success of the organization,

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

ALVIN E. WHITE.

Vice-President
MRS. W. H. BECKHAM
461 S. W. 22nd Road
Miami

President
MRS. EDWIN B. WHITE
2344 Gilmore Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

Organization and Promotion
MRS. J. L. DART
736 Granada Blvd.,
Jacksonville

Recording Secretary
MRS. H. L. DOBBS
1528 S. W. 1st Street
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627 Park Lake Ave.,
Orlando

Woman's Society of Christian Service

Florida Conference

The Methodist Church

Secretary Christian Social Relations
and Local Church Activities
MRS. WILLIAM C. WHITE
876 - 13th Avenue, South
St. Petersburg 5, Florida

May 20, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Margaret Price,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Price:
Your letter arrived a week ago-my usual excuse-out of town. However it may be a little more acceptable to you this time since I was leading a discussion on the President's Civil Rights Report on the east coast.

Re the question of Negro police: a blank which I sent out just before my term of office expired seeking this information as well as information about bathing places for Negroes, registration, etc. gave the following returns:
Florida towns already having Negro police:

Clearwater	Ocala
Cocoa(~~or~~ Ft. Lauderdale?)	Punta Gorda
Daytona Beach	Saint Augustine
DeLand	Sanford
Ft. Myers	Tampa
Dania	West Palm Beach
Gainesville	Wildwood
Key West	
Miami	
New Smyrna	

Florida Towns in process of wroking on project:

Dade City	Lakeland
Ft. Lauderdale	Pompano Beach
Jacksonville	St. Petersburg.

The present status in St. Petersburg is that the Chief of Police say they are ready and willing to put them on but ~~xxxxxx~~ have not been able to get sufficient number to pass civil service requirements. The Methodist women have been after them. I took it up at Council of Church Women recently and there is to be another meeting in regard to it tomorrow. It seems our job now is to get Negro pastors and leaders to persuade prospects to make application and take examination with Civil Service Board.

Most cordially,
Mrs. B. S. White
Mrs. Wm. C. White

May 10,1948

Mrs. W. C. White
876 - 13th Avenue South
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. White:

Here I come again with another request for help.

I was working with our listing of Negro police today, bringing it up to date for Nashville and Chattanooga and Atlanta, and it occurred to me that I don't know whether or not St. Petersburg has yet hired the four Negro officers.

Could you write me a note on the enclosed postcard and tell me what has happened? If they have been hired I can write to the chief of police for details.

Thanks for your help. The list has grown--we now have 50 cities listed as having hired Negro police, and four others have voted to hire them.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

28 - Police, Negro

July 2, 1948

Mr. Lydel L. Sims
Chairman, Memphis Chapter, AVC
3655 Kearney Avenue
Memphis 11, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sims:

Les Persells has advised me that the Memphis Chapter of AVC is looking into the possibility of the employment of Negro policemen in Memphis.

I am enclosing some material which may be of help to you. The October, 1947, issue of NEW SOUTH summarizes the use of Negro policemen in Southern cities as of September, 1947. The supplementary sheet shows Southern cities which, to the best of our information, have added colored officers since that time. These latter figures were obtained from newspaper reports, private correspondence, etc., and have not yet been verified by officials of the respective cities. The Atlanta Chapter of AVC used the NEW SOUTH data to very good effect last fall.

I wish you much success and would be glad to hear about the progress you make.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Enclosures

cy to Lester H. Persells

H. Fleming

26 June 1948

Mr. Lydel L. Sims
Chairman, Memphis Chapter, AVC
3655 Kearney Avenue
Memphis 11, Tennessee

Dear Lydel:

Congratulations on your election to chairman of the Memphis chapter. Memphis has always been one of the outstanding chapters of AVC, and I know that it will continue to be under your leadership. From the June report sent by Winfield Qualls, you apparently are instituting much activity. That's certainly the way to go about building a strong chapter and to regain the other seventy or so members you once had.

I notice that you are going to investigate the possibility of employing Negro policemen in Memphis. I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Bob Thompson, S. E. region member of the Civil Rights Policy Committee, and to Harold Fleming, director of information of the Southern Regional Council, so that they can send you any information they have on this subject. The Southern Regional Council has done a particularly fine job in assembling such material, and of course Bob Thompson is one of the best informed persons in the Southeast on interracial activities.

Again congratulations and good luck.

Sincerely,

Lester H. Persells
S. E. Regional Chairman

LHP:elk

Southern Regional Council
July 15, 1948

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	4		
Clearwater, Fla.	5		
Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	6		
Deland, Fla.	1		
Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	20		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
Atlanta, Ga.	8		
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	9		
Lexington, Ky,		2	1
Louisville, Ky.	15	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	7		
Gastonia, N. C.	3		
Greensboro, N. C.	6		
High Point, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.		2	2
Winston-Salem, N. C.	5		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	6	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	13		1
Clover, S. C.	1		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Summerton, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	5	2	
Knoxville, Tenn.	7		
Nashville, Tenn.	7		1
Austin, Tex.	5		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex,	2		
El Paso, Tex.	2		
Galveston, Tex.	11	5	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
San Antonio, Tex.	9		
Port Arthur, Tex.	6		
Newport News, Va.	5		
Norfolk, Va.	7		
Petersburg, Va.			1
[illegible]	5		
Roanoke, Va.	4		
Portsmouth Va.	1		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	~~10~~	~~51~~	~~245~~	~~23~~	8
	11	53	247 (?)		

Southern Regional Council
July 2, 1948

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICE

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Punta Gorda, Fla.		1	
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Lakeland, Fla.	12 (auxiliary)		
St. Augustine, Fla.		1	
Atlanta, Ga.	8		
Macon, Ga.	2		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	5	2 (already listed in Oct. New South)	
Nashville, Tenn.	7		1
Gastonia, N. C.	3		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
El Paso, Tex.	2		
Newport News, Va.	5 (listed in Oct. New South as having 4 policemen; have added a fifth since publication of report)		

TOTALS	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
	11	54	244	27	8

28. Police, Negro

September 24, 1948

Mr. Richard A. Schermerhorn
Western Reserve University
Cleveland College
167 Public Square
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Schermerhorn:

We thank you for your kind letter to Guy. Unfortunately for the Council we lost him a year ago, when he went back to his job at the University of North Carolina. We miss him, and are glad to hear from one of his friends.

Here's an editorial that grees with you on the statement.

Couldn't we get you to join the Council? You'd be most welcome. Folder with map gives general information.

Enclosed are tables giving our latest information on the use of Negro police in Southern cities. There has been an increase since October 1947, accounted for in large measure by the eight cities which have adopted the policy of using Negro policemen in the past twelve months: Melbourne, Fla. (1); Atlanta, Ga. (8); Macon, Ga. (2); Gastonia, N. C. (3); Conway, S. C. (2); Nashville, Tenn. (7); Cape Charles, Va. (1); and Portsmouth, Va. (1).

Three Southern cities have appointed additional Negro officers to their police forces since October, 1947. Newport News, Va., increased its total from 4 to 5. Chattanooga, Tenn., which only reported 3 policewomen last year, dropped one policewoman and added 5 uniformed policemen. Houston, Texas, jumped its total of Negro officers employed from 6 to 17.

This information, along with other facts and testimonials from cities using Negro officers, will appear in the September 1948 New South, to be released next week. We shall be glad to send you a copy.

The Memphis, Tennessee, Commercial Appeal, ran a series of articles on the use of Negro police in Southern cities in its issues of August 27 through September 6. Police chiefs and mayors of cities using Negro officers related their experiences with them.

The Birmingham Post of September 23 cities Miami's experience with Negro police:

"Miami has 20 uniformed Negro officers.

"What has been Miami's experience with Negro police?

"The answers were supplied by Luther Volta of the Editorial Department of the Miami Herald.

"Mr. Volta relates that Miami's Negro police detachment was organized as a wartime emergency. It started functioning Sept.1, 1944.

"Since that time, the reporter relates:

"Crimes of violence have been cut in half in Miami's thickly populated Negro sections.

"'Juvenile delinquency has been reduced 60 per cent....'

"Police Chief Walter E. Headley of Miami told Mr. Volta: 'The experiment in using Negro police officers has been very successful here. The figures on crime and juvenile delinquency reduction prove it.'

"Opposition has cropped up from time to time, Mr. Volta recalls. Most of it has been traced to the numbers operators and others in the gambling fraternity who have found the Negro officers difficult to deal with.

"'Even the diehards are finally coming over,' Chief Headley told Mr. Volta.

"The 20 Miami Negro police work in three shifts under the direction of three sargeants who command the shifts.

"Miami maintains a Negro precinct station and detention quarters. Prinsoners are kept there when arrested, and transferred later to the regular downtown jail.

"The city's Negro police are not allowed to wear uniforms or carry arms off duty. They change at the precinct station and change again when the shift ends. Guns, handcuffs and other equipment are checked in and out.

"At the outset, Miami's Negro police were not given civil service status, but they were recently placed in the city's classified service as patrolmen.

"The Miami source said Negro applicants are screened carefully and given intensive training comparable to that given rookies in the Miami Police Academy. There are no regular classes for Negro rookies, because only one or two join the force at a time.

"Considerable opposition was voiced when the Negro officers were placed under civil service, it was related. Some of Miami's white officers saw the possibility that Negroes might attempt to compete in promotional examinations. It was feared that such a development might bring trouble.

"Chief Headley and civil service officials developed what they believed is the solution.

"The Negro officers are the only members of the force designated as 'patrolmen'. Their duties and the areas in which they exercise authority are clearly defined in civil service rules.

"(The officers and Negro leaders appear well satisfied,' Mr. Voltz said.

"Do the Negro police afford a savings to the taxpayers?

"Mr. Voltz says, 'Yes.' He estimates the taxpayers save about $50,000 a year on the treatment of Negroes injured in criminal activities. The bill for treating victims of cuttings, shootings, and other crimes has been reduced that much, he reports."

We have heard that Memphis has in the last ten days committed itself to take on Negro policemen.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

Enclosures

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

CLEVELAND COLLEGE
167 PUBLIC SQUARE

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

September 22, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I was pleased in reading the New York Times last Sunday to note the clear and forceful statement of the Regional Council on the civil rights issue and economic realities. In my opinion you have done the cause of sanity a service by this statement. Perhaps we will find eventually that collaboration of Northern and Southern inter-racial leaders, will make such statements more common and create a more realistic temper on a national scale.

At present I am attempting to gather some data on the general subject of Police and Minority Groups. I find it most difficult to get a summary which is at all recent on the number of Negroes in police forces throughout the South. So far I have only two sources - - Charles S. Johnson's book, "Into The Main Stream", and the October, 1947 issue of The Negro South. Both of these however, are somewhat dated at present. If you can send me any recent information on this point, it would be of great service to me.

In the Negro South (issue just mentioned) statistics are given on the reduction of crime in Miami after the first three years that the Negroes have served on the forces. These figures are extremely significant. I should be happy if you could supplement them with any others from your files.

Thanking you for you cooperation and hoping to hear from you in the near future, I am

Sincerely yours,

R. A. Schermerhorn

Richard A. Schermerhorn

RAS:eb

File Copy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 21, 1948

Sent to Chiefs of Police in 54 cities.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed September issue of New South contains, on page 7, the latest revised table on use of Negro policemen in the South. If there should be any error in the information about your city, we shall appreciate your letting us know.

We are grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

DIVISION OF POLICE
THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

J. M. PEACH
CHIEF OF POLICE

November 2, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 21, 1948 and September issue of New South. Please be advised that we employ 6 Negro uniformed policemen in this City instead of 5 as stated on page 7 of this issue.

Yours very truly,

J M Peach

J. M. Peach
Chief of Police

JMP/mbw

Questionnaires
Received 1948

TRUMAN F. WARD
CHIEF OF POLICE

JOHN G. KENNEDY
MAYOR

J. C. McCARTHY
CHIEF OF DETECTIVES

COMMITTEE:
GEORGE S. CUBBEDGE, CHAIRMAN
CARROLL L. WILLIAMS, VICE-CHAIRMAN
PAUL H. GOOGE
C. RAY CARTER
WILLIAM S. WILSON

CITY OF SAVANNAH GEORGIA

POLICE DEPARTMENT

POLICE

October 30, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
A t l a n t a, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of 21st instant, enclosing copy of New South for September.

This is to advise that we have 12 colored police officers in Savannah at this time.

Yours truly,

T. F. Ward

T. F. Ward
Chief of Police

CITY OF LOUISVILLE
KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
DIVISION OF POLICE

C. E. HEUSTIS
CHIEF

LOUISE K. SPRINGER
SECRETARY

October 25, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1948
LOUISVILLE
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir:

Relative to the September issue of New South, this is to advise the revised figures including 2 colored recruits in Police School, brings the total of negro police officers up to 35.

There are 27 in the uniformed branch, 6 plainclothesmen and 2 policewomen.

Thank you to make this correction.

Very truly yours,

C. E. Heustis

C. E. Heustis,
Chief of Police.

CEH-s

CHANCE TAKERS ARE ACCIDENT MAKERS - PREVENT ACCIDENTS

Rec'd
9-8-48

CITY OF Punta Gorda, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - None - - -		
Number of Negro policewomen - None -		

This city has used Negro policemen since no (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on no (Date)

Comments

Date Sept. 5, 1948

Signed S W Halt

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Portsmouth, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since August 1-1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 21-1948

Signed C. B. Flynn

Position Chief of Police

TRUEMAN MATTHEWS
CHIEF

POLICE DEPARTMENT

City of West Palm Beach

West Palm Beach, Florida

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 20, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Sir:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 13, 1948, reference employment of Negro policemen.

Your reference to letter of July 1, 1948, same subject, is also acknowledged at this time. Our records disclose no receipt of such correspondence.

I should be most happy to cooperate with your Council. However, this City does not employ Negro Policemen. I have returned the enclosed questionnaire unanswered.

Trusting you may consider the fact of non-receipt of previous correspondence on this subject, I remain,

Sincerely,

Trueman Matthews

TRUEMAN MATTHEWS,

Chief of Police.

CITY OF Fort Lauderdale, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments City of Fort Lauderdale has no negro policemen at present

Date _____

Signed Roland R. Kelley

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Dothan, Alabama

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 9-2-1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have been useing our colored police in colored sections of the town only and we are well pleased with the results.

Date July 19, 1948

Signed Eddie D. Kelley
Eddie D. Kelley

Position Chief of Police
Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Houston, Texas.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	16	1
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since About 35 years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments The City of Houston on April 16, 1948, employed 13 additional Negro Policemen.

Date 7-6-48

Signed B. W. Payne
B. W. Payne,

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
JUL 7
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF New Smyrna Beach, Fla

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments The City did hire a Negro Policeman Periods of 1945-1946 but not since this time-

Date 7-5-1948

Signed [illegible]

Position S. Sgt

CITY OF Conway S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since January 1/48 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date July 3/48

Signed H. T. Barfus

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Covington, Kentucky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have no Negroes employed in our Police Department.

Date July 3, 1948

Signed Chester Fee

Position Ass't Chief of Police
Covington, Kentucky

CITY OF Cocoa, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments During the war, when numerous negro personnel were stationed at a nearby naval base, we did employ negro police. The size of our community does not warrant such employment at present.

Date July 3, 1948

Signed E. Kalins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Da nia Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since August 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date July 3,1948

Signed Morton F. Smith

Position Chief of police

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Macon, Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	

This city has used Negro policemen since June 1, 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments ~~We are very well pleased with the work that these negro Policemen~~ have done so far.

Date July 2, 1948

Signed Rex F. Watkins

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Wildwood Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - None -	✓	✓
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - None -	✓	✓

This city has used Negro policemen since Never as far I know
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on Nor
(Date)

Comments There be no negro as long as I am Chief of Police

Date July 2 - 1948

Signed L Morthen

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF MELBOURNE, FLA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	—
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	—	—

This city has used Negro policemen since Jan 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on —
(Date)

Comments We only have one Negro Policeman but he has done a wonderful job since he has been in. We restrict him to negros only.

Date 6/30/48

Signed James S. Drawdy Jr.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Chattanooga

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	5	2
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1940 - 2 plainclothes men
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date June 29, 1948

Signed Ed Ricketts

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Nashville, Tenn.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	~~1~~ 0	1

This city has used Negro policemen since May 1, 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments None

Date 6-29-48

Signed W. A. McDaniel Jr.

Position Clerk.

28 - Police, Negro

November 17, 1948

Mr. Gloster B. Current
Director of Branches, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Current:

MP 11/17/48

Enclosed is the September, 1948, issue of New South, with information about the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities, and the October issue, containing the annual report of the Southern Regional Council.

You will note that the police report contains certain additions. The Council learned of these additions after the publication of the report. As it stands, it is the latest information which we have available. We understand that Columbia, S. C., has voted to employ Negro police officers, but to our knowledge the men have not actually been employed as yet.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

28 - Police, Negro

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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Harry Bragg	Karl N. Llewellyn
Donald Crichton	James Marshall
Morris L. Ernst	Irvin C. Mollison
Osmond K. Fraenkel	Shad Polier
Arthur Garfield Hays	Hope Stevens
Paul Kern	Charles H. Studin
Andrew D. Weinberger	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Homer S. Brown
Raleigh, N. C.	Herman L. Taylor
Richmond, Va.	Oliver W. Hill
	Spottswood W. Robinson, III.
San Francisco, Calif.	Bartley C. Crum
Tulsa, Okla.	Amos T. Hall
Washington, D. C.	William H. Hastie
	Edward P. Lovett
	Leon A. Ransom
	Frank D. Reeves
	Ruth Weyand
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding
Winston-Salem, N.C.	Curtiss Todd

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Walter White — *Secretary*
Roy Wilkins — *Assistant Secretary, Editor, The Crisis*
Madison S. Jones, Jr. — *Administrative Assistant*
Thurgood Marshall — *Special Counsel*
Edward R. Dudley
Marian Wynn Perry
Franklin H. Williams
Robert L. Carter (on leave) — *Assistant Special Counsel*
Leslie S. Perry — *Administrative Assistant, Washington Bureau*
W. E. B. Du Bois — *Director, Special Research*
Daisy E. Lampkin — *Field Secretary*
Gloster B. Current — *Director of Branches*
LeRoy E. Carter
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Daniel E. Byrd — *Assistant Field Secretaries*
Donald Jones — *Southwest Regional Secretary*
N. W. Griffin — *West Coast Regional Secretary*
Lucille Black — *Membership Secretary*
Ruby Hurley — *Youth Secretary*
Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr. — *Secretary, Veterans' Affairs*
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. — *Labor Secretary*
Walter P. Offutt, Jr. — *Church Secretary*
Henry Lee Moon — *Director of Public Relations*

November 10, 1948

Southern Regional Council
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ATTENTION: Executive Secretary

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly forward a copy of the annual report of the Southern Regional Council which contains information about employment of Negro law enforcement officers.

Your prompt attention will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Gloster B. Current

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

GBC/cs

28- Police, Negro

March 14, 1949

Right Rev. Charles B. Colmore
P. O. Box 1031
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Colmore:

I am glad to learn that the Interracial Committee is continuing its efforts to have Negro policemen employed.

We have previously sent our material on the subject to Mrs. Nathan Starr, but I think you will find the enclosed copies of New South of help. The October 1947 issue tells of the experience of various southern cities with Negro policemen. The September 1948 issue, on pages 7 and 8, gives the results of our latest printed survey. I have also added the names of cities which have employed Negro policemen since September.

You will see that Florida is well represented. We have found that where local citizens themselves make persistent use of this material, the job can very often be done.

Should you need help from the Council, our field secretary, Mrs. Henry Havens (2845 Corinthian Avenue, Jacksonville), would be glad to hear from you. If I can help further, please let me know.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

OF WINTER PARK, FLORIDA

P.O. Box 1031.

BI-RACIAL MEMBERSHIP

RIGHT REV. JOHN WING, *Honorary Member*
MRS. RUBY BALL
MRS. MARSHALL CLARK
RIGHT REV. CHARLES B. COLMORE
CHARLES CURRY
REV. JAMES J. DUNCAN
MRS. WILLIAM B. EDWARDS, JR.
JOHN E. HALL
MRS. WILBUR S. JOHNSON
MRS. CALLIE LOGAN
MRS. FANNIE MORGAN
DR. LUCIEN MYERS
ROBERT I. RAIMAN
MRS. P. T. REED
ISRAEL RICHARDSON, JR.
REV. LOUIS SCHULZ
MRS. NATHAN C. STARR
WILLIAM A. TAYLOR
REV. KING D. WHITE
WILLIS M. WILLIAMS

Student Members from

WINTER PARK HIGH SCHOOL
HUNGERFORD SCHOOL

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

March. 8th 1949.

Southern Regional Council Inc
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3. Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

I have been requested to write you for the latest information you have as to the colored Policemen employed in the various cities in Florida and in other nearby cities.

I am also to ask you about the possibility of the Council making a survey of the situation in Winter Park and the probable cost to us, if any.

There is to be a forum discussion here on March 21. and I would appreciate an answer in time to be used at that meeting.

Thanking you I remain very sincerely

Chas B. Colmore. Sec.

28 - Policemen, Negro

March 29, 1949

Bishop Charles B. Colmore
Box 1031
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Bishop Colmore:

The case in favor of the use of Negro police is unanswerable. Where officials are reluctant, the best thing to do is to get them in a position where they must either state publicly why they won't use Negro police, or must put them on.

In a number of recent cases (for instance, Miami, Atlanta, Memphis and, I believe, others) police chiefs have written about to police chiefs in cities that have already used Negro police to find out how it worked. The replies must have been favorable, because the cities did add Negro policemen to their forces. So that is one thing to do if necessary--to get the police chief to make inquiries to police chiefs in cities that have already used them.

I should think that a succession of citizen committees calling upon the police chief, or the police committee of the City Council, and stating in advance that the results of the interview will be announced publicly, would prepare the ground. Of course you have also the job of building widely public knowledge. Church groups and civic clubs could be quite helpful there.

Our Council has not much believed in the method of sending in an outside expert to find the facts. We think action comes quicker when local people themselves find the facts. Neither have we any real expert--though it might be possible to send down for a meeting with your committee Mr. Harold Fleming, who has had more intimate

3/29/49

contact with the police problem than anyone else on our staff. We will hope that if you wished him to come down, you could find the travel money to cover his trip.

I send you a copy of our recently produced manual for the Home Town Self-Survey, and several of the circulars describing it. You might consider whether undertaking a survey of that kind would be a suitable enterprise for a citizen committee in the Winter Park area. You could limit it to police and law enforcement if you wish, but we would think it much more valuable to take in a broad range of subjects--housing, health, recreation, employment, and so on.

We could send you more copies of the publications sent you March 1, if that would be helpful to you in getting others in the community informed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Send: 1 copy of manual for "The Home Town Self-Survey"
5 circulars

Southern Regional Council

3/25, 1949

TO: GSM ☐

FROM: A. McK

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	( )	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	(✓)	5. Suggested Reply	(✓)
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office. ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

previous correspondence,
GSM requests

MEJ

Box 1031.
Winter Park, Florida Mar. 23. 1949.

Dear Mrs McKoy:

Thank you for your very welcome letter and your offer to help in anything useful in our community.

We are concerned here over our inability to secure consent of our city to use negro Police. We feel that the difficulty is due to prejudice among our Police force. Can you give us any advice in approaching the question with them? Is there any possibility of your sending someone here to make a survey of the situation, and what financial arrangements would we have to make? I would like to present your answer to this question at our next regular meeting on April 4th.

again thanking you for your letter and hoping that we may be able to accomplish something along the line indicated, I am very sincerely

Chas. D. Benson.

RECEIVED
MAR 25 [illegible]
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Welcome, most warmly, to membership in the Southern Regional Council. We need and are so glad to have your interest and support.

Our magazine, New South, will be sent to you each month. Today, we are forwarding under separate cover some of our current pamphlets. These will tell you more about what the Council is and does, and will help if you should want to tell your friends about it.

Please let us hear from you when we can help with anything useful in your community. We think of each member as an outpost, ever ready to alert us all to something that may need special care, or from which special gain can be had. And write us what else you think needs doing here.

Council members are people to be counted on.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Bishop C. B. Colmore
24 - Knowles Ave
Winter Park - Fla

New Member - Name & money sent in by Mrs. W. B. Edwards Jr. of Winter Park — along with names & dues of herself and 2 other Winter Park people.

28 - Police, Negro

April 19, 1949

Father Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.
St. Augustine's Seminary
P. O. Box 311
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Father Howard:

Thank you greatly for the notes on police matters. They will help us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Police

J.M.J.

St. Augustine's Seminary
P. O. BOX 311
Bay St. Louis Miss.

EXPRESS AND FREIGHT
BAY SAINT LOUIS, MISS.
TELEPHONE: 428-R

Easter 1949

RECEIVED
APR 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for the pamphlets and leaflets which you so kindly sent. They will be useful.

Noted HCF

In addition to the fact that Gulfport, Miss., appointed two Negro policemen for the first time a few months ago, Mayor Morrison of New Orleans let it be known publicly yesterday that (I quote from the NEW ORLEANS STATES, Apr.14/49):"Negroes may take the civil service examination for appointment to the police department just as 'any qualified citizen may'." In answer to charges of brutality by police towards Negroes, the Mayor said:"This much you can be assured -- neither I nor the superintendent of police will tolerate any discrimination or brutality by members of our police force."

With best wishes for a Holy and Happy
Easter, I remain,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Father Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.

28-Police, Negro

July 19, 1949

Mr. Henry C. McFadyen
Superintendent
Albemarle City Schools
Albemarle, N. C.

Dear Mr. McFadyen:

I am happy to send you our material on Negro policemen in Southern cities. Enclosed are two copies of our monthly bulletin New South. That of October, 1947, which you may have seen, carries an article on the experience of Greensboro with Negro officers. That of September, 1948, and the typewritten supplement attached, give the latest figures we have on employment of Negro policemen in the South.

I have had an opportunity to observe at first hand opposition to the plan only in Atlanta, though doubtless it has been much the same in other cities. In Atlanta a public hearing was held, at which several hundred people turned out to register a noisy protest. Nevertheless, Negro policemen were employed and have received high praise from the chief of police, newspaper editors, and others. One of the colored officers was recently discharged for drunkenness, but even this was not allowed to obscure the success of the plan, as you will see from the newspaper account enclosed.

If we can be of further help, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc

ALBEMARLE CITY SCHOOLS
ALBEMARLE, N. C.

OFFICE OF
SUPERINTENDENT

July 15, 1949

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am thinking about doing a magazine article on Negro policemen in southern cities. It occurred to me immediately that your organization would be the best place to begin my search for information. If you have any statistics, lists of cities, or other material that might be pertinent, I should be very grateful for it.

What I should like to do is this. Find out in what cities there was the most vigorous opposition to the use of Negro officers and then go to some of these cities to find out first hand how the plan is working out.

I am sure that you will be able at least to start me on my way. May I thank you in advance for any help you can give me.

Very truly yours,

Henry C. McFadyen

Henry C. McFadyen

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Sample Forms

August 5, 1949

Dear _____:

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen, as follows: _____ uniformed patrolmen; _____plainclothesmen; _____ policewomen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

CITY OF _____

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen.....	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signed _____

Position _____

CITY OF Gulfport, Mississippi

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since 3-1-49
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments Thus far these men have proven very satisfactory.

Date 8-7-49

Signed R. H. Hart
Richard H. Hart
Asst. Chief of Police

Position _____

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Nashville, Tenn.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	6	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since May 1, 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments All are now under Civil Service and are making good officers

Date Aug. 8, 1949

Signed Seth J. Mays

Position Commissioner of Fire and Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Chattanooga, Tenn

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used ~~7~~ Negro policemen since 1940 (Date)
7 since June 1948

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/6/49

Signed D R Grant

Position Asst Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	5
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 12, 1949

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Muskogee, Oklahoma

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since..... Since about 1935.
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Services very satisfactory.

Date August 8, 1949.

Signed A. N. Chambers

Position Captain

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Macon, Georgia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since..... June 7, 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments These officers are performing satisfactory service.

Date August 17, 1949

Signed Burt Hawkins

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Savannah, Ga

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	2
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since..... May, 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Very satisfactory in colored areas. The two plain clothes officers were taken from the colored uniformed ranks and assigned to the task of apprehending boledo violators, dealers and others violating the liquor laws especially insofar as they apply to unstamped whiskey, gambling, etc. These men have made an excellent record.

Date August 9, 1949 Signed T. F. Ward

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
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Southern Regional Council

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 24, 1949

Follow-up sent to those on the list who didn't reply after after two weeks had passed.

On August 5 we wrote you for information concerning the employment of Negro police. Our office has been receiving an increasing number of requests about such information, and we would like very much to bring our records up to date.

We should greatly prefer to have confirmation from you before listing the information we have for your city. A mimeographed form and stamped, self-addressed envelope are enclosed for your convenience.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Negro Police

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

~~August 5, 1949~~

Mailed with questionnaire and self-addressed envelope to all police chiefs of cities on our 1948 list and other chiefs mentioned in press releases who were considering employing Negro police.

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen, as follows: uniformed patrolmen; plainclothesmen; policewomen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

CITY OF _____

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen.....	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since..... _____
~~(Date)~~ (Year)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signed _____

Position _____

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	NONE	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	NONE	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments THIS DEPARTMENT HAS NO NEGRO POLICEMEN TO DATE, AND DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE EMPLOYING ANY WITHIN THE NEAR FUTURE.

Date AUGUST 25, 1949

Signed C. F. Edwards

Position CHIEF OF POLICE

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Dothan Alabama

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... Sept. 2, 1947 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 6, 1949

Signed Eddie D. Kelley

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Summerton, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....		
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments The Town of Summerton does not have a colored policeman at this time but we used a colored policeman on Saturday in the colored section for several years and it worked very satisfactorily. It became necessary to put on another full time policeman so we hired another white man letting the colored policeman go.

Date 8/25/49

Signed Mrs A. D. Shumaker

Position Clerk

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Columbia, South Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	two	none
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since approximately one year
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 22, 1949

Signed [signature]

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Bowy S.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	no	

This city has used Negro policemen since Jan 1 - 47 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on Yes (Date)

Comments Good

Date 8-8-49

Signed H. T. Barbour Chief

Position

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charleston, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since X
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on X
(Date)

Comments

Date August 8, 1949

Signed Chris H. Ortmann
Chris H. Ortmann

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF CLOVER, CLOVER, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since November 1943
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on August 9, 1949
(Date)

Comments This policeman has been doing very good work and has proved very satisfactory to work with colored people.

Date August 8, 1949

Signed R C Burrell
R. C. Burrell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Rock Hill, S. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since July 15, 1949
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 6, 1949.

Signed E. M. Lanna

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Little Rock, Arkansas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1942 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... examinations given periodically (Date)

Comments Six negro policemen were hired during the War and have been retained; their work being satisfactory.

Date August 25, 1949

Signed Eugene G. Smith

Position Capt., Criminal Division

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Hot Springs, Arkansas.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... April 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date Aug. 8 - 1949

Signed Dan D. Watkins
Dan D. Watkins
Position Chief of Police

Received August 12, 1949

August 29, 1949

Chief of Police
Thomaston, Georgia

Dear Sir:

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in these cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records Thomaston uses one Negro traffic policeman. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Thomaston Ga

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen ....None....	____	____
Number of Negro policewomen....None....	____	____

This city has used Negro policemen since..... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... Have never Considered Negro Police (Date)

Comments _____

Date Sept 6. Signed Frank L Lewis

Position Asst Chief Police

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		1

This city has used Negro policemen since.... About 10 years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... --- ---
(Date)

Comments

Date August 30, 1949

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police
Lexington, Ky.

CITY OF Owensboro, Kentucky

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-20-49

Signed Vernie Bedwell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Louisville, Ky.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	26	6
Number of Negro policewomen.....		2

This city has used Negro policemen since..... August 1923
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... Our quota is up to date
(Date)

Comments

Date 8-8-49

Signed O. E. Heustis

Position Chief of Police.

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Checklist August 1949

80

ANS	TOWN	CHIEF	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORM	PLAINCLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
	ALABAMA					
✓	Birmingham			0	0	0
✓	Dothan	Eddie B. Kelley	(9-2-47)	1	0	0
	ARKANSAS					
✓	Hot Springs	Dan D. Watkins	(4-47)	2	0	0
✓	Little Rock	Capt. criminal Div. Eugene G. Smith	(1942)	6	0	0
	FLORIDA					
	Bartow					
✓	Clearwater		(8-48)	0	2 (temporary)	0
✓	Cocoa	E. P. Collins	(1-49)	1	0	0
	Dade City					
	Dania					
✓	Daytona Beach	T. N. Johnson	(1930)	5	0	0
✓	Deland	Geo. Stone	(1932)	2 (1 full time, 1 part time)	0	0
✓	Ft. Lauderdale	Roland R. Kelley		0	0	0
✓	Ft. Meyers	Glen King (dsk sgt.)	(15 yrs)	2	0	0
✓	Gainesville	W. W. Howell	(3-46)	0	2	0
	Jacksonville					
✓	Key West	Victor Lowe	(1-1-43)	2	0	0
	Lakeland					
✓	Melbourne	John D. Thomas	(1947)	1	0	0
✓	Miami		(9-44)	30	0	0
	Pompano Beach					
✓	Sanford	Ray G. Williams	(1933)	1	0	0
	Sarasota					
	St. Augustine					
✓	St. Petersburg	J. R. Reichert (Lt. of Police)	(5-1-49)	4	0	0
✓	West Palm Beach	R. M. Alsbire	(9-4-48)	4	0	0
	WinterPark					
✓	Tampa	L. J. Edding	(1945)	6	0	0

ANS.	TOWN	CHIEF	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORMED	PLAINCLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
	GEORGIA					
	Atlanta					
✓	Macon	B. Watkins	(6-7-48)	2	0	0
✓	Savannah	T. F. Ward.	(5-47)	10	2	
✓	Thomaston			0	0	0
	KENTUCKY					
✓	Lexington		(1939)	2	0	1 plainclothes
✓	Louisville	C. E. Heustis	(8-23)	26	6	2
✓	Owensboro	Vernie Bidwell	?	2	0	0
	LOUISIANA					
✓	Baton Rouge	Fred. C. Parker, Jr.		0	0	0
✓	New Orleans	Joseph L. Schenering		0	0	0
	MISSISSIPPI					
✓	Gulfport	R. H. Hart.	(3-1-49)	2	0	0
	Indianola					
	Jackson					
	NORTH CAROLINA					
✓	Ahoskie	J. A. Bunch	(1946)	1	0	0
✓	Asheville Burlington	O.D. Mathews.	Sept. 49	2		
✓	Charlotte	(?)	(1939)	10	0	0
✓	Durham	H. E. King	(6-44)	8	0	0
✓	Fayetteville	L. F. Worrell	(9-12-49)	2-mi Sept	0	0
✓	Gastonia	(?)	(6-1-48)	5	0	0
✓	Goldsboro	H. L. Morris	(8-1-49)	2	0	0
✓	Greensboro	L. L. Jarvis	(1944)	5	0	0
✓	High Point	(capt. of detectives) W. C. Johnson	(8-9-43)	4	0	0
	Raleigh	W. L. Shuler	9-1-49	2	0	0
✓	Salisbury	R. R. Hargrove	?	2	0	2
✓	Winston-Salem	John M. Gold	(194)	7	0	0
	OKLAHOMA					
✓	Muskogee	A. N. Chambers	(1935)	2	0	0
✓	Oklahoma City	L. J. Hilbert	?	7	5	0
	Tulsa					

ANS	TOWN	CHIEF	DATE EMPLOYED	UNIFORMED	PLAINCLOTHES	POLICEWOMEN
	SOUTH CAROLINA					
	Beaufort					
✓	Charleston	Chris H. Ortman	—	—	—	—
✓	Clover	R.C. Burrell	(11-43)	1	0	0
✓	Columbia	?	(1948)	2	0	0
✓	Conway	H.T. Barker	(1-1-47)	2	0	0
✓	Rock Hill	E.M. Hanna	(7-15-49)	2	0	0
✓	Summerton	—		0	0	0
	TENNESSEE					
✓	Chattanooga	asst. chief. D.G. Grant	(1940)	7	0	0
	Knoxville					
	Memphis					
✓	Nashville	Commissioner Seth J. Mays	(5-1-48)	6	0	0
	TEXAS					
✓	Austin	R.A. Thorp	(1904	6	0	0
	Beaumont					
✓	Corpus Christi	R.L. Belflower	(1938)	2	0	0
✓	Dallas	?	(2-10-47	4	0	0
✓	El Paso	W.C. Woolverton	(12-1945)	4	0	0
✓	Fort Worth	R.E. Dysart	—	—	—	—
✓	Galveston	R.J. McManus	(1890)	9	6	0
	Houston					
✓	Orange Texas	E.L. Nance	1940	2	0	0
✓	Port Arthur	G.B. Douglas	(4-3-46)	8-Part time 2-full time	0	0
✓	San Antonio	Secty. E.E. Peters	long time	7	4	0
	VIRGINIA					
✓	Arlington	?		0	0	0
✓	Cape Charles	F.C. Fitzhugh	(1947)	1	0	0
✓	Newport News	J.M. Peach	(5-1946)	5	0	0
✓	Norfolk	Amor LeR. Sims	(3-15-46)	4	5	0
✓	Petersburg	Willard E. Taylor, Sr.	(10-38)	0	0	1 plainclothes
✓	Portsmouth	O.B. Dunn	(8-48)	1	0	0
✓	Richmond	O.D. Gorton	(5-1-48)	7	0	0
✓	Roanoke	H.S.A. Bruce	(6-16-46)	6	0	0

No reply

September 2, 1949

Mr. Leo Brooker
Assistant Chief of Police
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Mr. Brooker:

This is a careful and, in our judgement, balanced account of the recent outburst of mob violence in Lake County.

We thought that it would be of interest to law enforcement officials, and with that thought in mind, we send you a couple of copies. If more would be of value, please let us know. Our Council has, over the years, had cordial cooperation from police officers and sheriffs.

This we send you in your capacity as head of the Florida Peace Officers Association.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

September 6, 1949

Mr. Joseph L. Schenering
Superintendent of Police
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Schenering:

Thank you for returning our questionnaire.

Our office has been compiling data on the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities for several years. I send you our reports for 1947, 1948 and the 1949 tabulation which has not yet been printed. Chiefs of police have indicated that since the employment of these men, crime rates in colored sections have noticeably decreased.

Please write us if we can give you more information.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff

CITY OF New Orleans

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Not used at Present
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... No Specific Date
(Date)

Comments This Dept. has considered employment of negro Policemen and we have written to other cities for their views etc. and the subject at present is under serious consideration

Date Aug 25, 1949 Signed Joseph L Scheuering

Position Supt. of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 6, 1949

Mr. Fred C. Parker, Jr.
Chief of Police
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Chief Parker;

Thank you for returning our questionnaire.

Our office has been compiling data on the employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities for several years. I send you our reports for 1947, 1948 and the 1949 tabulation which has not yet been printed. Chiefs of police have indicated that since the employment of these men, crime rates in colored sections have noticeably decreased.

Please write us if we can give you more information.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff

CITY OF Baton Rouge, La

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments

Need more information on other Southern Cities

Date Aug 25th 1949

Signed Fred C Parker Jr

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

28- Police, Negro
1948-9

September 14, 1949

Mr. D. D. Matthews, Chief of Police
Burlington, North Carolina

Dear Chief Matthews:

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

On August 25th the Durham Herald carried a story about the employment of Negro policemen in Alamance City to work in the areas of Glencoe Road, Richmond Hill and Halls Hill. Are these areas part of the city of Burlington? To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:nh

CITY OF Wade City

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....		
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments No Negro Police

Date Sept 22-49

Signed W. E. Douglas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1949
Southern Regional Coun

City of **St. Petersburg, Fla.**

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... **May 1, 1949**

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on.....

Comments **The use of negro policemen in this city is still in its infancy and experimental stage. However, since we have hired the 4 negro policemen, it appears that it has decreased the crime in the colored population, and it is working out very satisfactory in every respect.**

Date **August 29, 1949**

Signed: J. R. Reichert
J. R. REICHERT

Position: **Chief of Police**

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Sanford, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1933 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Ben Johnson was used part time since 1933. until 1944 when a man was hired and put on permenent.

Date August 29, 1949

Signed Roy G. Williams
Roy G. Williams
Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 31
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF TAMPA, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1945 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... no (Date)

Comments

Date August 24, 1949 Signed J. L. Eddings, Jr.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Deland, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	00	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1932 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments One full time Officer and one part time Officer

Date August 11, 1949

Signed Geo Slaine

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Daytona Beach, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1930 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..0.... _____ (Date)

Comments no additions considered for current year.

Date 8/9/49

Signed T. N. Johnson

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF FT. MYERS, FLA.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 15 yrs or longer
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... ——
(Date)

Comments

Date AUG. 9TH 1949

Signed Sgt. Glenn King

Position Desk Sergeant

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gainesville, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	2
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... March 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Fortunately we have two exceptionally good negro officers. Their work has been highly satisfactory.

Date August 9, 1949

Signed O W Howell

Position Captain of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF West Palm Beach, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	4	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since Sept 4, 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/8/49.

Signed R. M. Allshire

Position Lieut of Police
Administrative Division

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Key West, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... January 1, 1943 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... ? (Date)

Comments

Date August 8, 1949

Signed Victor Lowe

Position City Clerk

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF MELBOURNE, MELBOURNE, FLORIDA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	One	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since..... For about two years
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments We have one Negro policeman in uniform and this arrangement is working out very satisfactorily.

Date August 8, 1949

Signed John D. Thomas
John D. Thomas
Chief of Police
City of Melbourne

Position

BK

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Miami, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	30	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... September, 1944
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 8, 1949

Signed M Leary

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on not known (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/8/49

Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Clearwater Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	0	2
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... Aug. 1948 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... None (Date)

Comments The two Colored police are on a Temporary Basis. unclassified by Civil Service and are Classified by the City as Special police.

Date Aug. 8, 1949 Signed Geo. T. McClamma.

Position Chief of police.

RECEIVED AUG 22 1949 Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Cocoa, Fla.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since Jan. 1949
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-6-49

Signed E P Collins

Position Chief of Police

SEPTEMBER 1949
Vol. 4 No. 9

New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
Ft. Meyers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.		2	
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	30		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
St. Petersburg, Fla	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	6		
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	26	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
*Asheville, N. C.	2		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	8		
Fayetteville, N. C.	2		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	5		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	2		2
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
*Tulsa, Okla.	13		1
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	2		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		
*Knoxville, Tenn.	7		
Nashville, Tenn.	6		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	5		
Norfolk, Va.	4	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7		
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	12	62	301	33	7

**Most recent figures: September, 1948*

Southern Church Women Draft Action Program

I AM concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice.

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern States concluded a two-day conference in Atlanta on "the spiritual approach to social issues." The delegates met September 8 and 9 at the call of the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational, and inter-racial.

Guest speaker and participant in the conference was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is presently serving as the United States delegate on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. She took part in the workshops Thursday, September 8, and addressed an audience of some 1,800 in the evening. Her subject was "The Declaration of Human Rights and the Community."

Individual Responsibility

Mrs. Roosevelt stressed the responsibility of the individual to work for a broader democracy at the community level. Citing her experiences as a delegate to the United Nations, she declared that every failure of democracy in the nation weakens us in the eyes of the people of the world.

"The economic and military leadership of the United States," she said, "is unquestioned. But we have not yet succeeded in giving the world the moral and spiritual leadership which it so desperately needs."

During the workshop session, Mrs. Roosevelt strongly endorsed the suggestion of Mrs. M. E. Tilly that church women visit the courts and make their influence felt in the interest of equal justice. "I miss my guess," she said, "if you do not find a lot of things that will surprise you."

The conference opened Thursday morning with a keynote address by Mr. Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council.

"It is important," he told the conference, "that we ponder our spiritual heritage, for there are many people in the world and in our own country who think otherwise.... In a sense there are no such things as Catholic rights, or Protestant rights, or Jewish rights — or, for that matter, Mongolian rights, or Negro rights, or Caucasian rights. There are only human rights..."

Speakers and Workshops

In the course of the morning, the church women heard Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk University, on "The Spiritual Beginnings of Law"; Mr. Morris Abram, Atlanta attorney, on "Law and Morals"; and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, on "County Government." The afternoon was devoted to workshop discussion of law enforcement, administration of justice, and "building a spirit of brotherhood" through the church, the press, and the schools.

The night meeting, held in the Wesley Memorial Church, was open to members and friends of the co-sponsoring organizations; the main auditorium, which seats 2,000, was filled almost to capacity. Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, gave the invocation, and Mr. Williams introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Following her speech, hundreds of the audience filed past to speak briefly to her.

Friday morning the conferees held their concluding workshop session, at which a program of action for the home community was adopted. (See page 3.) Mrs. Lowry Hunt reported to the group on a self-survey now being carried out in Madison, Georgia, and urged the church wom-

en leaders to initiate similar self-studies in their own communities. Mrs. Irving Cohn, executive secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, gave an account of the interracial Teachers Institute held annually in that city.

Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke on "The Church: Her Responsibility and Opportunity." A concluding address, "Courage for the Task," was given by Dr. Faulkner. His words summed up the spirit of the entire conference.

"Today," he declared, "we have seen the vision of a new Southland. But we must remind ourselves that for every bit of progress in human relations a price must be paid. Those of us here today will have to pay that price."

A Program of Action

We, as Southern church women joined in a "Fellowship of the Concerned," pledge ourselves to enlist the aid of others in putting the following program of action into effect in our communities:

Law Enforcement

- To inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and to work for corrective action.
- To do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.
- To visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice.
- To encourage better selection and training of policemen.
- To work for appointment of Negro policemen.
- To commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.
- To call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.
- To get in touch with the Southern Regional Council when tension arises and to take all possible local action to prevent violence.

Public Opinion

- To affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.
- To support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.
- To affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.
- To discuss problems with our newspaper editors; to commend their good works; and to urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).
- To urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.
- To begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.
- We endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action. (Information available from the Southern Regional Council.)

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

Members of the Southern Regional Council are asked to note that the annual membership meeting will take place Wednesday, November 9, in Atlanta. You will be notified well in advance of the time and place of the meeting.

Meanwhile, make your plans to attend and help shape the future of the South's leading interracial organization.

Law and Discrimination

"You can't legislate morality!"

More often than not, that statement sounds the death knell of any discussion of law and discrimination. And it is a very effective death knell. It is so patently true. It has about it an intimidating ring of finality. The only trouble with the statement is that it silences without answering. For, true though it is, it is also irrelevant. The question is not whether a law can instill in people a particular moral attitude, but whether it can effectively influence their behavior.

That question is particularly timely now, when we are concerned as a nation with ridding our society of undemocratic practices. We have become uncomfortably aware of the eyes of the world upon us. Every example of discrimination, every evidence of "second-class citizenship" for any of our fellow-Americans is magnified to international dimensions. We are convinced, and have set out to convince the rest of the world, that our way of life offers the most in freedom and opportunity for the individual. But we are often on the defensive because of the gap between our ideals and our practices; the failures of our democracy have taken on enormous importance. As a result, many more of us are taking a second look at the sore spots of prejudice and discrimination, and instead of looking away, we are facing ugly facts and seeking ways to remove them.

Two years ago, this growing concern found public expression in the appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee's report offered concrete proposals for controlling the widespread discrimination it had found in our society. Some of the proposals — notably those dealing with legislation — have met with opposition from various sources reflecting various motives. We are concerned here with only one sort of opposition — that which accepts the broad objective of a more democratic society but which questions the effectiveness of legislation as a means to that end.

It is natural that there should be difference of opinion in this field. As yet, there are no hard-and-fast rules for achieving social change. Unfortunately, however, too many people have let their ideas harden at one extreme or the other. There are those who say, "Human relations can only be improved by education." And, at the opposite pole, there are those who know only one answer—"There ought to be a law." With these blanket generalizations, they close their eyes to everything between the two extremes.

The role of law in changing human relations is a mammoth subject. Volumes can be, and have been, written about it. But without attempting to examine and resolve the whole problem, it is useful to look at a few of the arguments currently offered on each side. As in any public controversy, certain stereotypes have developed and, through constant repetition, have obscured the real issues. Each of the exclusive points-of-view in the argument over legislation vs. education rests quite firmly on a set of quite shaky assumptions. Let us look briefly at a few of them.

Laws and Morals

It is a commonly accepted notion that "law" and "morality" are two entirely distinct things. The anti-legal position assumes that, of the two, morality is the more fundamental. Hence, you "can't legislate morals" — but morals can and do produce legislation. According to this view, laws are wholly the product of public opinion, and a law is meaningless unless its provisions are already accepted in custom and tradition. The opposite view holds that law actually generates morals, that the mere passage of a law is grounds enough for assuming its workability. As is so often the case, this is the truth violently torn apart; the two mutilated halves must be put together again before any sound conclusions are possible.

The separation of law and morals is an artificial one. Actually, they are closely interwoven and each is partly the product and partly the producer of the other. The

morals or customs of any society are the rules which the members of that society agree upon as essential to their safety, unity, and order. Those rules most vital to the welfare of the society are usually codified into law. Once enacted, laws become positive influences in the shaping of public attitudes, for they set uniform standards by which people govern their behavior. In this sense, laws too are "education". There is no more effective way to learn new attitudes than by the actual practice of new behavior patterns. This does not mean that no legislation will work unless it is already a part of the folkways. Paradoxically enough, it is quite possible for legislation both to lead and to follow public opinion at the same time. To understand this, we need only pause to remember that our society entertains simultaneously ideals and practices which directly contradict each other. This is the conflict that Myrdal termed the "American dilemma." Our national ideals, as expressed in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, clearly affirm the dignity of each individual and his right to equality of opportunity; yet our day-to-day practices reflect many discriminations completely out of keeping with these ideals. A law which is far ahead of our actual practices may simply affirm an ideal stoutly rooted in our national thinking.

Accordingly, it is not wise to measure public support of a proposed law solely by the yardstick of everyday practices. Even when a majority of people act in a manner inconsistent with the aims of a projected piece of legislation, it does not necessarily follow that the law will prove ineffective. As we have suggested, a law's potential effectiveness must also be measured by how well it harmonizes with our American ideals. Certainly this would tip the scales in favor of legislation designed to strengthen the rights and opportunities of the individual. The common values we regard most highly — in our laws, our institutions, our traditions — are those which guarantee the protection of human rights.

Examples are often cited of laws which, once passed, were openly disobeyed. Admittedly this has happened. But, in most such cases, the laws in question had no deep national roots; they merely reflected the moral standards of special groups at certain times. Consequently, their appeal was limited and most people simply did not accept them as relevant or important. Laws embodying traditional values, however, are seldom openly or widely defied. Such laws are not attempts to "legislate morality." They are public expressions of an already existing morality — sometimes extensively violated, to be sure, but agreed upon by the major groups in our society. When we make the violations punishable, we are not legislating against the inner attitude, but against the outward expression of it.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Prejudice, in one form or another, will no doubt continue to exist for a long time to come. It cannot be eradicated directly by legislation — nor for that matter by "education". As a part of personality, it must be attacked through all the institutions that bear importantly on the individual's experience. That is a long, slow process about which we know much too little. But we do not have to wait for a solution to that problem before we can take action against discrimination. Our laws have always regarded discrimination as behavior detrimental to the general welfare. Although they are not concerned with individual prejudice, the bills of rights of our federal and state constitutions, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and the civil rights laws enacted by many States all apply directly to acts of discrimination. Implicit in them is the distinction between *prejudice*, a purely private attitude not subject to public regulation, and *discrimination*, overt behavior which expresses prejudice in ways harmful to the persons or groups subjected to it.

This clear distinction between prejudice and discrimination should not obscure their close relationship. Each feeds on, and can be used to justify, the other. It is a fact of history that the disabilities of a minority group are always used to reinforce prejudice against it. For example, members of a group suffering discrimination may react in one of two ways: by accepting their inferior status, however reluctantly, or by openly refusing to accept it. In either case, their behavior provides an excuse for continued discrimination. If they accept a subordinate sta-

tus, the dominant group can point to their lack of resistance as evidence that the minority likes things as they are and is not interested in change. Then, too, the by-products of discrimination — poverty, lack of educaton, "shiftlessness," and low standard of living — can be used to support a theory of in-born inferiority. On the other hand, if members of the handicapped group rebel against the injustice of their lot, their "aggressive" behavior becomes added ground for discrimination. Thus the very conditions created by inequalities provide fertile soil for the growth of further prejudice and discrimination.

Needless to say, all this can work the other way, too. With the elimination of discriminatory treatment, many of the conditions which reinforce prejudice disappear.

Law As A Negative Influence

Law has been an important influence in this vicious circle — unfortunately, not always a positive influence. Nowhere is the effectiveness of legal action in group relations more striking than in those cases where law itself has created or perpetuated discrimination. The classic case, of course, is Negro slavery. Many of the social patterns and public attitudes created by that legal institution still surround us. Although slavery was abolished almost a century ago, other legal instruments served to keep the Negro deprived of full citizenship.

Among these instruments were the decisions of the conservative U. S. Supreme Court in the latter half of the last century. The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* in 1896, is a good example. The ruling of the Supreme Court in that case set an important and damaging precedent. The suit involved a Louisiana statute separating white and Negro passengers in railroad coaches. The Court upheld the statute, on the grounds that social prejudices could not be eradicated by law. Mr. Justice Harlan — himself a Kentuckian and former slave-holder — wrote a famous dissent in words so vigorous and so prophetic that they are startling to read, even today. He wrote, in part:

"Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.... It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race....

"The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all *shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law.* What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?...

"If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon the public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race...."

We have only recently seen examples, at the state level, of the relaxation of laws prescribing segregation. In Kentucky, the Day Law, forbidding education of white and Negro students in the same institutions, was amended. This was done to permit the training of sorely needed Negro doctors and nurses in institutions formerly limited to white students only. In Oklahoma, under the pressure of supreme court rulings, laws were altered so that Negro students might be admitted to graduate schools of the state university.

Here were two cases in which laws *enforcing* discrimination had to be modified because their effectiveness was all too great. It was impossible to reduce the discrimination so long as they remained in full force. If the validity of this action is granted, one must conclude that legislation is at least negatively effective in the area of discrimination.

What was substituted in Kentucky was the principle of local option — that is, a transfer of the whole matter from the realm of law to that of private choice. The policy on admission of colored students, instead of being prescribed by law, was left to the decision of the individual institution. This is an intermediate step in

the legislative operation that has received little attention. In those places where adverse public opinion (or public opinion believed to be adverse) has prevented the passage of anti-discrimination laws, it should at least be possible to grant wider latitude to private choice. Those persons who oppose the legislation of "morality" might well apply the same reasoning to the legislation of "immorality." All of our Southern States have laws prescribing more or less rigid patterns of interracial behavior — the net result of which works to the disadvantage of Negro citizens. The removal of many or all of these laws would be eminently consistent with the view that custom and tradition should govern in human relations. In the present situation, it is often difficult to distinguish what is custom and what is simply a legally perpetuated practice.

The existence of discriminatory laws exerts an inhibiting influence on even the purely "educational" efforts to foster better relations. Any attempt to mold more democratic public attitudes suffers from an unsympathetic legal climate. The need everywhere is for responsible persons in the community to support wholesome practices and to take the lead in getting desirable changes. This they are more reluctant to do when the law either expressly sanctions the discriminatory practices or obviously fails to oppose them. The passage of favorable laws — or, at the very least, the removal of adverse laws — can do much to create an atmosphere in which healthy social change will flourish.

The Courts and the Law

The most striking examples of effective legal action in the field of civil rights are the court decisions of recent years. These do not represent the passage of legislation, it is true, but the resemblance is close. What the courts have done is to reinterpret existing law in such a way that quite often the effect was the same as that of new legislation. The most ardent supporter of education as the proper medium of social change must observe that court decisions have proved remarkably effective, even when they have run counter to deeply entrenched public practices.

Ten or fifteen years ago, there was little doubt in most minds that "public opinion" in the South was opposed to Negro suffrage — perhaps as strongly as, today, "public opinion" rejects the proposed civil rights legislation. Then came a series of vigorous court rulings which made it clear that denial of the right to vote cannot be countenanced under our Constitution; and the Negro began to assume his rightful importance as a voting citizen. The right to the ballot is still not secure in all parts of the South. But responsible elements in the region no longer maintain that voting is the white man's exclusive privilege.

How does one account for this change in public attitudes? One view might be that the change would have come even without the intervention of the courts, that the South was ready for the change, and that the explanation is largely one of voluntary acceptance by Southern leadership. The opposite view is that the new public attitude was the direct result of the court decisions, that it was actually created by judicial fiat.

There is a third more plausible explanation. The court decisions in question affirmed a principle of basic equality fundamental to American democracy. Once armed with authority, that principle could not long be defied by thoughtful Southerners without serious misgivings. As is often true in our personal lives, the South needed the force of authority to strengthen its better impulses. Similar instances might be cited in the case of Negro jury service, equalization of schools, and so on. Each of these desirable reforms, prodded by court action, is growing in practice and in public support throughout the South.

This is not to say that *any* legal action based on Constitutional grounds will necessarily achieve the desired end. We have seen, in the Civil War, one outstanding example of the failure of coercion by government. The lesson to be learned from that tragic conflict is the vital importance of statesmanship. The legal mechanism alone is never enough. Moral leadership and an awareness of the social and economic workings of society are indispensable.

Law and Living Conditions

Both proponents and opponents of the civil rights program have largely overlooked the value of legislation that would improve the material status of depressed

groups. The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council put the matter well in its statement on civil rights:

"Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health — these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all of these basic needs, the South is below the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro population is below the white population. The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country . . . It is clear that without a conscious and costly national effort general conditions in many parts of the South will remain backward for years to come. We cannot afford the luxury of waiting for slow, unaided growth in those areas."

One of the weaknesses of the civil rights program is its failure to recognize the importance of legislation bolstering the economic position of the most underprivileged segments of our population. For those who do not see the relevance, the executive committee pointed out: "A person, black or white, who can stand on his own feet economically, who can make his own way without fear or favor, is in a much better position to assert his individual rights. Moreover, when men see in their fellow citizens people who are doing about the same kind of work as they, who have pretty much the same education, live in the same kind of houses, and have the same kind of self-respect — then they more cheerfully accord equal rights to all."

Law and Public Policy

A final point should be touched on briefly; that is, the importance of legal protection of human rights to our world position.

Those who oppose federal legislation in the realm of group relations frequently do so from a purely regional or local point of view. This is understandable, but not always valid. For the problem is not of purely regional or local concern. Discrimination in any part of our country works to the discredit of the whole nation in international relations. Hostile propaganda spotlights it and alleges that it is fundamental in our democracy. If we are to exonerate ourselves of this charge, we must make it quite clear that our national policy is firmly opposed to discrimination of any kind. The most convincing way to demonstrate this fact is through our national Congress, which is the only body representing our people as a whole. Thus, it is at least arguable that, even when there is doubt of the complete effectiveness of a particular measure, it may be desirable as an affirmation of public policy. Our statesmen would at any rate be relieved of some of the difficulty in answering charges that our government winks at, or even connives in, various forms of discrimination.

Probably no legislation is ever passed with the unanimous support of every group in our society. Often it is necessary to defer to the wishes of a particular group rather than apply coercion. But when the national welfare is seriously involved, there should be no question of precedence: regional traditions, group interests, or whatever, should voluntarily yield to the broader necessity. If they do not, they may well be over-ridden.

It is a hopeful sign that more and more people in the South are looking at the problem of racial discrimination in the light of national and international opinion. There is greater acceptance of the fact that the entire nation cannot dam back its legislative action until its most reluctant areas are persuaded. We are, in short, realizing that private prejudices and local customs must make way for more urgent demands.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER, 1949

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

October 6, 1949

Chief of Police
Orange, Texas

Dear Sir:

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:nh

Received after New South.

CITY OF ORANGE, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	none
Number of Negro policewomen.....	none	none

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1940 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... When needed (Date)

Comments These two Negro Officers have been very satisfactory in dealing with the Negro population of Orange.

Date Oct. 8, 1949

Signed E. L. Nance

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF San Antonio, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	4
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since As far back as records reveal.
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on Unknown when present number will be
(Date)
increased or decreased.

Comments Our Negro Policemen are good officers and are doing a good job and there is little or no possibility that we will ever be without.

Date 8-16-49

Signed E. E. Peters
Lt. E. E. Peters
Police Secretary

Position

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
22
Southern

CITY OF Port Arthur, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since April 3, 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments This Department has 2 full time Uniform Policemen and 8 Special uniform Police who work part time.

Date August 8, 1949

Signed G. B. Douglas

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

arrived after N.S. went to print

CITY OF Beaumont, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... 1920 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 10/8/49

Signed Artie Pollock

Position Chief

RECEIVED
OCT 10
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Dallas, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	4	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since.... Feb - 10- 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-29-49.

Signed W. J. Bagley

Position Assistant Chief of Police

AUG 31 1949

CITY OF Austin, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... May, 1904
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... -
(Date)

Comments These men handle their own color and are doing a good job.

Date August 26, 1949

Signed R A Thorp

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Galveston, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	9	6
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since 1890 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date August 12th., 1949

Signed P. J. McManus

Position Lt. of Police

CITY OF FORT WORTH, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	NONE	NONE
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	NONE	NONE

This city has used Negro policemen since NEVER.
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on NEVER
(Date)

Comments To date this police department has never employed any negro uniform officers, plain clothesmen, nor negro policewomen, nor does it anticipate doing so.

Date August 8, 1949

Signed R. E. Dysart
R. E. Dysart

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF EL PASO, TEXAS

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	4	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since December, 1945
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on ----------
(Date)

Comments

Date August 8, 1949

Signed W. C. Woolverton
W. C. WOOLVERTON

Position Chief of Police

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AUG 11 1949
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Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Corpus Christi, Texas

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1938 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____ (Date)

Comments No additional Patrolman allotted for this Fiscal year—

Date 8-8-49

Signed R. L. Belflower

Position Captain of Traffic
acting Chief of Police
(in absence of Chief Ray Lay)

Received after H. S. went out.

CITY OF ~~SALISBURY, N.C.~~

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen .....Two.....	YES	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... SEPT. 1, 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments THEIR SERVICES HAVE BEEN SATISFACTORY TO DATE.

Date OCT. 17, 1949

Signed H. L. Shuler
CHIEF OF POLICE

Position _____

RECEIVED
OCT. 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Goldsboro, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since.... August 1, 1949 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments These colored policemen have been a great deal of help since their employment.

Date August 25, 1949

Signed H. L. Morris

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Fayetteville N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	0	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... 2 men September 12, 1949 (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/23/49

Signed S. F. Worell

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Burlington N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	none

This city has used Negro policemen since..... — (Date)

or

This city ~~was~~ hired Negro policemen on..... Sept. 1st. 1949 (Date)

Comments These two Negro's was hired on Sept. 1st 1949. and given 8 Days ~~training~~ training by this Dept. they are now working ~~of~~ with Colored officers in Greensboro N.C. for 30 more days of training.

Date Sept. 16 1949 Signed D. D. Matthews

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
Southern Regional Counc

CITY OF Durham, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	8	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... July 1944. (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments We are now planning to add two additional colored policemen

Date August 15, 1949

Signed H. E. King
H. E. King

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Gastonia, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	None

This city has used Negro policemen since..... July 1st, 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date 8/11/49

Signed [illegible] Deputy
Deputy Clerk

Position _____

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Raleigh N.Car

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	2	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	2	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments There is a provision to put on two more officers in this year Budget and it is my understanding this will be done.

Date 8/9/69

Signed R. R. Vargroves

Position Chief of Police

DECLASSIFIED
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF High Point, North Carolina

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	4	
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	

This city has used Negro policemen since..... August 9, 1943
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Our colored policemen have been very successful in their work.

Date August 9, 1949

Signed W C Johnson

Position Captain of Detectives

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Winston-Salem, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1941 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments _____

Date 8-8-49

Signed John M. Gaed

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Greensboro, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	5	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1944 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments The services of the negro policemen have been very satisfactory, and we have had the cooperation from white officers and also of the public in the colored districts in which they are assigned.

Date 8-8-48 Signed L. L. Jarvis

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Ahoskie, N. C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	1	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since..... 1946 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments My Negro Police works very nice in Colord Section.

Date 8/6/49

Signed J A Bunch

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Charlotte, N.C.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen	10	
Number of Negro policewomen.....		

This city has used Negro policemen since....1939 (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... (Date)

Comments Have proved entirely satisfactory

Date 8-1949

Signed F. Nagle Johnson

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Arlington Va

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	None	None
Number of Negro policewomen.....	None	None

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____ (Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____ (Date)

Comments Our population is about 1% colored and do not have need for colored Police

Date Aug 25-49

Signed H. L. Rosebrand

Position Chief Police

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	5	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since May 17, 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments We have found the work of our Negro policemen to be very satisfactory.

Date August 23, 1949

Signed J. M. Peach
J. M. Peach

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Richmond Va

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	7	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since May 1st 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on ✓
(Date)

Comments Our quota is 8 - We do not expect to have any more at any time soon

Date 8/22/49 Signed [illegible]

Position Chief of Police

CITY OF Roanoke, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	6	0
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since June 16, 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 10, 1949

Signed S. A. Bruce
Lieutenant S. A. Bruce

Position Acting Supt. of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Cape Charles. Virginia.

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	None
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 1947
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments This man has proven very satisfactory.

Date August 8th. 1949

Signed F.C. Fitzhugh
F.C. Fitzhugh

Position Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	4	5
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since 3-15-46
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments 3 plain clothesmen are employed as investigators

2 plain clothesmen are employed as members of the Youth Bureau - a component of the Detective Bureau.

Date August 8, 1949

Signed Amor LeR. Sims

Position Police Chief

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Petersburg, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -		
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - -		1

This city has used Negro policemen since October, 1938
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 8, 1949

Signed Willard C Taylor Sr.

Position Chief of Police

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF Portsmouth, Virginia

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen - - - - - - - - - - - -	1	
Number of Negro policewomen- - - - - - - - - - -		

This city has used Negro policemen since August 1st., 1948
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on _____
(Date)

Comments _____

Date August 8-1949

Signed O. B. Dunn
O. B. Dunn
Position Chief of Police

10-31-49 28-Police, Negro

Was sorry to have missed the meeting in Jackson too, but was tied up here at home with paper hangers that week.

Suppose you send a number of blanks to Mrs Bullock, (H.M.1417 West Capitol, Jackson). We are having a meeting of the Conference and Study and Action Comm. plus District Presidents in Jackson on Nov.9th-and that will be a good time to get this before them, and give out the blanks. We can both explain things to them.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Jessie Ames

P.S. On last copy of New South, Gulfport was only Miss town named. I Know Indianola has this, and what about Clarksdale?

---

601 Barfield Bldg.
Amarillo, Texas
November 5, 1949

Gentlemen:

28-Police, Negro

Re chart on page 1, September issue of New South, we also have two uniformed Negro policemen in Amarillo.

Yours very truly,

Allen Early, Jr.

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs E.V.Perry,
Rolling Fork,Miss.

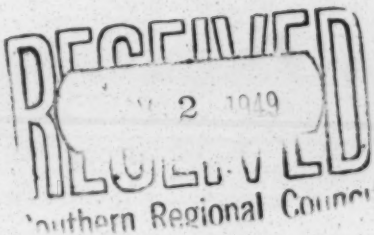
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs M. E. Tilly,

63 Auburn Ave,N.E.

Atlanta,3,

Ga.



Room 432

1949 Comments

STATEMENTS BY POLICE CHIEFS ABOUT NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

San Antonio, Texas
.....Our Negro policemen are good officers and are doing a good job and there is little or no possibility that we will ever be without.

Nashville, Tennessee
.....All are now under Civil Service and are making good officers.

High Point, North Carolina
.....Our colored policemen have been very successful in their work.

Greensboro, North Carolina
.....The services of the Negro policemen have been very satisfactory, and we have had the cooperation of our white officers and also of the public in the colored districts in which they are assigned.

Goldsboro, North Carolina
.....These colored policemen have been a great deal of help since their employment.

Savannah, Georgia
.....Very satisfactory in colored areas. The two plain clothes officers were taken from the colored uniformed ranks and assigned to the task of apprehending boledo violators, dealers and others violating the liquor laws especially insofar as they apply to unstamped whiskey, gambling, etc. These men have made and excellent record.

Gainesville, Florida
.....Fortunately we have two exceptionally good Negro officers. Their work has been highly satisfactory.

St. Petersburg, Florida
.....The use of Negro policemen in this city is still in its infancy and experimental stage. However, since we have hired the 4 Negro policemen, it appears that it has decreased the crime in the colored population, and it is working out very satisfactory in every respect.

Negro Police

17 April 1950

Mr. Glenn Douthit
New Orleans Item
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Douthit:

At the request of Mrs. Helen Cohn of New Orleans, we are sending you the information on the use of Negro Policemen in Southern Cities which the Southern Regional Council has compiled over a period of several years.

In the attached envelope we are enclosing such materials as we have in print on this subject. Enclosed here also is a memorandum of changes and additions which brings our latest published list (September 1949) up to date, a copy of some sample statements by Police Chiefs about Negro Police in Southern cities, and a copy of an Atlanta Journal editorial about the experience with Negro Police in Atlanta.

We hope that this information will be helpful. If we can be of further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Police Study (Negro Daily)

The Police and Minority Groups

◆ ◆ ◆

A new police manual on human relations published by the Chicago Park District

Special Library, Chicago Park District,
425 East Fourteenth Blvd., Chicago 5, Ill.

Send me_____copies of THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS at $2.00 each postpaid.

Enclosed is ☐ Check ☐ Cash ☐ Money Order Make checks payable to the Chicago Park District.
(This applies to individuals and organizations)

☐ Accept this as our order. Payment will be made upon receipt of bill. (This applies to organizations only.)

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS

Although designed as a text for training police personnel in the problems of maintaining public order among racial, religious and other minority groups, its contents make this book an invaluable aid to the educator, the student in the field of human relations, the civil administrator and community leader.

You will find in this book actual cases of friction among minority groups, taken from the extensive records of tthe Chicago Park District's Division of Police.* These cases—and the measures developed by the Police Division in handling them—are analyzed in the light of modern scientific knowledge about racial and minority groups. Thus, THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS combines scientific theory and actual experience to arrive at effective working methods of preventing or dealing with discords fostered by racial, religious and other prejudices.

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS is the result of a series of conferences on human relations conducted by the Chicago Park District Division of Police in its nationally recognized Police School. These conferences were planned and presented by Joseph D. Lohman, of the University of Chicago faculty. The value of the methods outlined in the conferences was immediately apparent when put into practice by the Park police. The Park Commissioners felt that this information and experience would be welcomed by agencies and individuals in other communities; hence this book, written by Mr. Lohman in collaboration with the supervisory officers of the Chicago Park District Division of Police, headed by Chief Roger F. Shanahan.

Copies of THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS are available upon written request. Please use the printed form on the back of this circular in ordering your copies.

---

*The Chicago Park District is a separate municipality controlling 135 parks, 205 miles of heavily travelled boulevards and parkways, over 90 all-year community recreation buildings, and 28 miles of lake front improvement with beaches, yacht harbors and other waterfront attractions. Recorded yearly attendance at park facilities often exceeds 60,000,000 persons. Because of its independence from other local governments the Park District has its own complete forces of engineers, police, recreation leaders and repair and maintenance crews.

Contents

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS covers a series of six training conferences on all phases of the human relations problem in police work. The following chapter headings are taken from the book:

I Worldwide and neighborhood aspects of human relations.

A presentation of the dimensions of the problem as a world problem; in the United States as a national problem; in Chicago as a metropolitan problem; and within various sections of the city as a neighborhood problem.

II Background and condition of racial, nationality and religious tension.

The historical backgrounds and conditions of racial, nationality, religious, and cultural tension with specific emphasis upon the history and conditions of minority-group relations as they have developed in the Chicago metropolitan region.

III The facts about race.

A presentation and analysis of the scientifically verified facts about race, nationality, and other minority groups in relation to the assumptions of ordinary citizens about such groups.

IV The social situations in which tensions arise.

A description and analysis of the characteristic social situations in which tensions have arisen and may continue to arise; three major areas in which tensions are currently prominent; namely, discrimination in employment, substandard housing and segregation, and discrimination in the areas of recreation and general social activities.

V The role of the police officer in dealing with tensions.

The role of the police officer in treating tension situations; the development of crowd and mob behavior; stages in the development of collective excitement in relation to alternative control measures; and the provocative influence of rumor.

VI The law and administrative controls as they affect human relations.

The content of the law as it affects race relations and as it indicates the basis for correct procedure in its enforcement; consideration of the measures that may be employed in minimizing the possibility of physical outbreaks; measures which bring about greater public security in the event of physical outbreaks.

Also included: Appendix A — Illinois Statutes Affecting Race Relations; Appendix B — Municipal Code of Chicago; and a selected list (annotated) of books, pamphlets and films on human relations.

Resolved that members
help us sell pamphlets
Secretary of Fellows +
Reports of whole happening
elsewhere in So. by slides.

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

I. A LIST OF SOUTHERN CITIES USING NEGRO POLICEMEN

City	Number of Negro Policemen*	Number of Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Arkansas	8	
Daytona Beach, Florida	4	
Deland, Florida	1	
Fort Myers, Florida	1	
Miami, Florida	18	
Sanford, Florida	2	
**Sarasota, Florida		
Tampa, Florida	4	
Lexington, Kentucky	3	1
Louisville, Kentucky	18	
Owensboro, Kentucky	1	
Ahoskie NC (Hertford County)	1	
Asheville, North Carolina	2	
Charlotte, North Carolina	~~4~~ 6	2
Durham, North Carolina	~~2~~ 6	
Greensboro, North Carolina	~~2~~ 4	
High Point, North Carolina	2	
Raleigh, North Carolina	~~1~~ 2	2
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	~~1~~ 3	
Muskogee, Oklahoma	2	
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12 (1 detective)	
Tulsa, Oklahoma	8	
**Beaufort, South Carolina		
York, South Carolina	1	
Summerton		
Chattanooga, Tennessee	2 detectives	
Knoxville, Tennessee	5	
Austin, Texas	3	
Beaumont, Texas	2	
Galveston, Texas	13	
Houston, Texas	4	
San Antonio, Texas	7	
Port Arthur, Texas		
Norfolk, Virginia	~~1~~ 6	
Newport News, Va.	1	
Richmond	~~2~~ 4 ~~probationary~~	
~~Roanoke~~	2 ~~agent~~	

*The number of Negro police has been increased in several places since this information was obtained.

**Exact number of policemen not known.

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Arkansas	8	
Deland, Florida	1	
Daytona Beach, Florida	4	
*Fort Myers, Florida	1	
Miami, Florida	12	
*Sarasota, Florida		
Sanford, Florida	2	
Lexington, Kentucky	3	1
Louisville, Kentucky	18	
Owensboro, Kentucky	1	
Charlotte, North Carolina	4	2
Durham, North Carolina (1944)	2	
Greensboro, North Carolina (1944)	2	
High Point, North Carolina	2	
Raleigh, North Carolina	1	
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1	
Muskogee, Oklahoma	2	
Tulsa, Oklahoma	8	
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12 (1 detective)	
*Beaufort, South Carolina		
York, South Carolina	1	
Knoxville, Tennessee	5	
Chattanooga, Tennessee	2 detectives	
Austin, Texas	3	
Beaumont, Texas	2	
Galveston, Texas	13	
Houston, Texas	4	
San Antonio, Texas	7	

---

*Exact number of policemen not known

COMPILED BY: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

II. HAVE NEGRO POLICE BEEN SATISFACTORY?

In the Southern cities which are using Negro police, there is almost unanimous agreement by mayors and police chiefs that Negro policeman are satisfactory. Following are some typical comments:

"We are very fortunate in having some very good Negro policemen, having ability, quality, and bravery. They have made a very enviable record.... I am not considering attempting to run a police department without the efficient help of Negro members now employed on our force." -- Commissioner of Police, San Antonio, Texas.

"~~Chief Price, of the Lexington Police Department,~~ Our Chief of Police tells me he considers that crime has been curtailed in the Negro districts during the past few years. The colored policewoman, Augusta Strong, is a college graduate and a woman of intelligence who commands the respect of the Negroes of her districts. The policemen are not in uniform but act as plain clothes men and serve only in Negro districts. They do not have authority to arrest white people." -- Mayor, Lexington, Kentucky.

"Tulsa's experience through the years with Negro policemen has been very fine. We have some very loyal and efficient Negro officers, who take a great deal of pride in their work in apprehending Negro criminals, and maintaining peace and order in their part of the city. You understand, we have a restricted district for Negroes and the Negro officers work this district only. These officers are directed by and under the command of white officials." -- Mayor, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"We have four of these men who are known as special police officers who patrol specific areas in the Negro sections and are all on duty at night. These men are of the best of the Negro race in Charlotte and were very carefully selected and recommended by the best educated Negro element of the city." -- City Manager, Charlotte, North Carolina.

"It has been my experience that trouble in the Negro section has been reduced considerably by the presence of a Negro policeman there." -- City Manager, Deland, Florida.

"The city of Fort Myers employs one Negro policeman. This practice has been followed for the past twelve years and has been found to be the most satisfactory arrangement possible in handling the Negro population. The Negro leaders in our community are heartily in favor of this policy." -- Mayor, Fort Myers, Florida.

Copies of this Memorandum May be Obtained from

S — R — C

NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Number of Negro Policemen	Number of Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Arkansas	8	
Deland, Florida	1	
Daytona Beach, Florida	4	
*Fort Myers, Florida	1	
Miami, Florida	12	
*Sarasota, Florida		
Sanford, Florida	2	
Lexington, Kentucky	3	1
Louisville, Kentucky	18	
Owensboro, Kentucky	1	
Charlotte, North Carolina	4	2
Durham, North Carolina (1944)	2	
Greensboro, North Carolina (1944)	2	
High Point, North Carolina	2	
Raleigh, North Carolina	1	
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1	
Muskogee, Oklahoma	2	
Tulsa, Oklahoma	8	
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12 (1 detective)	
*Beaufort, South Carolina		
York, South Carolina	1	
Knoxville, Tennessee	5	
Chattanooga, Tennessee	2 detectives	
Austin, Texas	3	
Beaumont, Texas	2	
Galveston, Texas	13	
Houston, Texas	4	
San Antonio, Texas	7	

---

*Exact number of policemen not known

COMPILED BY: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Police, Negro

ACCOUNT WBGE CALVACADE INTERVIEW

DATE November 3

SCRIPT NO _____ DAY Monday

TIME 7PM

DATE WRITTEN OCT.29

WRITER case

WBGE
General Broadcasting Co.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ANNCR: Tonight we welcome to the WBGE Calvacade Microphone Mr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council...First, Mr. Mitchell, will you tell us exactly what the Southern Regional Council is.

MITCH: It is a council that ~~endeavors~~ tries to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South .

ANNCR: I notice you emphasized that word "action."

MITCH: Yes, we feel that only through vital and progressive action can our goal of "equal opportunity for all peoples in the South" be reached...That is why we feel that Negro policemen should be employed in the city of Atlanta - this would be definite step towards our goal...and it would benefit all the citizens of the community.

ANNCR: This idea of having Negro policemen is something new, isn't it - particularly in the South?

MITCH: No, not at all. In fact, Galveston, Texas has had Negro police officers since 1870 - and report very profitable results...So you see, it not such a violent and revolutionary plan as some people would have you believe.

ANNCR: What are some other Southern cities that are successfully employing Negro policemen?

ACCOUNT WBGE CALVACADE GUEST

DATE

SCRIPT NO. DAY

TIME

DATE WRITTEN

WRITER

WBGE

General Broadcasting Co.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MITCH: Forty-one Southern cities, in ten states, use Negro policemen...This makes a total of 221 Negro police officers employed in the South, 196 in uniform and 25 plainclothesmen. Five cities are using Negro policewomen.

ANNCR: Are Negro policemen proving satisfactory in all localities where they are used?

MITCH: Definitely. In a questionaire recently sent out to the forty-one police departments in the South that employ Negroes on the force, all comments were favorable... All police chiefs stated that the Negro officers had been valuable in the suppression of crime in colored communities. One chief of police said that "crime in the district to which the Negro officers were assigned has dropped 25 per cent.

ANNCR: It certainly seems that the record speaks for itself.

MITCH That's the way we feel ...For a specific example, I'd like to tell the way Negro police worked out in the city of Greensboro, North Carolina. The first two were employed in January 19, 1944, on a trail basis.

ACCOUNT WBGE CAVALCADE

DATE

SCRIPT NO. DAY

TIME

DATE WRITTEN

WRITER

WBGE

General Broadcasting Co.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ANNCR: How did the white population accept the action?

MITCH: With scarcely a comment. It is certainly true to say that there was no protest. The Negroes received the policemen of their race with acclaim. And the press - both local and in the surrounding states - hailed it as a forward step. On March 1, 1945, two additional Negroes were added to the staff and two more have been appointed since then. Thus the use of Negro policemen in Greensboro, North Carolina, has been established as a permanent policy.

ANNCR: Are Negro officers given the same authority that the white officers have?

MITCH: Their legal authority is the same as that of white officers. In practice they have been assigned to areas where the Negro population is greatest. My understanding is that they have generally been instructed to arrest white persons only when they actually see crime committed by white people. Their main work has been in clearing up crime in Negro communities. White officers have always had difficulty locating the parties responsible for much of this crime. Negro officers have proved that they can readily find the men they want, and can bring about in these areas the kind of good order and respect for law that Negroes themselves yearn to have.

ACCOUNT WBGE CAVALCADE GUEST

DATE

SCRIPT NO. DAY

TIME

DATE WRITTEN

WRITER

WBGE

General Broadcasting Co.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ANNCR: Besides Greensboro and Galveston, Texas, what are some other Southern cities that employ Negro policemen?

MITCH: There are several cities in Florida, including Clearwater, Gainesville, Miami, and Tampa. Little Rock, Arkansas, and Richmond, Virginia, are two other cities that use Negro officers - to go from one end of the Southern belt to another.

ANNCR: Are any employed in Georgia towns?

MITCH: Only in Savannah, I'm sorry to say.... They have nine there.

ANNCR: MR. Mitchell, so far as you can gather, what seems to be the general consensus among Atlantians concerning Negro policemen on our force?

MITCH: There is some opposition, but there is a great deal of organized support for such a move, and I believe that most citizens would welcome the increased respect for law that Negro police would undoubtedly bring to our city. The experience is all on the side of success; I doubt if a single city now using Negro policemen ~~wishes to~~ even considers dropping them.

ANNCR: How can the people of Atlanta learn more about the successful work that has been done by Negro policemen in other Southern cities?

MITCH: The Southern Regional Council publishes a monthly bulletin

ACCOUNT

DATE

SCRIPT NO. DAY

TIME

DATE WRITTEN

WRITER

WBGE

General Broadcasting Co.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

that contains pertinent facts concerning this issue as well as other matters relative to the improvement of social, civic, economic and racial conditions in the South. This magazine, New South, which is published right here in Atlanta, sells at the subscription rate of one dollar a year.

ACCOUNT WBGE CALVACADE GUEST

DATE November 3

SCRIPT NO. DAY Monday

TIME

DATE WRITTEN

WRITER

WBGE

General Broadcasting Co.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ANNCR: Where are the offices of the Southern Regional Council?

MITCH: Our president, Mr. Paul D. Williams, ~~has his offices~~ lives in Richmond, Virgina...Atlanta headquarters are located at 63 Auburn Avenue.

ANNCR: Mr. Mitchell, we certainly appreciate your coming up this evening and ~~xxx~~ sharing your views concerning the effectiveness of Negro policemen in Southern cities.

MITCH: In closing, I'd like to say that, in my opinion, any city which has a large Negro population and has no Negro police is simply denying itself the chance to have better law enforcement...If the right men are picked and given the right kind of training and support, only one thing can result - a better and more efficient police department.

ANNCR: THANK YOU... You have just been listening to an interview with Mr. George Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

January 14, 1955

Dictated January 13

Mr. David A. McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Re your call about coming up for February 10th, Eastern Air Lines has two north-bound planes which might do the trick. The easy trip leaves Atlanta at 7:15 in the morning and arrives at Louisville at 9:13 a.m. Louisville time. That is at the airport of course and I would have to allow possibly another forty-five minutes for getting downtown. Sounds riskily late to me.

The other one is an air coach leaving Atlanta at 4:15 a.m. and arriving, non-stop, at Louisville at 4:43 a.m. Louisville time. I expect that the air coach flight is the one to take.

By present plans, I ought to come back to Atlanta on one of the early evening flights that day.

I assume you are standing the cost of the trip, which ought to be little more than plane fare and to and from the airports.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

January 19, 1955

Mr. David A. McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Dave:

Notwithstanding your kind offer of the later plane, I'll take the early one. I have had a few painful experiences of relying on a slip-second connection by plane, and running into delays. Even taking the early one is a risk, because of weather; and I usually avoid such a risk by arriving for any engagement by train (though I go gaily home on the plane!). But this time I'm hooked with an engagement the night before, so will do the early plane. I'll be comfortable enough, and will show at the Police Institute's door well before nine o'clock in the morning of February 10th.

If you can later give me more on the subject of that day, I would appreciate it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

January 17, 1955

JAN 19 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your kind letter of January 14. I do not want you to take the air coach. It leaves Atlanta much too early. I see no reason why we cannot change the morning hour from 9:00 to 9:45 and go to 12:15. We would lose no time this way, and since your plane arrives at 9:13, could get you to the Institute in plenty of time.

Art Brandstatter, of Michigan State College, will be the moderator of the panel. I have also invited Jack Kenna, of the Louisville office of NCCJ, to participate. Others have not been named. I will write you about them soon.

Sincerely,

David

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c
Program enclosed

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

January 20, 1955

JAN 24 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted that you will be with us for the panel on February 10. I enclose copy of seminar program and also copy of letter written to Art Brandstatter, the moderator of the panel. The letter makes certain suggestions, but I hope the panelists will feel free to alter this if they think best.

With kindest regards,

Dave

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c
Enclosures

C
O
P
Y

January 20, 1955

Professor Arthur F. Brandstatter
Head, Department of Police Administration
Michigan State College
East Lansing, Michigan:

Dear Art:

Here are some facts and suggestions concerning the panel on The Police and Community Relations, set for February 10.

(1) The members of the panel will be: Yourself as moderator; George Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council; John Feild, Board of Community Relations, Toledo; Jack Kenna, NCCJ, Louisville Chapter; and Professor Irwin W. Sanders, University of Kentucky.

(2) It is suggested that the morning session be spent in the discussion of prepared topics by members of the panel; and the afternoon be devoted to discussion of questions from the officers attending the seminar.

(3) Suggested topics for prepared talks follow: Defining Police-Community Relations (by the moderator); The Work of Community Relations Agencies; Common Problems Facing Police and the Community Relations Agencies; the Need for Better Cooperation Between the Police and Community Relations Agencies; Human Relations Training Programs; Complaints Affecting Police; Police Advisory Councils.

These topics are merely suggested and may be added to or deleted from as the panel may wish.

(4) Each member of the panel might think along the above lines and be prepared to discuss those subjects that are tossed to him by the moderator. It is hoped also that the panelists will toss subjects back and forth, in order to keep up a spontaneous flow.

(5) I hope that those members of the panel who are in town will have dinner with me on February 9, the evening before the panel. We will go over the next day's discussion in more detail.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Cordially,

Dave

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c
Program enclosed

C
O

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

January 25, 1955

JAN 27 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have made reservation for you at the Seelbach Hotel, Fourth and Walnut Streets. I still think you should make the later plane, as it is not necessary for us to start the day before 10:00 o'clock. I can meet you at the plane and have you at the Institute in plenty of time. I will, however, be guided by whatever you think best.

noted
eob

I have mailed you copy of letter written to Art Brandstatter suggesting type of program to follow. Should you have any additional suggestions, do not hesitate to send them.

All of us are looking forward greatly to your first visit to the Southern Police Institute.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Dave

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c

LECTURERS

JOHN P. BELL, M.D.
Psychiatrist, Louisville Ky.

ALAN CANTY
Clinical Psychologist; Executive Director, Psychopathic Clinic, Detroit, Mich.

HODDING CARTER
Author; Publisher, Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.

MARK F. ETHRIDGE
Publisher, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times, Louisville, Ky.

CARL E. HEUSTIS
Chief of Police, Louisville, Ky.

HERBERT T. JENKINS
Chief of Police, Atlanta, Ga.

WILLIAM K. KELLER, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry, University of Louisville

RAYMOND A. KEMPER
Chairman of Department of Psychology, University of Louisville

JOSEPH D. LOHMAN
Criminologist and Author;
Sheriff of Cook County, Illinois

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Special Counsel NAACP, New York, New York

DONALD F. MOORE, M.D.
Chief of Neuro-Psychiatric Services, V. A. Hospital, Louisville, Ky.

ROBERT V. MURRAY
Chief of Police, Washington, D. C.

JOHN D. TRAWICK, M.D.
Psychiatrist, Louisville, Ky.

CHARLES W. WOODSON, JR.
Superintendent, Virginia State Police

SOUTHERN

POLICE

INSTITUTE

Mid-Winter Seminars

Human Relations

Human Behavior

February 7 - February 18, 1955

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE

David A. McCandless, Director

FIRST WEEK

HUMAN RELATIONS — THE POLICE AND RACIAL TENSION

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7

Registration 8:00- 9:00

Doctor Joseph Lohman

Background of Racial Tension 9:00-10:10

Social Situations in which Tension Arises 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Joseph Lohman

Case Studies of Racial Tension 2:00- 3:10

Case Studies of Racial Tension 3:20- 4:30

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8

Doctor Joseph Lohman

Role of the Police in Dealing with Tension 9:00-10:10

Standard Police Practices 10:20-11:00

LUNCH

Doctor Joseph Lohman

Recent Developments in the Law Affecting Human Relations. New Situations Created by Recent Legislation and Judicial Opinion 2:00- 3:10

Problems Arising out of the Implement of Recent Court Decisions 3:20- 4:30

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9

Mr. Hodding Carter
Mr. Mark Ethridge
Mr. Thurgood Marshall

The U. S. Supreme Court Decision Outlawing Segregation in the Schools 9:00- 4:30

(LUNCH 11:30-2:00)

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10

Agency Representatives

The Police and Community Relations: The Public Agencies 9:00-11:30

LUNCH

Agency Representatives

The Police and Community Relations: The Private Agencies 2:00- 4:30

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11

Chiefs of Police

Panel Discussion: Police Planning in Areas of Racial Confllict Housing, Recreation, Education 9:00- 4:30

Participants:

Chief Herbert Jenkins, Atlanta, Ga.
Superintendent C. W. Woodson, Jr., Virginia State Police
Chief Robert V. Murray, Washington, D. C.
Chief Carl E. Heustis, Louisville, Ky.

(LUNCH 11:30-2:00)

Third Mid-Winter Seminar

SECOND WEEK

HUMAN BEHAVIOR

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14

Doctor Kemper

Human Relations in Personnel Work 9:00-10:10
Human Relations in Personnel Work 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Keller

Orientation in Human Behavior 2:00- 3:10
Adult Problems and Their Treatment 3:20- 4:30

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15

Doctor Moore

Adult Development 9:00-10:10
The Mature Person 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Bell

Adolescent Development 2:00- 3:10
Adolescent Development 3:20- 4:30

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16

Doctor Bell

Adolescent Problems 9:00-10:10
Adolescent Problems 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Keller

Field Trip to Mental Clinic, Louisville General Hospital 2:00- 4:40

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17

Doctor Trawick

Character Disorders 9:00-10:10
Character Disorders 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Moore

Reactions of Persons under Stress 2:00- 3:10
Reactions of Persons under Stress 3:20- 4:30

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18

Doctor Canty

The Sexual Criminal 9:00-10:10
The Sexual Criminal 10:20-11:30

LUNCH

Doctor Canty

The Sexual Criminal 2:00- 3:10
The Sexual Criminal 3:20- 4:30

Director McCandless

Presentation of Certificates 4:30- 5:00

February 7, 1955

Memo to: GSM

From: AH

Re: Louisville Police Institute panel

I would focus on the new responsibilities facing community relations agencies and law enforcement bodies with the coming of school integration. Point out that both will have to rethink their own individual roles in the community, but that they must also develop a cooperative, team relationship where this does not already exist--emphasize the fact that cooperation and teamwork between the two is essential for smooth transition from segregated to desegregated schools.

New Police Responsibilities

(1) Accept the Supreme Court decision on school segration, the forthcoming decree on implementation and plans adopted by states and / or local communities as basic law to be enforced.

(2) Handle school absentism, truancy, student disturbances or demonstrations in the light of established school law and new rules adopted for integration. Work closely with school authorities on violations.

(3) Assist in keeping meetings of protesting community groups, demonstrations from community sources within laws governing public assembly. Treat those who violate laws in protesting as other law-breakers--arrest persons who incite to riot, ursurp police powers, etc. in their demonstrations.

(4) Keep alert to and handle quickly and efficiently any neighborhood tensions arising from or carrying over from school integration--public abuses, violences between parents or children, etc.

New Responsibilities for Community Relations Agencies

(1) Help educate community to better understanding of Supreme Court's school decision and steps that will facilitate implementation.

(2) Assume leadership in action programs designed to speed school integration.

(3) Keep alert to both individual and group problems accompanying school integration . Act as referal agency, forwarding problems to appropriate agencies.

(4) Promote human relations ~~XXXX~~ education in the schools, readjustment of curricula to fit integrated school

Mutual responsibilities

(1) Understanding each other's function in the process of desegrating the schools

(2) Sharing information on independent activities in the area of school desegregation and any accompanying community tensions.

(3) Develop joint contacts at the neighborhood level where tensions have or are likely to arrive.

re resolving community tensions

(4) Plan preventive measures together--have regular meetings/where these do not exist

I would parallel adjustments that community agencies (including law enforcement agencies) must make inthe school situation to similar adjustments on the part of community agencies demanded by racial transition of housing in many urban areas.

The attached NAIRO report on their Police-Community Relations Conference of April 8, 1954 might be helpful.

February 21, 1955

Miss Elizabeth Stein
1008 Monroe Drive
Bloomington, Illinois

Dear Miss Stein:

The 11:45 train out of Union Station on the GM&O I will catch, and will arrive at Bloomington at 1:48 p.m., March 8th.

Happy that night at anyone's home that will take me in, or in a hotel in Bloomington. I have made no reservations.

Delighted to do anything needed March 9th at Illinois Wesleyan or elsewhere, but I would want to have the afternoon free, if possible, for getting toward Terre Haute and on the train home.

Mighty kind of you to make all these arrangements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 21, 1955

Mrs. Dorothy P. Clore
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Clore:

Many thanks for sending down the check. That enables us to close off that item on the books.

I greatly enjoyed being part of the Panel and appreciate Mr. McCandless' kind invitation to me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

February 19, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In Mr. McCandless' absence from the office I am enclosing check to cover your expenses in connection with the panel discussion last week.

We appreciated your participation in this discussion and we feel that the panel added greatly to the value of the seminar on Human Relations.

FEB 21 1955

Sincerely,

Dorothy P. Clore

(Mrs.) Dorothy P. Clore, Secretary

Enclosure

$54.64

K.S.

February 28, 1955

Mr. David A. McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. McCandless:

I have sent out the attached letter to each of the paid staff persons in the various state human relations organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

Their addresses are as follows:

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Secretary
The Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Executive Secretary
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Margaret Dagen
Executive Secretary, Ky. Council on Human Relations
1579 Parsons Place, N. W. - Apt. 5
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo
Executive Secretary
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Mrs. M. S. Lyells
Executive Secretary
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mrs. E. H. Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland
Texas Commission on Race Relations
309 West Twenty-First Street
Austin, Texas

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

February 28, 1955

MAR 3 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Just a note to say that I was grateful for your recent visit to the Institute. I am sorry I could not be in for your panel discussion, but have heard nothing but complimentary remarks concerning it. Visit us again soon.

With kindest regards,

Dave

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

March 3, 1955

MAR 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Your letter of February 28 enclosing list of state human relations organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council arrived this morning. I appreciate your kindness in acquainting the executives of these organizations with the Southern Police Institute's work in the human relations field. I shall put them on our mailing list for future material concerning the Institute.

May I add again that I greatly enjoyed your visit and hope you will be back with us before too long.

Cordially,

Dave

David A. McCandless

DAMcC:c

October 10, 1957

Colonel David McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

Dr. Ellen Hellman, from Johannesburg, South Africa recently paid us a visit and expressed an interest in talking with you when she is in Louisville on October 21. She is an anthropologist, immediate past-president of the South African Institute on Race Relations, and a very pleasant and intelligent person. If you can spare her a little time, I am sure she will be most appreciative.

This gives me an opportunity to say how much I hope something can come of the suggestion that C. H. Parrish made to you not long ago. Clearly, good police work is going to be crucially needed in the South for some time to come. If you decide on a plan that seems to you workable, I have little doubt that the necessary funds can be readily found. Needless to say, I fully understand the necessity of keeping any such project on a purely professional level of law enforcement. If we can help in any way in making such a project possible, we would be more than happy to do so.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

October 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We will be delighted to welcome Dr. Ellen Hellman to the Southern Police Institute during her trip here next week. I look forward to meeting her.

We are exploring the suggestion made by Dr. Parrish and should make a decision within the next several weeks. At this point, we are undecided but I will keep you advised of our progress.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMcC:e

August 12, 1958

Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Attn: Mrs. Clore

Consultants of the Southern Regional Council working in parts of the South have had frequent inquiries about the Southern Police Institute. If there is any material immediately available concerning the aims, organization and operation of the Southern Police Institute, I hope it can be put into the hands of these consultants. A list of names and addresses is attached to this letter.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls

1. Mr. John Alexander
   119 Northway Road
   Greenbelt, Maryland

2. Mr. John Hope II
   90 Coligni Avenue
   New Rochelle, New York

   (after Aug. 15) Mr. John Hope II
   Apt. 53
   54 Morningside Drive
   New York, New York

3. Dr. Harry Walker
   Department of Sociology
   Howard University
   Washington, D. C.

4. Mrs. Preston Valien
   339 21st Avenue, N.
   Nashville, Tennessee

5. Mr. Paul Rilling
   100 West Franklin Street
   Apt. 405
   Richmond, Virginia

September 30, 1958

Col. David McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Colonel:

I wonder if you are acquainted with William Kephart's Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement; University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957? We recently secured a copy and, after studying it, are giving consideration to distributing it to Chiefs of Police in the larger metropolitan centers of the South.

We would very much appreciate your evaluation of this book to aid us in our deliberations. Your experience, training, and information in this area of law enforcement would make your judgment most helpful. The informal comments we would hope for are not for publication but only to assist us in our consideration of distributing the book.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

Mel. 7-3521

October 2, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Routh:

I have not had the opportunity to see Kephart's "Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement". In response to your request I will be glad to read his book and return it with comments.

With every best wish, I am

Cordially,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMcC:e

October 4, 1960

Colonel David A. McCandless
Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

We have lately had an inquiry about who might be available as speakers or skilled resource persons for a Southern state-wide conference by and for law enforcement officers. The conference, if held, would be focused on the proper handling of racial tensions and violence, as well as prevention and alleviation of these difficulties in Southern communities. Of course, the primary interest is in persons with professional experience in these aspects of police work, rather than academic or other non-police experts in human relations.

Would you be kind enough to advise me of the possibilities as you see them? Would you yourself, staff members or consultants of the Institute, or Southern police officers of your acquaintance be available for a conference of this kind under the right auspices?

It has been a long time since we last met. I hope we can remedy that in the near future. Meanwhile, with thanks in advance and best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1960

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

October 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have been out of the office for the past ten days, which accounts for my failure to answer your letter of October 4 earlier. I regret that our staff which, as you know, consists of only two full-time lecturers, has not the proper background to assist you in the Southern State-Wide Conference on Racial Tensions. I feel sure that you would wish resource persons who have had professional experience in the field rather than theoretical knowledge.

Since the inception of the Institute, Joe Lohman has lectured on this subject for us. I believe that Joe is the most qualified man on the subject in the country. On one or two occasions we have used Captain Gerald Kopp of the Louisville Police. He does a workmanlike job but has not had practical experience in the field. Should you decide to go out of the South for speakers, there are several experienced officers in the New York Police Department who could do a good job for you.

I regret that our experience at the Institute is so limited. We unfortunately find ourselves in the position of being understaffed and of handling a comprehensive program that requires us to rely on outside help in the areas in which you are interested. I trust you will understand that we are entirely in sympathy with the Conference you suggest.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMcC:e

288 SPE Police Training

March 1, 1949

Mr. C. H. Parrish
Louisville Municipal College
Seventh and Kentucky Streets
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

It is the best of news that you are so far along with plans for a police school. I do hope things work out. Whatever is started will grow rapidly, because it will fill a heavy need.

It was a great pleasure to be in Louisville. Let me come again.

One thing I would greatly like to see become a standard part of the training of southern police officials is something that an anthropologist could put in. It must be the case that white people who join police forces do so with the standard set of southern prejudices. One of those prejudices relates to the African background of American Negroes. We are told that all was savagery, and the myth that it was savagery unrelieved was combined of ignorance, of the interests of slavers, and of the appeals of missionaries for support to their work. It has been a convenient myth for the white South.

Somebody very skilled in African history could be convincing to a group of police rookies, showing that modern research has proven that African people through the centuries, notwithstanding the overwhelming geographical difficulties of their continent, nevertheless produced a society well adapted to combat those difficulties. And of course at places and in times way back they produced civilization comparable to that of medieval Europe. The calamities which overcame African civilization were mainly imposed from outside through Arab and then through European slave traders. Southern white people could be made to see that Africans, far from being a congenitally incompetent

people, transported to their great benefit to rich opportunities on this continent, are in a point of fact a people as capable as any anywhere, whose history for the last 500 years has taken an unlucky turn. The moral of the doctrine is, therefore, that every individual person of African descent is one deserving in the name of his race of the aid and opportunity which will enable innate ability to flower to the full. If we were in this country oppressing Burmans or Javanese, we would have a guilty conscience as to the interrupted destiny of Burmans and Javanese. That whole idea is absent in Negro-white relationships in the South.

Perhaps it is not a great point, but it is one which I think worth a couple of hours, at any rate, of lecture to will-be policemen. A blow with a night stick is not simply a dent on the skull of one man of color. It is an act in continuation of an historical process which has blanked out for the time being the chance in the world of a great people.

Other things on which the Council could make some contribution would be on putting the whole matter of civil rights reasonably and persuasively, and documenting from other cities than Louisville the problem of Negro-white fringe housing.

Anyway, if the chance presents, I would greatly value an opportunity to talk with people who are preparing the course of instruction.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

LOUISVILLE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE
SEVENTH AND KENTUCKY STREETS
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 24, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The people to whom I have talked since your recent visit here have been unanimous in their approval of what you said and the way you said it. Unfortunately, your visit did not receive the publicity in the white press which I thought it deserved. Perhaps we slipped up there. Anyway, it was a good meeting.

I am sending along with this note two clippings which may have interest for you. One is from the University of Louisville CARDINAL announcing the admission of the Louisville Municipal College to the University Student Council. The other concerns the reception given to the proposal that a police academy be established at the University of Louisville. This latter, coming so soon after our conversation when you were here, seems almost too good to be true. I have my fingers crossed.

I feel sure that as our plans mature it will be necessary to call you in for expert advice on the Southern scene. I am working for an invitation to the SRC to act as feeder to the police school if and when it is set up. Any advice you can give me on guiding these developments in the right direction will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

C. H. Parrish

C. H. Parrish

AMERICA
South
7

The Courier-Journal

SECTION 1
8 PAGES

. 50 ******* Associated Press and Wirephoto LOUISVILLE, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1949 New York Times Service, United Press 20 PAGES 5 CENTS

Police-School Plan Backed By City, U. L.

Academy Idea Of Chicagoan Under Study

A proposal for a Southern police academy to be located at the University of Louisville was snapped up yesterday by City and university officials.

The proposal came from Dr. Joseph Lohman, lecturer in criminology at the University of Chicago, at a meeting in the office of Safety Director David A. McCandless.

Lohnman is in Louisville to confer with the Louisville Division of Police on race relations and human rights.

The academy would be similar to the Northwestern University Traffic School and the F.B.I.'s National Police School in Washington, but would be the only such school in the country covering all phases of police training. It would be aimed at giving police a sense of professionalism.

Enthusiasm Greets Idea.

Dr. John W. Taylor, U. of L. president, agreed that Louisville is the ideal spot for such a school.

Conferees were enthusiastic about the idea. They included Chief of Police Carl Heustis; Capt. William Kiefer, head of the Crime Prevention Bureau; Dean A. C. Russell of the U. of L. School of Law; Woodrow Strickler, director of the U. of L. division of adult education; Roy Owsley, administrative assistant to the Mayor, and Charles T. Steele, executive secretary of the Urban League.

Lohman assured the group he believes they would have little trouble in persuading a foundation—such as Carnegie or Rockefeller—to finance the academy.

Working Plan Sought.

Dr. Taylor suggested a working plan be drawn up and submitted as soon as possible. A planning committee will include Captain Kiefer, Capt. Gerald Kopp, head of the Police Educational De, rtment, Dean Howell V. Williams of the Kent School of Social Work at U. of L., and probably Russell.

Besides general police training, such as is given by the Louisville Police School—one of the oldest in the country—the Southern police academy would train men in such things as the laws of search and seizure and evidence, the limits of their authority as law-enforcement officers, the role of human beings, and an appreciation of what's going on in the world.

Lab Work Suggested.

Lohman pointed out that when the general performance of law-enforcement officers is elevated, "police brutality" recedes and public confidence increases. He suggested the academy include both laboratory and classroom work.

McCandless said, "This is a chance for Louisville to assert leadership and make a real contribution to the South and maybe to the entire nation."

Instructors, he suggested, should be prominent police officers and educators, in equal number.

Heustis pointed out there is no training school in the country for police commanding officers. He said the academy might well include instruction in such things as budget planning for commanding officers.

RDINAL

OFFICIAL WEEKLY PUBLICATION

TODAY IS SENIOR DAY

AY, FEBRUARY 18, 1949 INTER-COLLEGIATE PRESS NO. 14

RECEIVED FEB 28 1949

Municipal College Admitted To University Student Council

Phi Chi Marks Founder's Day

Smoker, Bridge Party, Golf Meet Planned

The Terrace Room of the Kentucky Hotel will be the scene of a Founder's Day banquet held by the Alpha Alpha Chapter of Phi Chi Medical Fraternity on Saturday, February 26.

This occasion is in celebration of the founding of the fraternity in 1889. Today it is the largest of any professional or medical fraternities.

Toastmaster of the dinner-dance will be Dr. Charles M. Edelen. The principal address will be delivered by Dr. J. Duffy Hancock. Dr. Irvin Abell, Sr., is secretary for Founder's Day and Dr. Dougal Dollar is serving as treasurer for the affair.

A smoker will be held Friday, February 25 at the Phi Chi House for the alumni with Dr. Malcolm W. Barnes presiding. A bridge party will be held the same evening for wives of the alumni at the home of Dr. James C. Drye.

A golf meet will be held for the doctors at the Country Club on Saturday afternoon with Dr. Frank Moore as host.

Campus Brotherhood Program To Be Headlined By Farnsley

National Brotherhood Week, which will be celebrated all of next week, is going to be marked here at the University of Louisville by impressive ceremonies to be held at an official convocation in the Playhouse at 11 a.m. Thursday, February 24.

Headlining the program will be Mayor Charles P. Farnsley, who will make a short talk. It will be remembered that the Mayor was the chairman of the Brotherhood Week program held last year.

Also on the agenda will be the mixed choruses of Municipal College and University of Louisville. Directing the singing will be Mrs. Lillian Carpenter and Mr. Dale Gilkey.

Scheduled to complete the program will be both a film on brotherhood and a short skit to be delivered by the U. of L. Playshop group under the direction of Ralph Schulz.

In charge of arranging the program for Brotherhood Week are the Deans of Women and Men, Dr. Hilda Threlkeld and Mr. Morton Walker, and a student group which includes Max Spicker, Bob McGrath, Evelyn Ellis and Dick Cohen.

The campus group worked in cooperation with Mr. George Rush, local director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

During the program last year, a panel composed of a member of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths and a member of the Negro race, discussed brotherhood.

MAYOR CHARLES FARNSLEY

Conner's Note States School Part Of U.-L.

After some discussion last term on the admission of Louisville Municipal College to the University Student Council, it was announced at the last meeting of the USC that the Negro School of the University has been formally admitted to the Student government body.

J. Verser Conner, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, ended any question as to whether LMC was actually a part of the University. His letter which was written to Maxwell Spicker, President of USC, said in part . . . "I have made a little investigation and find these to be facts which, in my opinion, support the conclusion that it (LMC) is a part of the University of Louisville.

Bought In 1930

"1. In about 1930 the University bought the grounds and buildings of what theretofore had been Simmons University, and is now Municipal College.

"2. From the beginning the Board of Trustees of the University has appointed the Dean and members of the faculty of the Municipal College, and has fixed their compensation, which has been paid from University funds."

Mr. Conner goes on to say that "in the pamphlet, published in 1936, entitled "Organization of the University of Louisville," Chapter VII is entitled: "The Louisville Municipal College for Negroes." At other times the University has represented itself as consisting of ten Colleges, which necessarily includes the Municipal College.

Fraternities Here Are Included In Top Bracket Of N.I.C. Rating

U. of L. 29th Position Of 131 Schools In Nation; 'Am Confident We Can Do Better'—Dean Walker

A scholarship bulletin received this week by Dean Morton Walker from the National Interfraternity Conference showed that the fraternities of the University of Louisville stand up well in scholastic rating of the 131 institutions in the organization.

While only 39 of the 131 insti-

Greeks Start Formal Rush

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A scholarship bulletin received this week by Dean Morton Walker from the National Interfraternity Conference showed that the fraternities of the University of Louisville stand up well in scholastic rating of the 131 institutions in the organization.

While only 39 of the 131 institutions of the N.I.C. maintain a respectable fraternity scholarship, the University of Louisville is rated 29th among the select 39 schools, the remaining 92 institutions having what the organization terms 'deplorable fraternity scholarship'.

Frat Average Higher

The report also named three municipal universities, Cincinnati, Akron, and U. of L., as being among the select 39, disproving the theory previously held that municipal universities were non-fraternity material. It stated further that Mississippi held the lowest rating for a state university along with Montana State College, both having every fraternity with a deplorable rating.

At U. of L., the point standing of fraternity men is 1.3337 while that of the average man student is 1.3135.

Walker Well Pleased

Col. Ralph W. Wilson, Scholarship Counselor of the N.I.C., brought the report from Lexington to Dean Walker and expressed his pleasure at seeing U. of L.'s rating.

"When I talked with Col. Wilson we were both surprised that a municipal school would rank 29th in 131 institutions,'" Dean Walker stated last week. He continued, "I am very much pleased that we are listed in the 39 having respectable fraternity scholarship and at the same time am convinced that our fraternities can do better work in order to attain an even higher position than that which we now hold."

Eisman Resigns; Suggests Dewilde

Resignation of Jim Eisman as Chairman of the Student Union Board was submitted to the University Student Council last Monday, February 14.

In a letter to Maxwell Spicker, Chairman of the U.S.C., Eisman, who received his degree in January stated that "the experience I have received as Chairman of the Board has been from the very beginning both interesting and enjoyable." He expressed the hope that the U.S.C. would continue to advance in the same constructive manner that it has in the past.

Eisman succeeded Dave Gittleman, first SUB Chairman, and has held his position since October of '47. In his letter he recommended to Spicker and to the Council Pete DeWilde as his successor. No appointment has yet been made by the Council.

J. V. Hindman Speaks On Executive Training

Mr. J. V. Hindman, Associate Director of Training for the General Shoe Corporation, interviewed seniors for the executive training program and wholesale selling of shoes after a meeting in the Playhouse on Monday morning.

Any interested senior who did not attend the meeting may obtain descriptive literature and application blanks by calling at the Placement Office in Gardiner Hall.

Registration Figures Show Slight Rise

"Total registration for our spring semester is 5,327, an increase of 404 over last year's total of 4,923," Ralph Hill, Registrar, announced this week.

Mr. Hill added that G.I.'s accounted for 53.7% of the new enrollment; last year the G. I.'s consisted of 54.5% of the student body.

The following breakdown of spring enrollment figures was secured from the Registrar's office;

Total enrollment was 5,327, 2,863 of which were G. I.'s

	Total	G. I.
A & S	2.352	1,140
Law	2,321	211
Grad., A&S	110	50
Grad., Speed	30	10
Grad.,Med.	7	2
Dent. School	223	199
D.A.E. Grad.	4	1
D.A.E. A&S	1106	595
Music (Nor Cr.)	8	0
Music	21	0
Kent School	40	13
Speed	528	284
Municipal	299	87

Little Theater Cast Selected

Tryouts for the next Little Theater production, "Chicken Every Sunday," were held Monday evening, February 7. A highly delightful comedy in three acts, "Chicken Every Sunday" is based on the popular book by Rosemary Taylor.

Two U. of L. students were awarded parts in the play. Bob Grey and Phyllis Glover. Grey will portray one third of the romantic interest, while Miss Glover will appear as the colored maid, "Evie May."

As to the cast of characters, there are twenty-one very funny roles involved, the most unusual being "Jake," the ribald prospector, "Minny Moon," the aging burlesque queen who yodels, and "Jeffrey Lawson," the young poet whose buck teeth and domineering mother give him an inferiority complex.

The action of the play is centered in the boarding house home of Mr. and Mrs. Blachman, who have a varied assortment of strange and laugh-provoking roomers.

"Chicken Every Sunday" will be presented Monday thru Thursday, opening on April 4.

MAYOR CHARLES FARNSLEY

a panel composed of a member of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths and a member of the Negro race, discussed brotherhood.

Greeks Start Formal Rush This Saturday

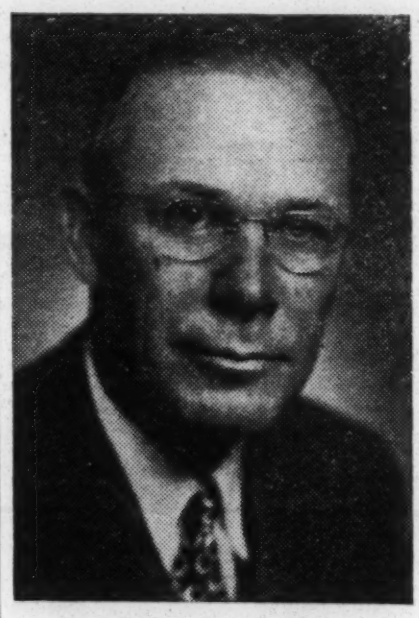
Formal rush for both the men's and women's fraternities opened this week. The women's fraternities began their rush with a meeting of the rush chairmen and the rushees on Saturday, February 12, a noon in the Women's Building.

Compulsory rush took place on Sunday, February 13 from 1 to 5:30 p.m., at which time all rushees were entertained at the various houses. 4:00 till 6:00 on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday was set aside for preferential rush. The period of silence closed at 12 noon yesterday, when rushees signed their preferential ballots in the Dean of Women's office.

A smoker given by the Interfraternity Council on Tuesday night, February 15, in the Student Union Building opened the men's rush. Dean Walker and Gene Stuart, president of the council, spoke at this time. Freshmen from the Speed School and the College of Arts and Sciences were guests.

Open rush is observed during the day until 4:00 p.m. Closed rush for each organization begins at 4 on the following dates:

Thursday, Feb. 17..Delta Upsilon
Sigma Alpha Mu
Saturday, Feb. 19.....Theta Tau



MR. H. FRED WILLKIE

I.R.C. Will Bring Willkie To. S.U.B.

H. Fred Willkie, a Trustee of the University, will discuss Argentina in the Student Union Building at noon Monday, February 21. Mr. Willkie, a vice-president of Joseph E. Seagram and Son Inc., recently returned from a tour of Argentina.

The International Relations Club is sponsoring Mr. Willkie's speech. There will be no admission free and all students are invited.

my opinion, support the conclusion that it (LMC) is a part of the University of Louisville.

Bought In 1930

"1. In about 1930 the University bought the grounds and buildings of what theretofore had been Simmons University, and is now Municipal College.

"2. From the beginning the Board of Trustees of the University has appointed the Dean and members of the faculty of the Municipal College, and has fixed their compensation, which has been paid from University funds."

Mr. Conner goes on to say that "in the pamphlet, published in 1936, entitled "Organization of the University of Louisville," Chapter VII is entitled: "The Louisville Municipal College for Negroes." At other times the University has represented itself as consisting of ten Colleges, which necessarily includes the Municipal College.

In checking with Mr. E. S. Jouett, who is past chairman of the Trustees, Mr. Conner quoted him as saying: "If not, what is it?"

Constitution Ratified

For completing admission into the USC, the student government of LMC was required to ratify the constitution of the USC, which Morris Edwards, President of LMC Student Council has done in a formal letter. He says, in part: "After due consideration, we find that the USC constitution is a fine piece of work, and it gives us great pleasure to ratify the same. With our ratification of this constitution, we hope that the necessary action for our representation on the Council will be taken very soon."

Max Spicker, President of USC, announced that LMC will have four representatives at the next meeting of the Council who will consist of the President and Vice-President of LMC Student Council, and two members elected from the School. All four members will have voting privileges on all matters brought before the University Student Council.

Student Government For All

President Taylor and Dean Walker have expressed their agreement with the idea of admitting Municipal College to the Council. In agreeing with them, Max Spicker stated, "They are just as much a part of the University as Speed, Medical, Dental and all the rest, and as the Council for student government, it should be for the good of the entire University, not just some of the schools."

See editorial on other side

Bills Must Be Paid By February 23

"Students of the Arts and Sciences Colleges may call for their tuition bills beginning on Tuesday, February 15, at the Cashiers' office in the Naval Science Building," announced Miss Ruth L. Koch, cashier.

A University rule, applying to both graduate and undergraduate students, states that all students must have their bills paid in full or have made payment arrangements by Wednesday, February 23, to avoid suspension.

All students of the professional schools may secure their bills from the Dean's office of their respective schools. Their bills must also be settled by February 23.

D.A.E. students may pay their bills at the cashier's office on February 24-25-28 and on March 1-3-4 between the hours of 5:30 to 8:30 p.m. Deadline for D.A.E. payments is February 4.

THE CARDINAL

University of Louisville's Official Weekly Publication

Published by the students by the authority of the Board of Student Publications, weekly during the school year, except for examination periods and holidays, and bi-weekly during the Summer semester, except for examination periods and holidays. Entered as a second class matter September 15, 1933, at the Post Office at Louisville, Kentucky, under the Act of March 13, 1879.

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$2.25 Per Year — $.75 Per Semester

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FEATURE WRITERS

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CORRESPONDENTS

John Piercy, Law School; John Jackson, Municipal College; Bob Edwards, Speed Scientific School; Judy Levinstein, School of Music; Carroll Witten, Medical School; Stanley Sturman, Dental School; Chuck Fay, Division of Adult Education; Ann DiSalvo, Kent School.

SPORTS WRITERS

Larry Mehr, Hal Metcalf, Maurice Trautwein, Lynn Mitchell, Ellis Mendolsohn.
Arthur Gunderson, Director of Publications

All signed articles and columns are to be considered the opinions of the writers themselves, and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of The Cardinal.

Frat Standings Are Hopeful Signs

Encouraging news to us is the recent announcement that this school ranks 29th among the 39 colleges and universities in the nation with "respectable fraternity scholarship." After the uproar and ill publicity caused some weeks ago by the low scholastic records of greek organizations at another Kentucky university, it is quite a stimulating and hopeful thing to discover that we have a better than average group of fraternities on Belknap Campus.

* * *

A lush topic for debate at any time is the question of the value of our fraternity system as it exists in the United States today. The critics maintain that the prejudice nurtured by some greek organizations and the relatively sophomoric antics of others completely counteract any good which may be forthcoming. The defenders, on the other hand, firmly hold that in spite of the deficiences of the fraternities, the companionship and ideals most of them put forth is enough to eradicate the shortcomings.

* * *

It is difficult to say. The arguments are quite strong on both sides. Our approach is prone to be one of a practical nature. Since the University of Louisville does center largely about the greek social fraternities, it seems that we may profit most by helping those organizations to live up to their ideals, many of which are undoubtedly quite excellent.

* * *

It is our sincere desire to see the next fraternity ratings find that the greek groups at U. of L. rank among the top ten nationally in scholastic achievement and democratic character.

Too Many Books

Democracy Advances As LMC Joins USC

The Cardinal extends a welcome to the Louisville Municipal College as the latest school to be represented on the offical student governing body of the University of Louisville, the University Student Council. Two schools not represented still are the Graduate School and the Division of Adult Education. Plans are now under way, however, to correct the situation in regard to the latter.

The representation of Louisville Municipal College is a great step forward toward better understanding and cooperation in race relations. Certainly under the common bond of education and student self-government, we students can achieve a better perspective of the values of decency and justice among peoples.

We feel that there is a certain appropriateness in the fact that when the first LMC representative sits on the University Student Council at their meeting next Tuesday we will have just begun that annual period known as Brotherhood Week. But instead of consisting of a few days in which we hypocritically talk and pledge and praise brotherhood and then slip out the side door to avoid practicing it, this Brotherhood Week will at last find students actually attempting to make brotherhood work.

And we feel that it is appropriate also that this democratic working together toward a better understanding should find its beginings in the educational system. Because it is within the systems of education that the human mind is formed, we find it even more distastful that the Kentucky Day Law, preventing interracial education, should block a more complete opportunity for understanding among Negro and white students.

More Frat Bids Wanted At Lafayette College

Easton, Pa.—(I.P.)—Social fraternities at Lafayette College are giving students and faculty much thought at present and have become a debatable subject on the campus.

An editorial in The Lafayette Alumnus by Joseph E. Bell, editor, in which he recommended that every student have an opportunity to join a fraternity, and the plan announced by Dr. Ralph C. Hutchison, president of the college, for non-fraternity students, have aroused considerable interest.

Pointing out that only about half of this year's freshman class has been invited to join fraternities. Bell presents two recommendations, to have fraternities increase their membership, or bring more fraternities to Lafayette.

Dr. Hutchison had announced that the first of the "social dormitories" will open in a few months when Soles Hall, now under construction, is completed. Two more new buildings, to be used for the same purpose, also are being built.

The plan is, Dr. Hutchison explained, for the "social dormitories" to be small units where students live much as do those in fraternity houses. They will operate their own dining rooms in the dormitories, have lounging rooms and game rooms and will represent their dormitories in intramural activities, as fraternities do.

Another proposal made by Bell was that pledging to fraternities be postponed until the sophomore year, to increase the percentage of upper classmen in fraternities.

The girls on the staff wonder if all those gorgeous males who

of our fraternity system as it exists in the United States today. The critics maintain that the prejudice nurtured by some greek organizations and the relatively sophomoric antics of others completely counteract any good which may be forthcoming. The defenders, on the other hand, firmly hold that in spite of the deficiences of the fraternities, the companionship and ideals most of them put forth is enough to eradicate the shortcomings.

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* * *

It is our sincere desire to see the next fraternity ratings find that the greek groups at U. of L. rank among the top ten nationally in scholastic achievement and democratic character.

Too Many Books

The unsuspecting freshmen take brand-new schedule cards through the book-line and, after spending too much money, discovers that many of the books could have been borrowed, bought second-hand, or read in the reserve library. Of course, once someone in the know tells them how the University system is really worked, they don't repeat this mistake.

* * *

Teachers must not realize what it takes for a non-GI to get through one semester. If these students want a library such as those the GI's are accumlating they must pay as much as $11.60 for the books in one course which is required for almost all the Arts and Sciences students. This is a freshman course.

* * *

Then there are the teachers who change books every semester. Perhaps each book is a little better than the last, but is it that much better?

* * *

Often a book is listed as required and the teacher refers to it so little that it is totally unnecessary to purchase the book.

Sometimes a book is out of print, but it is such a good book the teacher insists upon using it anyway. The book may not be on reserve, but the student will be responsible for reading it.

* * *

Perhaps the teachers would go a little easier if they would only remember the days when they were students, struggling along as best as they could.

A bum knee may slow down our boy, Johnny Knopf, in basketball, but he'll be as fast as ever if he runs for state legislature.

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Another proposal made by Bell was that pledging to fraternities be postponed until the sophomore year, to increase the percentage of upper classmen in fraternities.

The girls on the staff wonder if all those gorgeous males who were hanging around the Woman's Building last Friday will still be so flirtatious after tonight.

Religious Council Backs Radio Show

The second in the series of Sundy afternoon radio programs sponsored by the University Religious Council on WKLO last week dealt with a discussion on "Religion and Modern Psychology."

Participants on the 3:30 program were Dr. Noble H. Kelley, head of the department of Psychology, Mr. Paul Bowman, assistant professor of psychology, Jim Dunkin, senior student, and Father Alfred Horrigan, professor of philosophy at Nazareth College.

Good Registration

Mr. Godfrey, Test Bureau, stated last week that he was very pleased with the efficiency and cooperation exhibited by the various individuals and groups working during registration.

He said, "I was very pleased, to say the least, that registration was completed in two days. No one person or group could be given credit for it takes the combined efforts of all to successfully complete the task."

Campus Log

Friday, February 18

12:20-12:50—Baptist Stu. Union Chapel —Religious Center
2:00- 4:00—Pep Club Tea Dance—SUB
7:00-10:00 — American Institute of Electrical Engineers—Speed Aud.
8:00-11:30—Latin Amer. Club—Women's Building, 2nd fl.
8:30-10:00—Basktball, Evansville vs. U. of L.—Armory, 8:30 p.m.
10:00- 2:00—Thoroughbred Dance—Madrid

Monday, February 21

12:00- 1:00—Newman Club — Gardiner 105
3:00- 5:00—Womans Lea. Tea Dance —SUB
6:00- 9:30—Zeta Tau Alpha Box Social—Women's Building
7:30-10:00—Delta Zeta Charm School —University Center
8:30-12:00—Tau Epsilon Phi Pledge Dance for Actives—Y.M.H.A.

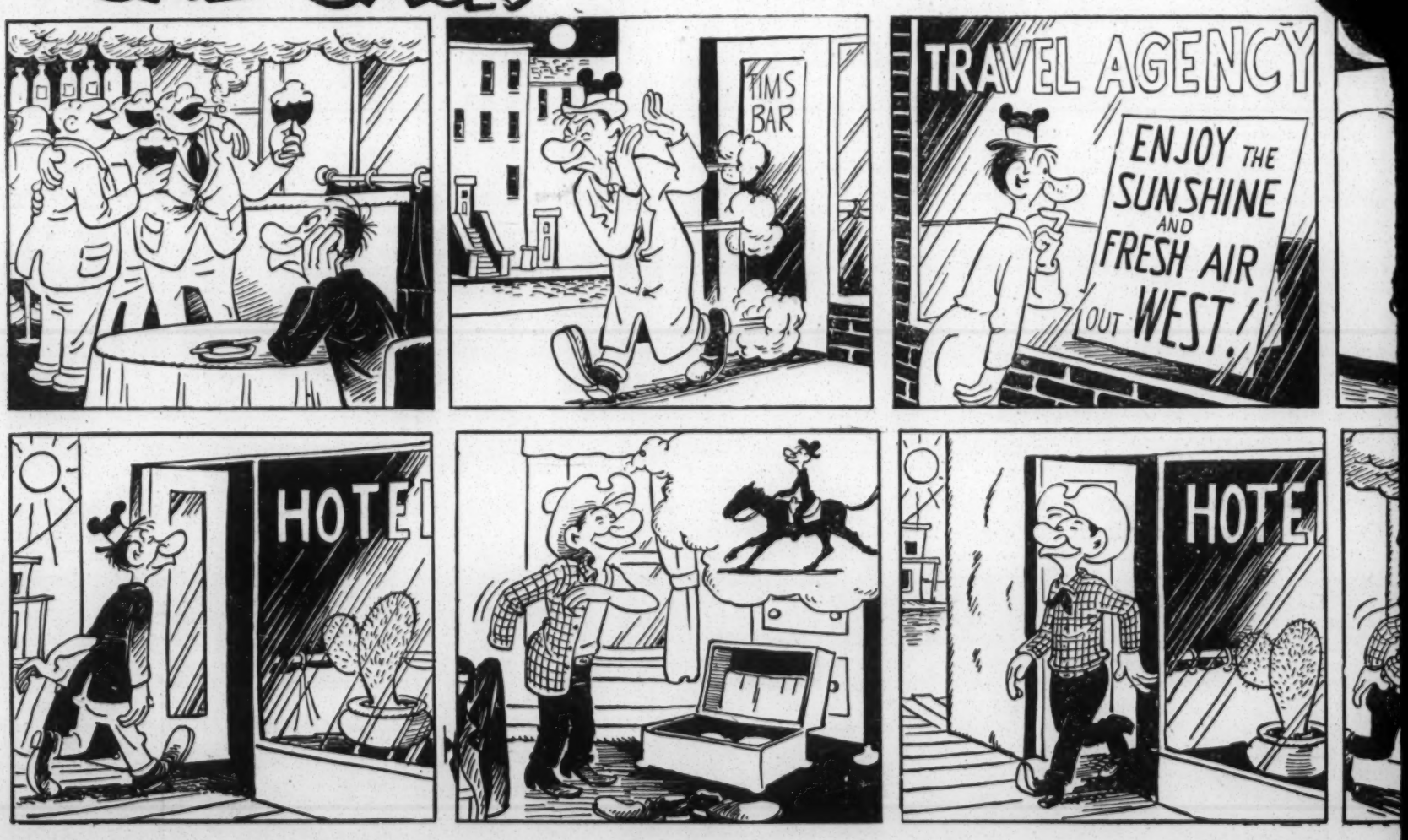
Wednesday, February 23

12:00- 1:00—Graduating Seniors Convocation—Playhouse
4:00- 5:00—Newman Club— Gardiner 105
6:00- 9:00—Free Lancers Dinner Meeting—Women's Building, 2nd fl.
6:30- 9:00—Independent Women Banquet—French Village
8:00-10:00—Chi Omega Party for Tau Kappa Epsilon—Chi Omega House

Thursday, February 24

11:00-12:00—Brotherhood Week Convocation—Playhouse
All Day—Ohio Valley Tournament—Armory
7:30-10:30—Spanish Club Meeting—Faculty Center

THE SAD SACK



28 - Police Training

September 22, 1949

Mr. L. L. Jarvis
Chief of Police
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Chief Jarvis:

Two years ago, I had the pleasure of meeting you and discussing with you the performance of Negro policemen in your city. I recall that you told me at that time that instruction in race relations was a part of your regular police training program. If that is still the case, I should greatly appreciate it if you could write me briefly about the type of instruction offered.

We receive more and more frequently requests for information from civic minded citizens and police officials about precedence in this field. It would be most helpful if we could refer them to what one progressive city like Greensboro is doing.

We shall greatly appreciate any help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

28 - Police Training

September 22, 1949

Mr. Joseph Lohman
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Lohman:

We receive, from time to time, requests for information about police training programs in the South which include instruction on minority groups. We know of a few scattered cases of this kind.

It occurred to us that you might be able to supply us with more complete information. We should be most interested to know of any Southern cities which include in their police training programs courses on race relations, one or two lectures on the special problems of minority groups, instruction in special techniques for avoiding mob violence and interracial friction, or anything of this kind.

We shall be most grateful for any help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

28- Police Training

September 22, 1949

Mr. Ben Stark
Jewish Community Council
212 West Forsythe Street
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Stark:

Some time ago, we learned that you were to give a lecture to the Jacksonville Police Department on the police and minority groups. It was our privilege to supply some material which we thought you might be able to use.

I wonder if it is possible for us to secure a copy of your lecture? We receive, from time to time, requests for material of this kind which might be useful in stimulating police departments to include some such instructions in their training programs. Our most recent request was from Rabbi Emil Leipziger of New Orleans.

We shall be most grateful to you for this help.

Sincerely,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

Sea 4/10

December 2, 1949

Mr. Howell V. Williams, Dean
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Dean Williams:

Thank you warmly for your letter of November 28 about the plans for the Police Training Institute.

I have read it with care and praise. I had opportunity also to see the longer project plan as sent up to some of the foundations. At Mr. Parrish's request, I wrote the Carnegie people and said that our Council here wished strongly to endorse the Louisville proposal. Mr. Dollard has since written me very kindly and in a way that indicated also that the Carnegie people saw important possibilities in the plan.

We will try to to carry a little note about the work done thus far, in some early issue of New South.

Our Council has long wanted to find funds to engage a pair of persons who, as laymen, could become completely familiar with the police and police court systems of the South, with the ultimate object of steering very large parts of southern police forces to just such a training course as you will be setting up. I have not found the money, but I am anxious to get into the business of building local public opinion that would shoot policemen to you. Contrariwise, do you know anybody that will help me do that?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

28-Police Training

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

RAYMOND A. KENT
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

December 8, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of December 2nd. I am certain that your letter to the Carnegie Foundation will help us. Both the Carnegie and Rockefeller groups are very much interested, it appears. Dr. Calkins has conferred with us, representing the latter, and the local committee has drawn up more detailed plans for forwarding to the foundations. It is possible that we can open the institute next fall.

If we are able to secure financing for the institute, we will need help throughout the South in several ways. We wish to take persons and organizations into such matters as plans, policies, and personnel. Furthermore, we will need the assistance of local groups in recruiting students, both by direct and indirect methods. Although I do not know of persons I can refer you to at this point to assist in working on police administration and training in the South, I am certain that such contacts will appear as we progress in our work.

I am most appreciative of your interest in the institute and look forward to continuing to coordinate our work in the area of police administration.

Sincerely yours,

Howell V. Williams
Dean

HVW:bp

Police Institute

June 9, 1950

Mr. Gilbert J. Balkin
Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Balkin:

It was mighty kind of you to send me the information about Chief Headley.

I have passed the substance of it on to the people in Louisville. Kind of you to help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 9, 1950

Mr. Howell V. Williams
Police Training Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Williams:

My information from Miami is that Chief Walter Headley of the Miami Police Department would be a suitable person for a head place in the new Police Training Institute, but that he is eligible for retirement in five years, and the salary as Director of the Institute is only a few hundred dollars in excess of what he now receives.

The Chief has been offered faculty positions in law enforcement in the past.

This information is unofficial but authentic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE • 330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

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GILBERT J. BALKIN
Director

June 8, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reference to your recent letter enclosing the announcement of positions in the Police Training Institute, University of Louisville, I have spoken with Chief Walter Headley of the Miami Police Department.

Chief Headley is aware of the availability of these positions. Please construe this as completely unofficial but the Chief advised me he did not feel he would be presently interested since he is eligible for retirement in five years and the salary as Director of the Institute is only a few hundred dollars in excess of what he now receives.

He also did not indicate that he believed any of the members of his staff would be interested, especially in view of the civil service benefits which they have built up in the Miami Department.

I would certainly think that Chief Headley would be qualified for one of these positions, and, as a matter of fact, he has informed me that he has been offerred faculty positions in law enforcement in the past.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert J. Balkin

Gilbert J. Balkin

GJB:dda

AIR MAIL

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 11, 1950

Mr. Howell V. Williams
Police Training Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Williams:

Many thanks for your letter and the notices about the two new jobs.

I have written for further information about one Chief of Police who might fill the top bill.

A good guy is the man Yancey, City Manager at Charlotte, North Carolina, who has helped get Negro police on at Petersburg, Virginia, Greensboro and Charlotte, North Carolina. But he hasn't been a police official himself, as I remember it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ER

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

May 11, 1950

Mr. Gilbert Balkin
A.D.L.
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Balkin:

The enclosed notice concerns a pretty important job.

The only man we think of as a possibility is your Chief W. H. Headley. But we know too little about him.

If he strikes you as suitable, would you care to write in to the people in Louisville, and put his name in the pot? If he's not up to it, would you drop me a line?

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

28 - Police Training

May 17, 1950

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
House of Representatives
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

The matter of getting professionalized police training in the field of group relations is one in which the Southern Regional Council has long been interested. I am happy to pass on to you the conclusions we have drawn from our experience with the problem.

To take up your questions in order:

1. Such training is certainly needed, particularly in the South, where the problem is complicated by the bi-racial pattern. It has seemed to us that one of the most effective ways to offset the prejudices of police officers themselves is to get them to accept the notion of a "professional" attitude in their dealings with minority groups.

2. Examples of the need for such training are abundant. I enclose four copies of our bulletin, New South, which deal specifically with instances of interracial violence. In virtually every case mentioned, the shortcomings of law enforcement procedures are painfully evident. Part of the problem is ineptness, which presumably could be remedied by professional training. The other part, the attitudes of the officers themselves, would be remedied only to the extent that instruction can modify prejudice -- or at any rate its manifestations.

3. This kind of training has been negligible in the South. A few police departments, such as those in Miami, Fla., and Greensboro, N. C., include in their training programs a lecture on race relations. This is a welcome, but very limited, innovation. A police academy is just now being established in Louisville, Ky., by the University of Louisville in cooperation with the Louisville Police Department. It will offer training to especially selected policemen from Southern states and will include in its curriculum various materials on the prevention and control of intergroup conflict.

4. There has not yet been enough training of this kind in the South to produce measurable results.

5. All of those instances described in the enclosed copies of New South could have been minimized had the law enforcement officers involved had proper professional training.

6. Doubtless the financing of such training programs would be a serious obstacle for many police departments. We have found that Southern policemen as a group are poorly paid, which is one indication of the small amount of money made available for police work. Added to that, funds for such programs would have to be appropriated by local governing bodies, many of which would not see the value of them. Unfortunately, this is especially true of the smaller and more backward towns and counties, where the need is greatest.

As you may know, Gunnar Myrdal has written authoritatively on this whole matter. Chapter 25 of his An American Dilemma (pp. 535-546) discusses the Southern policeman and the Negro. Chapter 27 (pp. 538-569), entitled "Violence and Intimidation," also contains useful information. Enclosed is a brief excerpt from a speech delivered by Myrdal in 1948, in which he proposes the establishment of a police academy that would specialize in the kind of professional training with which your bill is concerned.

There are, of course, a number of cities outside the South which are taking official measures to cope with this problem. Although the Southern Regional Council's material on the subject is scanty, we get many requests for it from cities inside and outside the region.

Probably the best qualified authority in that field is Dr. Joseph D. Lohman of the University of Chicago. He prepared the Chicago Park Police Manual, the best thing in print on the subject, and has served as consultant to police departments in various other cities. If you are not already in touch with him, I am sure he could be of great help.

I shall look forward to seeing a draft of your bill. Meanwhile, if I can be of any further help, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosures

New South – May '46
Sept '48
Mar '49
July '49
Aug '49

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
20TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

MILTON D. STEWART
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

SUBCOMMITTEE:
EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION

May 16, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 62 Auburn Avenue, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am presently drafting legislation which bears on the problem of professionalizing police training in the field of group relations. It would help me greatly if I might have the benefit of your comments on the following:

1. Do you believe that professional training of police officers in handling group violence is needed?

2. Can you illustrate the need with specific examples from your own experience? (The more specific you can be, the more helpful it will be.)

3. Have you had direct experience with this kind of training? How exactly was it handled in your city, if you have used it?

4. Can you cite specific instances of violence prevention and control in which this kind of training has been beneficial?

5. Can you describe specific instances of group violence where you think this kind of training would have been of some help?

6. Do you think the financing of such training is a serious problem for many police departments?

These are difficult questions I know, and I hesitate to ask you to take the time to answer them. But I think you will agree with me about the importance of this whole subject. If I can have your answers by return mail, it will be of great help.

When I have your communication, I should like to take the liberty of asking your specific views on the provisions of the bill I am drafting.

With sincere thanks for your cooperation in this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

FDR,Jr:vm

Sample

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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 11, 1950

For several years now, the Southern Regional Council has kept as accurate a record as possible of the employment of colored policemen in Southern cities. This information has been much in demand. It has proved particularly helpful to chiefs of police and other officials in those cities considering adding Negro policemen as an aid to law enforcement in the colored community.

According to our records, your city is one of those using Negro policemen, as follows: uniformed policemen; plainclothesmen; policewomen. To insure that our list is correct, it is our policy to request official confirmation each year from the chiefs of police concerned.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out the attached questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

CITY OF Gainesville, Florida

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	2	0
Number of Negro policewomen.....	0	0

This city has used Negro policemen since.... March 1, 1946
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments Colored officers perform their duty very satisfactory. Recently given patrol car, radio equiped, in which they patrol the colored sections from 6:00PM to 2:00 AM.

Date August 12, 1950

Signed R.G. Zeigler
R.G. Zeigler

Position Chief of Police

AUG 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

Police Training
~~A Law Enforcement~~

November 21, 1950

Police Commissioner Murphy
New York, New York

My dear Commissioner:

I had the pleasure of hearing Commissioner Wallander describe to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials some of the excellent work which the Police Department does in teaching human relations to the new members of the police force.

I would be grateful if you would be kind enough to send me a copy of the small blue book used as an introduction to human relations for rookie policemen. I enclose ten cents postage and will be glad to send a larger sum if required as price of the pamphlet.

Our Council has given a good deal of attention to problems of police training in the Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
4901 Ellis Avenue
May 18, 1951

Police training

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A considerable interest has been expressed in the conduct of a police institute on minority group tensions and problems at the University of Chicago. As originally proposed, and on the basis of my extended experience with police training in this field, I expressed my willingness to undertake the responsibility of conducting a four-week institute in connection with the summer session. There have been a number of acceptances by police departments over the country which would warrant going ahead. However, a number of cities have indicated that the information has come on such short notice and that they are sufficiently interested to inquire as to the feasibility of conducting the program either during the fall or winter.

I am writing this letter with a view to inquiring as to whether your police department might be interested in such a fall or winter program, and in which one, two or three men from your department might be enrolled.

The police officers would participate in a seminar which I would conduct on the specific problem of human relations. The outline of the seminar would follow the pattern of instruction which I laid down in the manual which I prepared for the Chicago Park District, the Louisville Police Department, the National Capital Parks Police of Washington, D.C., and the Police Department of Gary, Indiana. The material, of course, would be generalized for characteristic urban communities, and illustrated by reference to specific problems in specific cities.

The officers would participate in special classes provided for them, but they would also be free to partake of other university experiences which would be available in the general university offeringsat that time, if they so desired. Hence, those desiring and qualifying for college credit could do so by special arrangement.

The university could make available residential quarters for the police officers. Room and board for an officer in a room shared with another officer with double deck bed can be made available for a four-week period for $99.00 per person. A single room,or a suite accommodating two police officers, could be made available at $109.00 per individual. These quarters are furnished except for towel and soap. If 20 or more students enroll the program could be offered at a tuition

fee of between $95.00 and $100.00 per person for the four weeks. This means that for about $200.00 an officer could be enrolled in the institute and be given university accommodations, including room and board, for a four-week period. Of course, any officer would be free to provide his own accommodations, if it were so desired.

Would you be good enough to let me know by return mail whether your department would be interested and agreeable to the conduct of such an institute in the fall or winter, or what time of the year, if you are disposed to participate, would be most suitable. If your city is one of those that desires to continue with the plan for a summer quarter commencing on Monday, June 25th, will you let me know by return mail. I am enclosing a brochure of the manual which I prepared for the Chicago Park District Police, and which is suggestive of some aspects of the material which will be covered.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph D. Lohman

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:nl

Mr. George Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 6, 1951

Mr. Theodore Freedman
403 E. Franklin St.
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Ted:

The only other police training show from the South that I know anything about is one which has been held each year at Chapel Hill. I think a week or ten days each summer. Guy Johnson there would know the details.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

Law Enforcement

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE · 11 PRYOR ST., S. W. · ATLANTA 3, GA.

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AUG 3 1951
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Oklahoma City, Okla.

403 E. Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

August 1, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You will recall, when you were in Richmond recently, I had informed you of plans to hold an institute on Police Training in Human Relations, to be sponsored by the Richmond Area University Center, Richmond Police Department, and this office.

In amassing the data available on police training programs, we find the only one held in the south to be the one in Louisville, Ky. I would appreciate your advising me as to whether there are or have been any others held in southern communities. If so, please indicate the date, duration and other pertinent information which may be available.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF:EMC

cc: Alex Miller

Law Enforcement

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
NOV 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 8, 1951

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate your kind letter of November 1, 1951 calling to my attention the address of Attorney General Cook. I will be pleased to send him material on the Southern Police Institute and acquaint him with the fact that we have in the present class two members of the Atlanta Police Force and one member of the Griffin Force. I feel sure that he will find this of interest.

Again let me express my appreciation to you and to Dr. Mitchell for the help you are constantly giving us at the Southern Police Institute.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

Hcf - police training

The Atlanta Journal
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

PUBLISHED BY
ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS, INC.
BOX 4689

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 5, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are enclosing copy of resolution and report from the American Bar Associations Commission on Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, as per telephone conversation with your office this morning. These were sent us by Mr. Sinclair Shippy, President, Fraternal Order of Police, State Lodge of Michigan, 35 Crescent St., NW, Grand Rapids, Michigan, along with a request for your address. Mr. Shippy's letter was very complimentary of your efforts relative to raising the Standards of Police Officers in this area.

With all good wishes, we are

Sincerely yours,

William H. Fields
Managing Editor
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

WHF:mg

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SINCLAIR SHIPPY, 35 CRESCENT ST., NW
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ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE
STERLING REID, KALAMAZOO
1111 HOWARD STREET
CHAIRMAN

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the position of the police officer today is rapidly changing and the responsibilities being imposed upon the individual officers in enforcing and maintaining the peace, health, and safety of the citizens of the United States of America makes it necessary to acquire officers of the highest caliber possible to obtain.

BE IT RESOLVED that cities be encouraged to raise the educational standards of the new recruit to at least a high school graduate, or the equivalent, and that all applicants be very carefully selected, thus bringing to the police profession individuals better equipped for the varied duties of modern police work.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that cities be encouraged to establish comprehensive in-service training programs that will assist all police officers in keeping abreast of the demands of its citizens and bring about the peace and order they have a right to expect.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the International Police Chief's Ass'n., the American Municipal Ass'n., The International City Manager's Ass'n., and the United States Conference of Mayors, and any other group in position to help. That we solicit their support that they might lend their efforts to ours to encourage cities to adopt these standards.

A Life is Worth More Than a Little Time . . .

Get the Safety Habit .

Drive With Care, Caution and Common Sense.

Standards for police officers must be raised and adequate salaries paid to attract personnel of the highest caliber to the police profession.

The United States Senate Special Committee to investigate organized crime in Inter-State Commerce headed by Sen. Estes Kefauver found as a result of their investigations that law enforcement had broken down at the local level and that municipalities and other local governmental units responsible for law enforcements in their respective communities have failed to keep the standards, training programs, and salaries for police officers at the proper level. Thus personnel of the proper caliber are not being attracted to law enforcement.

This committee solicited the aid of the American Bar Ass'n. and as a result the Bar Ass'n. appointed a crimes commission to investigate organized crime, and in September 1951 this committee made the following report relative to law enforcement at the local level:

"The internal organization of larger police departments is defective. There are too many uncoordinated administrative units reporting directly to the head of the police department. Able police leadership is not retained in office because of "tours of brevity in the chief's chair." The recruiting of police officers is defective. It is confined to too limited a geographic area. Age, physical and educational standards are too low. Character investigations are too superficial. Personnel policies are inadequate. Adequate police training is the exception rather than the rule. "Small forces, meaning 90% or more of all enforcement units in this country, cannot affort a permanent, adequate, independent training program. Police departments are not adequately organized, trained or equipped to make criminal investigations.

The committee further recommends that the States take close control of local law enforcement as follows:

"A state agency should be created which should have the authority and the facilities to establish appropriate standards, procedures and practices for all agencies concerned with law enforcement; particularly with respect to such matters as personnel, rates of pay, retirement, man power, equipment, operating procedures and discipline. Local law enforcement agencies should be induced, not compelled, to meet the established standards through the offer by the State of a grant-in-aid from the State treasury to local enforcement agencies certified by the State agency to be up to standard. In order to qualify for the grant-in-aid, a complete inspection, audit and accounting of the local law enforcement agency by the State agency should be required at least once a year with a full public report enumerating the respects, if any, in which the local agency fails to meet minimum standards. The grant-in-aid should be awarded to those agencies only which meet the minimum standards in all respects."

Distributed by courtesy of The Fraternal Order of Police, State Lodge of Michigan.

Gilbert
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 12, '52

Dear Mr. Hall,

My sympathies!

I send you what we have, which won't help much.

Brant Coopersmith, ADL, in New Orleans (5342 St. Charles Ave., N.O.) has his fingers into aproposal that Human Relations be taught the New Orleans police force. Write him.

McCandless, who runs the Southern P lice Training Institute, at Univ. of Louisville, Ky., knows a lot. Worth your while to run down and interview him.

If you have a spare 75¢ to send us on leaflets we would be grateful - usually broke hereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Information
Reg.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

Police

March 10, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am going to give three public lectures at the University of Chicago this summer on The Role of the Police in a Democratic Society. I am very much in need of help regarding significant data and problems, especially as they are found in your field and from the perspective of civil liberties. Unfortunately, I am unable to leave Bloomington, and yet I must have all possible assistance if the lectures are to serve their purpose, which I need not add is important and of common interest.

These lectures will be part of a week's conference centering on racial tensions, conflicts and riots, and I imagine will be concerned largely with Negro race riots, drawing on Detroit, St. Louis, Florida, etc. My assignment is to deal with the conduct and functions of the police, but I am to extend my thinking beyond the specific area of race tensions and am to grapple with the larger question of the distinctive functions of police in a democracy.

This more general assignment brings me into contact with the civil liberties issues, and indeed, perhaps the most difficult problem with which I shall need to wrestle concerns the reconciliation of police measures which may diminish or prevent conflicts and riots with the opposing limitations placed on the conduct of the police by the civil liberties.

My first lecture will be a general one in which I contrast police in a democratic society with the Gestapo and the OGPU, and try to come to some definite criteria regarding the role of police in a democratic society. The second lecture will deal with arrest, riot, prevention of crime, duties after arrest; and the third lecture will deal with the third degree, self-incrimination, and especially with civil liberties problems as they run through the whole field of police conduct.

Accordingly, I wonder whether it would be possible for you to send me material you might have dealing with police activities in ways that raise civil liberty questions? I assure you that I would be most careful in my use of your materials, and would return them three or four days after receipt. I would also appreciate it if you would send me the publication "Race and Law Enforcement--a Guide to Modern Police Practices." I hope I have conveyed my need to you and that you will decide the occasion is of sufficient importance to warrant the kind of unusual assistance which I am asking of you.

Sincerely,

Jerome Hall

jh/bjb

Police handling of racial tension situations is an important test of our democracy. The recent outbreak of racial incidents in various parts of the United States and the criticism of the role of the police make it desirable to give careful study to the problems involved. For this reason, the University of Chicago Law School has organized a Summer Seminar on The Police and Racial Tension, designed primarily for police and other law-enforcement officials. The Seminar, which will be held at the Law School from July 14 through July 25, 1952, will examine and appraise the techniques employed by the police in racial tension situations. To be meaningful, such an examination must be made in the light of basic legal, social, and psychological factors which profoundly shape the role of the police in particular situations. These factors are also relevant to the development of a positive community and police program for reducing the sources of tensions and for effectively dealing with emergency situations as they arise. The underlying problems involve special skills in law enforcement, sociology, psychology, and the law. Accordingly, the University of Chicago Law School has invited authorities in each of these areas to participate in the Summer Police Seminar, The Police and Racial Tension.

Participants

The Seminar will be under the direction of:

Joseph D. Lohman

Chairman, Parole and Pardon Board, State of Illinois; Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

Participants will include:

William C. Bradbury

Assistant Professor of the Social Sciences in the College, University of Chicago

Jerome Hall

Visiting Professor, University of Chicago Law School; Professor of Law, University of Indiana School of Law

The Police and Racial Tensions

A summer session at the University of Chicago Law School, designed primarily for Police and other Law-Enforcement Officials

July 14 to 25 · 1952

Program Outline

1 Case Studies of Racial Violence

This section will examine the police problems which have arisen in concrete situations involving racial tension. The following case studies will be presented both orally and with mimeographed materials:

The St. Louis swimming-pool disturbances

The Washington, D.C., swimming-pool disturbances

The Cicero residential disturbances

The Harlem disturbances

The Detroit race riot

2 Standard Police Practices in Treating General Problems of Violence: The Maintenance of Law and Order

This section will examine the elements in racial violence which are common to the problems of law and order. It will also give special consideration to the standards relevant to the role of the police in a democratic society.

3 The Special Problems of Violence in Situations of Racial Tension

It will deal with the social and psychological background of racial tension and violence and with the manner in which various misconceptions enter into the social situations in which violence is likely to occur; for example, specific factors underlying group antagonisms and crowd behavior will be considered.

4 Recent Developments in the Law Affecting Racial and Related Forms of Discrimination

This section will examine recent statutes, judicial decisions and administrative regulations dealing with segregation and discrimination, and the impact of these developments on public opinion.

5 The Role of the Police in Situations of Racial Tension

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William C. Bradbury
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Jerome Hall
Visiting Professor, University of Chicago Law School; Professor of Law, University of Indiana School of Law

John I. Howe
Captain, Chicago Police Department

Harry Kalven
Associate Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School

Edward J. Kelly
Superintendent of National Capitol Parks, Washington, D.C.

David McCandless
Former Director of Public Safety, City of Louisville, Kentucky; currently Director, Southern Police Institute, Louisville, Kentucky

Helen McLean, M.D.
Institute for Psychoanalysis

William R. Ming
Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School

George Otlewis
Chief of Police, Chicago Park District

William L. Rand
Deputy Commissioner, New York Police Department

Robert Redfield
Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Malcolm Sharp
Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School

Louis Wirth
Chairman of the Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations, and Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

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5 The Role of the Police in Situations of Racial Tension

The subject matter of this section will involve two basic areas:

a. Standard techniques and practices which will increase the capacity of the police to deal effectively with racial emergencies.

b. The role of the police department in preparing for the effective use of judicial machinery; attention will here be given to the problems involved in making investigations and making arrests and securing, preserving, and presenting evidence; attention will also be given to relevant constitutional protection of individual rights.

6 A Positive Program for the Police and the Community

This section will explore the relationship between a positive police program and the mobilization of other community resources for the purpose of preventing racial tension and dealing with it effectively if it should occur.

In connection with the Seminar, the following **Public Lectures** *will be given:*

The Police and the Law

Jerome Hall
Visiting Professor, University of Chicago Law School
Professor of Law, University of Indiana Law School

1. **Standards**
   The role of police in a democratic society
2. **Arrest**
   The law of arrest; riot; prevention of crimes; duties of the police after arrest; inadequacies in the present laws
3. **Evidence**
   The use of force ("third degree") in securing confessions and in relation to self-incrimination; search and seizure; civil liberties, needed reforms

The Law of Racial Discrimination

Harry Kalven
Associate Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School

Persons wishing to attend the Seminar should fill in and return the inclosed application blank as soon as possible.

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HERBERT T. JENKINS, CHIEF

ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

July 29, 1952

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for arranging for a member of this Department to receive two weeks special training at Chicago University.

Supt. J. F. Brown just returned and makes a very fine report.

I have asked him to stop by and visit you so that you might get acquainted with him and he might give you a more detailed report.

Yours very truly,

H. T. Jenkins

Chief of Police

HTJ:gp

ATLANTA THE DOGWOOD CITY

Police Training

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

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FRANK GARSON
Atlanta, Ga.

July 31, 1952

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Just a note to remind you and Dr. George Mitchell of the invitation for lunch at 12:30 on Monday, August 11th, at the Mayfair Club, to meet Chief of Police Jenkins and Superintendent Brown.

Mr. Abe Goldstein will be our host.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

CC: Abe Goldstein

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Surp

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

June 24, 1952

Chief Herbert Jenkins,
Chief of Police
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Chief Jenkins:

In accordance with our conversation at lunch yesterday, I am sending you herewith a check for $100 to help defray the transportation expenses of Superintendent of Police Brown to the forthcoming Police Institute at the Law School, University of Chicago. I am certain that Superintendent Brown will have a most interesting and fruitful experience. I look forward to meeting him on his return and hearing a report on the Institute.

Believe me, if there is anything we can do to be of assistance in this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

blind copies: Dr. George Mitchell
Julian Boehm
Abbott Rosen
Oscar Cohen
Brant Coopersmith

June 9, 1952

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman

4901 Ellis Ave.

Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Mr. Lohman:

A letter to you from Dr. Mitchell under today's date was put in the mails to you this morning. I am sending this air mail letter to head it off.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city for the whole of this week, and in his absence a small complication has arisen in the matter of securing the cost of transportation for the Atlanta police officer who we hope will attend the summer institute on "The Police and Racial Tensions." I don't think it is anything insuperable, but I believe it would be best for Dr. Mitchell to have a chance to work it out before you write to Chief Jenkins, as suggested.

In short, I would appreciate if if you would simply hold on to our check for the tuition and Dr. Mitchell's letter of June 9 until you hear from him, probably early next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec

June 9, 1952

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Joe:

I went over Friday afternoon and talked with the chief of police, Herbert T. Jenkins, here in Atlanta, and carried him a copy of the folder on the summer session on "The Police and Racial Tensions" July 14-25.

Chief Jenkins would be glad to choose with care some member of his Police Department and send him to the Institute, provided that this can be done without extra cost to the Atlanta Police Department. The chief is perfectly willing for the officer sent to continue to draw pay while in Chicago for the summer session. I told Chief Jenkins I was satisfied that a scholarship could be arranged for someone from his force. Accordingly, I enclose our check for $150 to provide a scholarship.

It will be necessary for the transportation of the Atlanta officer to be paid to and from Chicago. Friends here have agreed to provide the cost of physical transportation to and from Chicago, plus a lower berth each way. I do not have that money in hand, but will sent it in a few days' time. It seems to me the best arrangement for you, in writing to Chief Jenkins, to state that the transportation costs had been provided, also from private sources, and that you would be sending a check for it to the officer selected shortly before his trip north.

As to the scholarship. I think it would be best for your letter to Chief Jenkins simply to state that a scholarship has been provided by a private donor, and that you were happy to make it available to a person to be selected from his force.

The chief assured me that he would choose with care from among the 41 law school graduates on his force. I told him that it was our hope that the one selected would be a young person likely to be available for advice for some time to come.

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman, June 9, 1952

Chief Jenkins expressed cordial approval of what he could learn of the forthcoming session. He said he would like to have ten days or so in which to make his inquiries about it, but the names of various of those listed, particularly Ed Kelly and McCandless, were assuring to him.

What remains, therefore, is:

1. You to write the chief that a scholarship is available, and that you hope he will send in his nominee's application at an early date.

2. I to provide you with the transportation money.

3. You to forward the transportation money to the chief's selectee by your check.

I hope all this sounds workable. It is not a hush-hush deal here, but I voluntarily undertook with Chief Jenkins that we would not make it any matter on which we gave out publicity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Sep

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
4901 Ellis Avenue
June 3, 1952

JUN 5 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of today, I am sending you herewith three of the brochures describing the seminar on "The Police and Racial Tensions" to be held at the University of Chicago this July. I am also enclosing two application blanks.

I know Mr. Lohman would be happy to have representatives from the Atlanta Police Department in attendance. As the announcement indicates, an extremely suggestive and worthwhile program has been developed.

Sincerely yours,

Nina Lackie

Nina Lackie
Secretary to Mr. Lohman

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
4901 Ellis Avenue
April 17, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed announcement of a police training program, which I have worked up at the University of Chicago for July. You may want to encourage some departments, of which you know, to attend.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:nl

Mr. George Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Police Training

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

September 18, 1952

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SEP 22 1952
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Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just been advised by my Chicago office that in addition to James Brown of the Atlanta Police Department, the following police officers from Southern cities attended the University of Chicago Seminar, "The Police and Racial Tensions."

Detective Larry Fultz
Houston Police Department, Texas

Captain Gerald Kopp
Louisville Police Department, Kentucky

Major William McNamara
New Orleans Police Department, Louisiana

Lieutenant Ray H. Muller
New Orleans Police Department, Louisiana

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/en

Police Training

October 23, 1952

Mr. Arthur Halliburton
King Features Syndicate
235 E. 45th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Halliburton:

In response to your wire, I today am sending you various items and a bill for the amount involved.

Your best authority is Joseph Lohman, now or lately head of the Pardon and Parole Board for the State of Illinois, and very recently appointed to an important position with the government of the District of Columbia. Chicago telephone number is Kenwood 8-5900. He conducted last summer at the University of Chicago Law School an institute on "The Police and Racial Tensions."

I don't think it is profitable to make great plays of instances of police brutality. They should certainly be described and criticized and, where possible, followed through on with corrective measures, but we think the real job is police training. There is greater recognition of the importance of that. Part of this stems from the Southern Police Institute, attached to the University of Louisville, of which David A. McCandless is director.

The little booklet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT has, within the last few months, been very widely distributed to Southern sheriffs and police officers. Committees of church women in well over a hundred counties have already taken the booklet along on personal visits to their local sheriffs. We are receiving reports of their visits and are sure that this pressure from local citizens will speed the already evident process of improving the pay and qualifications of police officials in the South.

You will find some excellent background material on this whole subject of police in the South in Gunnar Myrdal's AMERICAN DILEMMA.

We have been greatly pleased with the progress made in the last few years by Southern cities and towns in employing Negro police officers. Our latest table is with the other things. It has long been the practice of a few Southern cities to have Negro police officers, but in the last five or six years that has spread very rapidly. And so far as we know, the experience is almost everywhere quite satisfactory. The truth is that in Negro communities with an all-white police force, every arrest bears the aspect of a race incident. The Negro by-standers are under some temptation to feel that the prisoner is convicted as much of white supremacy as of his own suspected wrong-doing. With Negro police officers, this feeling disappears. In some cases chiefs of police in Southern cities using Negro police officers have said that the change has coincided with a reduction of crimes of violence in the Negro community by startling percentages.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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DR GEORGE S MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WESLEY MEMORIALBLDG ATLA=

PLEASE AIRMAIL ME COPY OF RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ANY OTHER MATERIAL YOU THINK USEFUL FOR MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON POLICE PSYCHOLOGY BRUTALITY AND AMELIORATIVE MEASURES BILL ME FOR ANY EXPENSE=

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Atlanta, Ga.

DOCUMENTED
OCT 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1952

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I know you are familiar with the pamphlet put out by the New Orleans Police Department entitled, "Human Relations and Effective Police Action".

Bernie Iscoe, our New Orleans Director, has just advised me that Major McNamara of the New Orleans Police is mailing this pamphlet to police chiefs throughout the country.

While I do not think this pamphlet approaches the excellence of "Race and Law Enforcement" put out by the Southern Regional Council, nevertheless, I do believe that Major McNamara's mailing will accomplish the useful purposes of sensitizing many police chiefs to this problem while at the same time, because the name of the New Orleans Police Department is attached to the document, lend respectability to this as proper subject matter for the concern of law enforcement authorities.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

CC: Oscar Cohen
Ted Freedman
Gil Balkin
Arthur Levin
Tom Friedman

November 4, 1952

Mr. Daniel Hoffman
Community Relations Committee
Jewish Community Council
30 Clinton St.
Newark 2, N. J.

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

That was mighty kind of you to send me the two copies of POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS. I read it with care, and think it an excellent job.

Sincerely,

George E. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Police Training

Jewish Community Council

United Jewish Appeal
Community Relations Committee

of Essex County

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October 27, 1952

RECEIVED
OCT 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In accordance with the request of Seymour Samet, Southeast Area Director, American Jewish Committee, Miami, I am pleased to forward, under separate cover, two copies of "Police and Minority Groups" published by the Essex County Intergroup Council.

Seymour advised that you are making a study in this field. If copies of the study become available for distribution, I shall greatly appreciate your sending me a copy.

You may recall me as formerly Gil Balkin's assistant in Miami.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Daniel Hoffman

Daniel Hoffman
Assistant Executive Secretary
COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

DH:sw

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Police Training

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 10, 1952

Chief of Police Herbert T. Jenkins
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief Jenking:

I have been fortunate enough to read the article in the October, 1952 issue of Kiwanis Magazine entitled, "Where the Cops Aren't Bogeymen."

Congratulations on the well-deserved and justly earned tribute. As you know, I do considerable travelling, particularly throughout the South. In my opinion, the Atlanta Police Department rates at the top of all the departments with which I have come in contact.

If there is anything I or my organization can do to be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on us.

With all best wishes.

Cordially,

afm

Alexander F. Miller

afm/en

blind copies: Julian Boehm
George Mitchell

Kiwanian Herb Jenkins has cultivated a friendly relationship between his policemen and the children of Atlanta, Georgia. It's one city

where the cops aren't Bogeymen

By WILLIAM BARRY FURLONG

Joe Louis, Jr. photos

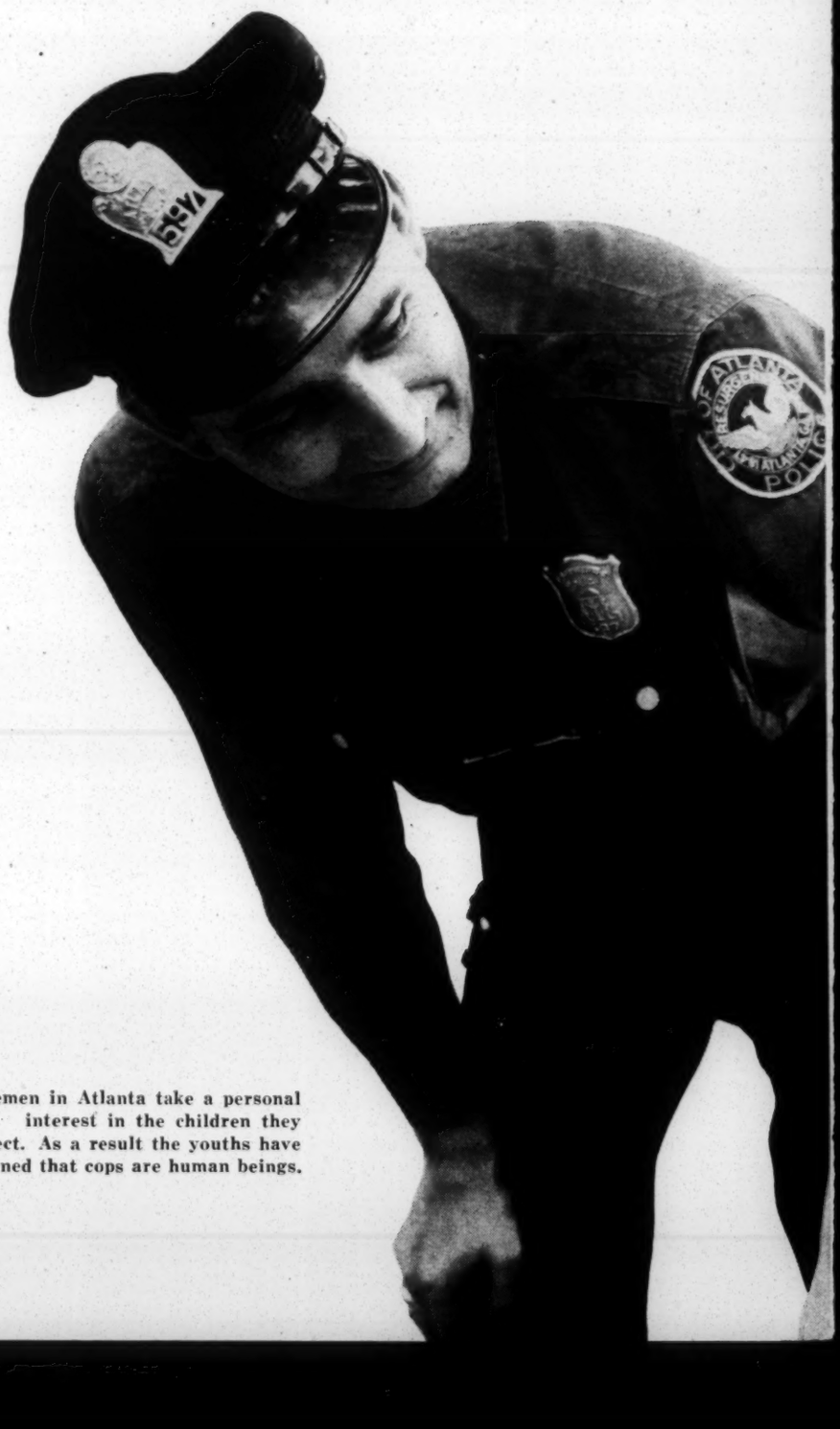
IT'S late afternoon when you walk into the office of Detective Jack Cain of the Atlanta Police Department. At the head of his desk is a polished piece of lumber with seven spikes driven through it. At this time of day those spikes would be cluttered with little flags of paper—one for each complaint in various divisions—in most large cities. On Cain's spikes there are only a half-dozen flags. Wanted persons: three. Stolen autos: one. Vice: two. Juvenile: none.

You glance at the daily bulletin of the department. It lists the various offenses committed in a twenty-four-hour period. Less than a dozen items are listed—none of them juvenile. You look at the record for 1951. Of the 53,227 persons arrested in Atlanta last year, only 766 of them—or 1.4 per cent—are juveniles.

You probe. Two things strike you about the work of the police in Atlanta: (1) the low rate of juvenile delinquency; and (2) the surprising number of officers engaged in "extracurricular" work, in youth groups, in church groups, in civic activities, in studying law and in social and businessmen's clubs. The first can be traced to the second and the second can be traced to the husky, dynamic chief of Atlanta's police, Herbert T. Jenkins, a member of the Kiwanis Club of Northside, Atlanta.

Since he became chief six years ago, Herb has waged a subtly effective campaign to strengthen relations betwen his men and the citizens of Atlanta. His campaign had one purpose: to prove to Atlantans —particularly the youngsters—that their policemen weren't bogeymen.

An intense, hard-working man (he can be found in his office as late as midnight or as early as eight o'clock on a Sunday morning), Herb expects his men to work equally hard. He considers postduty activity an important part of police work for the conscientious officer. It is as important for the individual as it is for the department, he feels, because a policeman must circulate among persons other than criminals to maintain a balanced outlook. But, however much he wants them to engage in postduty activities, Herb has not demanded such participa-



Policemen in Atlanta take a personal interest in the children they protect. As a result the youths have learned that cops are human beings.

tion. Instead, he remembers the names of those who do when he makes desirable assignments and promotions.

Nobody knows the value of private study more than Kiwanian Jenkins. Although he never finished high school, Herb rose from a rookie cop at the age of twenty-four to chief of police in fifteen years. For five of those years, as a traffic cop at a school intersection, he had ample opportunity to study the actions and reactions of children. His interest in the youngsters who passed his corner every day was more than routine. He joked and joshed them as equals, and to his favorites he gave birthday presents. They shyly reciprocated on his birthday. He never forgot the lessons learned at the school crossing.

"When you win the friendship and respect of children, it's something they'll keep all of their lives," says Herb. To insure that his school-crossing officers had the same interest in their charges that he felt, he assigned policewomen—all mothers who had children attending schools in the district—to guard crossings. And he urged all of his officers to participate in youth activities whenever possible.

Kiwanian Herb Jenkins, center, confers with Lieutenant Thomas, left, and Detective Jack Cain, right. Herb has created an esprit de corps which has boosted the force's enthusiasm and effectiveness.

Ultimately, the success of Herb's program depends upon the men who carry it out. There are no better examples of the sincerity of Atlanta's policemen in dealing with youngsters than Jack Cain and his immediate superior, Lieutenant I. A. Thomas.

A short, chunky ex-motorcycle cop—the youngsters still call him "Speedy"—Cain is the liaison man between the police department and the juvenile court. Off duty, he's the sponsor of a Boy Scout troop and director of youth activities for his church. Pleasant, bespectacled Lt. Thomas, head of the vice squad, teaches Sunday school, is advisor to a community youth center and also is active in Scouting.

Both Thomas and Cain believe that juvenile delinquency can best be nipped when the delinquents are still juvenile.

"If you stop them in the window-breaking stage," says Cain, "you don't have to worry about them knocking over gas stations or drug stores when they get a little older."

Friendship rather than force is the method used by Atlanta's policemen to keep youngsters out of trouble. The kids walk the beat with patrolmen or ride around in squad cars. They ask eager questions about police work and demonstrate an avid interest in all phases of law enforcement.

The interest is mutual. In his spare time, Thomas headed a drive which raised enough money for his youth organization to buy a used bus. Now the lieutenant takes the kids on all-day outings to various state parks. A baseball fan with an extensive knowledge of the game, Cain frequently stops at vacant lots to watch a game and offer suggestions.

"A boy on the ball field," he says, "is a boy out of trouble."

Several years ago Cain was sent to Rome, Georgia to pick up a young girl who had run away with an older girl "to see what it was like to be a woman." She was blonde, sweet and hardly twelve years old. Cain didn't act like an angry parent.

"I treated her like a little lady," he recalls. "I treated her like she had never done anything wrong." Now a young lady, the girl is devoted to Cain and has frequently helped him lead misguided youngsters back to the right path.

Officers like Cain and Thomas continue their search for good citizens even among the youngsters they have arrested. They try to salvage a potentially good citizen by persuading the court to parole the boy in their own custody. One boy whom Cain had paroled into his

Above is an after-school meeting attended by Detective Cain, center. He is one of many men on the Atlanta police force who play an active role in community affairs as part of their jobs.

Top left, seated at his desk, Cain points to the empty spike on which he keeps the daily record of juvenile crimes—when there are any in the Atlanta area. Top right, one of Atlanta's policewomen directs traffic at a school crossing. Lower left, a youngster waves nonchalantly at a passing squad car. A cop waves back. Lower right, Detective Cain and a teacher talk with a student who is beginning to associate with a tough gang. Such friendly chats ward off trouble.

custody took an interest in Scouting and later entered the Air Force. Now he's in the military police and intends to enter police work when he receives his discharge.

Not everybody is enthusiastic about Herb's program or its success. "He don't know nothin' about police work," growled one disgruntled patrolman. "Why a guy walking the beat can't even pick up a buck these days." Kiwanian Jenkins feels that there is no higher testimonial.

Herb's administration of the Atlanta police force has not been one solely of demanding cooperation. He has taken pains to back up his men in every way calculated to increase their efficiency and happiness. When he became chief he perceived that the morale of the force had been riddled by politicians who overruled and canceled some of the arrests made by officers. Herb backed up every arrest made by his officers, a policy which cost him quite a few headaches but paid dividends in improved morale on the force.

The administrative success of Kiwanian Jenkins has not gone unnoticed. On January 1, 1952, his area of responsibility was increased from thirty-five to 538 square miles—an area equal to half the size of Rhode Island. In addition to swelling the physical limits of Atlanta, the state legislature placed the whole of Fulton County under his responsibility. The move did more than multiply his burdens.

Herb Jenkins, already greying at forty-five, accepted the new responsibility as a challenge. He's confident that, given the men, his police force can meet that challenge successfully.

"We don't want men on this force who just want a job," he says. "We want men who aren't interested in anything but police work." And to Jenkins, police work includes enough postduty activity to persuade the citizenry that the cops aren't really bogeymen. THE END

Police Training

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

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FRANK GARSON
Atlanta, Ga.

January 13, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 14
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

While I was in Columbia, S. C. yesterday I learned two interesting bits of news which may be of some constructive value to the SRC.

According to Rev. Howard G. McClain, who is Executive Director of the Christian Action Council of South Carolina, the Sociology Department of the University of South Carolina under the direction on Dr. Walter C. Bentrup is planning to institute a course in Human Relations for the Columbia Police Department. Assistant Police Chief, Sheppard Griffith, is cooperating with Dr. Bentrup. One problem they have not as yet solved is what to do about the Negro police in the Police Department. I am certain that SRC has source materials which will be of value to Dr. Bentrup.

My old friend, Hyman Rubin, who is a member of the Columbia City Council advised me confidentially that within a week the Columbia City Council may appoint a Negro to the Fire Department. I imagine that this is just about the first one -- or at least one of the first -- appointed in the South. I asked Hyman to write to SRC giving the details as soon as the Columbia City Council is ready to break the story.

Cordially yours,

Alex

ALEXANDER F. MILLER

AFM/mly

CC: Art Levin

Police Training

Sent card referring to World Outlook + Christian Science Monitor articles 8-24-53

August 19, 1953

Miss Elizabeth Gardner
Room 200
6 E. 17th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Gardner:

Enclosed is a copy of our 1952 report on Negro Police in the South, with additions since its publication attached.

We are sending copies of our monthly bulletin NEW SOUTH which contain material on Negro police and the Fellowship of the Concerned (church ladies who visit courts) and a copy of the SRC pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

The attached bibliography of police training materials contains all the recent police training outlines that have come to our attention. Note that the item by Milton A. Senn is a study of police training programs in minority relations now in operation.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the office at present but will be glad to answer any questions you may have after looking over the SRC material mailed to you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Charge for materials mailed:

Race and Law Enforcement	.15
New Souths	.50
Postage	.06
	.71

RECEIVED
AUG 19
Southern Regional Council

Room 200
6 East 17th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Westley Memorial Church Bldg.
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am making a study of police systems and practices, local, state, and federal, with reference to treatment of Negroes. This will be tied in with examinations of courts and prisons and published in book form.

James Dombrowski has suggested I write to you for figures on Negro police. I am concerned with the period since 1945 and with the North as well as the South. I have examined the U.S. Census figures for 1950, but they are not entirely satisfactory. Otherwise, I have only a few scattered figures from police publications.

I should also very much like to have the report released by SRC in 1952 on the need for improved police training, and your suggestions for obtaining data on existing training or lack of it in group relations. (I have written to the police departments of New Orleans and Milwaukee and to the Southern Police Institute for material I have heard about.) If there is a charge for this, please let me know.

I am attempting an examination of police brutality and have used the NAACP-AJC annual reports and the Negro press. I would be glad to have any material or suggestions you can offer. Howard, Tuskegee and Fisk Universities have all been helpful in suggesting books.

Have you any published results from the group of church women who pledged to observe trials?

Thank you for any assistance you can give--

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Gardner

Elizabeth Gardner

January 21, 1959

The Honorable Justine Wise Polier
135 East 22nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Judge Polier:

Although I realize the delicacy of complimenting a judge on a decision, I can't resist telling you how impressed I was by your ruling in the case of the Skipworth and Rector children. Haskell Lazere shared with us a copy of the CLSA memorandum summarizing and quoting from the decision.

Both in language and in content, this is a magnificent example of justice in its finest aspect.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

January 30, 1959

The Honorable Justine Wise Polier
175 East 64th Street
New York, New York

Dear Justine:

I greatly appreciated your letter and the friendly candor in which you wrote.

You are quite right to doubt the authenticity of the statement on Highlander attributed to me in the Field Foundation board meeting. I am both dismayed and perplexed to learn of it.

In the first place, I have always felt it was ethically questionable for anyone in this field to pronounce adverse judgments on the total program of another. Secondly, I don't believe that any of us are omniscient enough to be dogmatic in such matters. And finally, I would never permit my personal views to be quoted in such a way as to prejudice another organization's attempts to secure financial support.

Of course, I agree wholeheartedly with your belief that we need many different approaches in the South; in fact, this has always been a sort of article of faith for me.

From this much you will understand how deeply I regret that this question ever arose. But since it has, I should like to be as frank with you as you have been with me.

Whoever attributed this remark to me evidently had it at second hand, since I do not recall discussing Highlander with any member of the Field Foundation board. Nor have I ever said to anyone that I regarded the work of Highlander as doing more harm than good.

I have on occasion been strongly critical of the way certain specific programs have been managed by the Highlander staff -- notably the ill-fated Labor Day Weekend of 1957. My criticisms have turned on the fact that the reputation and effectiveness of useful individuals and groups, including SRC, were jeopardized by poor judgment. I have made no secret of this view and made sure that it was conveyed to Myles Horton himself.

This is a far cry, however, from the kind of blanket indictment attributed to me in the meeting. And, quite apart from the inaccuracy, I would never have consented to have any criticism of mine quoted in such a context.

I find myself placed in a very awkward position. Certainly the statement erroneously ascribed to me should not be allowed to stand. On the other hand, I want nothing less than to be cast in the role of appraiser of Highlander's virtues and defects.

I would deeply value your advice as to the most constructive course I can take in what is at best a bad situation.

With warmest thanks and regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

One Seventy Five East Sixty Fourth Street
New York

January 26, 1959

RE. 4-5415

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was most generous of you to write as you did concerning my decision in the Skipwith-Rector case and I am enclosing a copy of the whole decision for your information. I only did what, in my judgement, the facts and the law required. I feel at this time that the inequities in our northern urban areas must be faced much more honestly than they have been up to the present.

I hope you will not mind if I say to you as a friend that at the Field Foundation Board meeting this week you were quoted as having said that you regarded the work of the Highlander Folk School as doing more harm than good. I found this hard to believe, although I realize that the way in which the Southern Regional Council is approaching problems is different from that of the Highlander Folk School. I felt that you would probably feel as I do that both approaches and many others are needed. I would really deeply appreciate a real picture of what your thinking is at this time because this alleged quotation from you caused great concern and resulted in the appointment of a committee to explore whether the Foundation should continue to support the Highlander Folk School in the future as it has in the past.

With warmest appreciation and looking forward to hearing from you,

Cordially,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:mo
Enc.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Highlander Folk School

REGARDING:

Question of continued foundation support by Field Foundation

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Corresp. from and to Mrs. Marshall Field of Field Foundation
(dtd. 1/30/59 and2/3/59)

One Seventy Five East Sixty Fourth Street
New York

February 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have your letter of January 30 and also the copy of your letter to Mrs. Field.

Since receiving your letter, I have learned of the new and ugly attacks on Highlander Folk School instituted by Mr. Bennett, the Attorney General of Arkansas. I appreciate the very unhappy position in which this mis-quotation of your words have placed you and I am glad that you have met it in such forthright fashion which I deeply appreciate.

Shad and I both look forward to seeing you when you are next in New York.

With every good wish,

Cordially,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:mo

ONE SEVENTY FIVE EAST SIXTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK

May 7, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was most thoughtful of you to send me copy of your excellent piece on school desegregation. I was deeply grateful to see someone focus attention on the children at last.

I too look forward to seeing you on May 23.

Sincerely yours,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

1 LWD → fyi ✓

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

2 MF

3 FILE

February 24, 1961

The Honorable Justine Wise Polier
175 East 64th Street
New York, New York

Dear Justine:

Guido Goldman sounds like a bright and able young man, indeed. Although ordinarily we would be reluctant to consider a temporary stint for as short a time as a month, in view of Mr. Goldman's record and your own warm endorsement of him, I will be happy to try to work something out.

We have no obvious project or function at which he might work. My first reaction, however, is that he might very well do something for us in the Research and Publications Department that would benefit both him and us. I will raise this question with Les Dunbar, our director of research, at the first opportunity.

As I needn't tell you, what we are able to do will depend quite a bit on cost. Would you ask Mr. Goldman to write me, telling me

more about his interests and abilities and indicating the amount of remuneration he would need or expect? Once we hear from him, we will give him an answer as promptly as possible.

Many thanks for this suggestion and my very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ONE SEVENTY FIVE EAST SIXTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK

1/19/61

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1961

Dear Harold -

One of the finest & ablest young men I know, Guido Goldman, has just called me from Harvard where he is getting his PhD in International Relations. He would like to go South & work with the Southern Regional ~~Conference~~ Council from May 15 to June 15 if this is not too short a time. He

would be glad to spend his time on any kind of work of learning experience you would suggest. The reason the time is so short is that he will be going to Nigeria to work for the summer at the end of June. He recognizes that a month is a very short time, but sees it as an introduction to another period of work later on.

If this is possible, I would very much like to see it. He graduated summa cum laude from Harvard in 1959, won ten Bemis fellowships

ONE SEVENTY FIVE EAST SIXTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK

the following year - Knows Europe well
It is a young man of serious
purpose & outstanding ability. Also,
he is a lonely, sensitive human
being who has much to give.

.. Hate to bother you in the
midst of all your problems —
but I feel he is worth while.
Will you let me know what is
possible —

Very good wishes
As ever

Arlene

ONE SEVENTY FIVE EAST SIXTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1961

3/4/61

Dear Harold,

I deeply appreciate your letter and your readiness to help Guido Goldman. I shared it with him this afternoon & he will write you directly. There is no question of compensation.

Look forward to seeing you soon — As ever

Lucius

June 27, 1962

Mr. Shad Polier
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Shad:

The package arrived yesterday and we forwarded it immediately to Jonathan at Fisk.

In the short time that Jonathan has been here we have all found him a good person to have around. I think we shall be the gainers, but I hope and expect that he will also find this a rewarding summer. The Georgia Council is engaged in some interesting work and we have also in mind using him in some other program as well.

My best regards to you and Judge Polier.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

POLIER, ZINSSER & TULIN
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

SHAD POLIER
BARBARA L. ZINSSER
STEPHEN WISE TULIN

MURRAY HILL 7-3577
CABLE: POLMIDARM NEW YORK

June 22, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Jon telephoned me this afternoon to say that he was going to be at Fisk for the next couple of weeks for indoctrination. He was in very good spirits and I know that he is looking forward to the time when he will be actually getting down to work.

The purpose of his call was to have me arrange to send him a print of his film on African students in Paris and I have taken care of this for him.

Only after the telephone call did I remember that a package for him had been sent by parcel post this morning in your care. It is something that he needs very much and I hope that you will be able to forward to him as soon as it arrives. I gather from Jon that it should be addressed to him c/o Mrs. Frances Pauley, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Shad

SHAD POLIER

SP/m

file "Po" - Gen. corresp.

August 24, 1962

Mr. Jonathan Polier
c/o The Honorable Justine W. Polier
175 East 64th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jonathan:

I am very sorry we had to say such a hurried good-bye, but your last day here was a jam-packed one for me and, as you know, I was also on my way out of town. I would have liked for us to have had time for me to hear your impressions of the summer.

I have the feeling that it, or at least your work here and with the Georgia Council, may not have been altogether satisfying for you, and, frankly, it did not work out for us as we had hoped. We have all, however, very much enjoyed getting to know you, and I hope you will come to see us again. At any rate, keep in touch, and if you ever need materials for a term paper, etc., write.

Cono

Please give my regards to your mother and father. I expect to be in New York the last week of September and shall try to give them a call.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:jl

bc: Maxwell Hahn

September 19, 1962

Mr. Jonathon Wise Polier
258 North Pleasant Street
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Mr. Polier:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I send you the requested copies of editorials on the election of Carl Sanders as Governor of Georgia. I have selected four, from other states as well as from Georgia, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

Enclosures:
Chattanooga Times, 9/14
Atlanta Journal, 9/13
Birmingham News, 9/11
Charlotte Observer, 9/14

PA ✓
MA-file

JONATHON WISE POLIER
258 NORTH PLEASANT STREET
OBERLIN, OHIO

September 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I believe you are far too critical of yourself concerning my very pleasant stay in your State. I recognize that the summer is a time of vaction and a time in which many things tend to stand still. Although I agree with you that I was not able to do all the things and to meet all the people I wished to, I did have a very satisfying and educational two months in your State.

I believe that this is not the ~~first~~ last time that I will have occasion to go South and try to learn about another part of this country. Everything cannot be achieved in a day and I will try to continue to learn about this field while in the North.

With many thanks for everything you have done,

Sincerely yours,

Jon

JONATHON WISE POLIER

JWP/m

MA'
pls find
a copy
9-19-62
MA

P.S. Congratulations on having elected such a "liberal" for Governor. If there are any good editorials on Mr. Sanders I would like to see them. Thanks again.

JWP

One Seventy Five East Sixty Fourth Street
New York

Rec'd 5/25/65

file

"VPO" - gen. corresp.

5/23/64

Dear Mr. Dunkan

Thank you for your letter and the Wash. Post piece which I was very glad to see. I feel it was a most important report to hit Wash. at this time -

It was good to see you the other day + I look forward to seeing you more often

As ever

Arthur Wm Roberts

Mike Cook

May 18, 1965

The Honorable Justine Wise Polier
175 East 64th Street
New York, New York

My dear Judge Polier:

I find that I was not quite fair to the Washington Post in our conversation last week. They did carry a good story on our southern courts report; as sometimes happens, the story was not in the edition we received here.

It was a great pleasure to see you again and have a chance to talk with you last week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosure - 1.

Washington Post, Apr. 25, 1965, "U.S. Courts in South Have Few Negroes in Jobs, Juries," Bob Baker

Spelman Messenger

Vol. 62 February, 1946 No. 2

Negroes And The White Primary In Georgia

Clarence A. Bacote
Professor of History, Atlanta University

In recent months, many developments have taken place in the South which indicate a desire to put the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution into practice.

For years, the South has been dormant politically. By the use of such devices as the poll tax, rigid registration requirements, and the white primary, only a small percentage of the people exercise their Suffrage privileges. It has been pointed out that in the national elections of 1944, only ten per cent of the potential voters of South Carolina participated; in Alabama and Mississippi, fifteen per cent; and in Georgia,[1] seventeen per cent. What does this mean? It means taxation without representation. How are officials so chosen able to guage the sentiment of their constituents when they do not represent them? It is this group that goes to Congress and blocks progressive legislation that is proposed for the benefit of the people. They obtain positions of great influence in Congress, and serve as chairmen of powerful committees.

In Georgia, much progress has been made under the administration of Governor Arnall. The poll tax was abolished. This had disfranchised not only thousands of Negroes, but also a majority of white people. But the barrier of the white primary remained, and stands in the way of equality as to citizenship. Since victory in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election, Negroes were virtually voiceless in the choice of their officials. The Democratic party is the only party that presents candidates for state, county, and city offices. Therefore, steps had to be taken to gain the privilege of voting in the primary. In Texas, the United States Supreme Court in the case of Smith vs. Albright, declared that the white primary was unconstitutional and that Negroes could not be denied participation. What is the situation in other states?

Although it would seem that the decision would apply to all those states that had the white primary, such was not the case. Georgia claimed that under her system, "wherein a party voluntarily comes into being and is not created by law, they have a right to confine the right of suffrage in primaries to white citizens." As a result, the Reverend Primus E. King of Columbus, Georgia, a Negro, brought suit in the United States District Court at Macon against the Muscogee County Executive Comittee, claiming that he was denied the right to vote in the last primary held at Columbus. Judge T. Hoyt Davis declared that the actions of the Democratic Executive Committee "acting as the duly constituted authorities of the Democratic Party" in denying King the right to vote on account of his race and color, was in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.[2] Judge Davis, commented the *Atlanta Journal*, "is a Georgian to the manner born. . . . . He has interpreted the law as his judicial conscience and his common sense directed. If we are to live under the Constitution of the United States and invoke its safeguards for our liberties, we must endeavor sincerely to conform to its requirements in all respects."[3]

The state immediately appealed the case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans. Here again, Judge Samuel Sibley, a native of Marietta, Georgia, upheld the decision of Judge Davis of the district court.[4] Determined to exhaust every legal remedy, the State carried the case to the United States Supreme Court and on April 1, 1946, the court refused to review the rulings of the lower federal courts which amounted to saying that Negroes have the right to vote in the Georgia Democratic primaries.

The reactions of the press and the political leaders of Georgia deserve comment. Soon after Judge Davis rendered his decision in favor of King in the district court, the Democratic Executive Committee of Glynn County (Brunswick) decided to permit Negroes to vote in the primaries.[5] In Valdosta, located in South Georgia, Negroes voted recently in the city primaries and they were praised by both factions of white voters for the way they deported themselves at the polls. The Negroes did not go blindly to the polls, but held political meetings throughout the campaign and discussed the issues thoroughly.[6] In Atlanta, a special election was held to fill the unexpired term of Congressman Robert Ramspeck. Since there was no primary involved, Negroes voted on the same terms as white citizens. This election made history in that,

for the first time since the 1890's, Negroes served as election officials at Precinct B of Ward 3. The county ordinary and officials of the Democratic Executive Committee of Fulton County had nothing but praise for the way in which the election was conducted by the Negro officials. Furthermore, the balloting in this precinct decided the election in favor of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin.

Many newspapers in the State have come out in favor of Negro participation in the Democratic primary. The editor of *The Columbus Ledger* printed an editorial advocating the idea and instead of receiving abuse and threats, he was flooded with calls and letters praising him for his stand. *The Brunswick News* said "government is made wiser and safer every time the governing class is enlarged."[7] *The Tifton Gazette* suggests that "if the white people of Georgia are afraid that Negroes will hold the balance of power in the elections, the real solution might be for more white voters to go to the polls at each primary and election."[8]

The only group that is opposed to Negroes voting in the primaries are the courthouse politicians. As long as they can keep the vote restricted, they can maintain themselves in office. They opposed the repeal of the poll tax because it admitted thousands of disfranchised white citizens to the electorate, and now they are going to the extreme in an effort to devise means to circumvent the decision of the United States Supreme Court. They spend most of their time trying to discover a legal way to do an illegal act. Much pressure is being brought to bear on Governor Arnall to call a special session of the legislature in order to amend the laws so as to keep the Negroes from voting in the primaries. Former Governor Eugene Talmadge has announced his candidacy for the governorship on a platform featuring the preservation of the Democratic "white" primary, and the county unit system. *The Atlanta Journal* immediately declared "no more Talmadgeism for free and progressive Georgia."[9]

Governor Arnall, who is ineligible to succeed himself, showed courage and statesmanship when he said that he would not be a party to any movement that attempts to circumvent the decision of the United States Supreme Court. He "can see no purpose for withholding the ballot. Like all intelligent and honest-minded white Georgians, he knows that the Negro can help to bring about a more healthy and democratic Southland."

The attitude of the Negro in this heated controversy has been summed up accurately by Attorney

A. T. Walden of Atlanta in the following words: "Negroes desire merely to have a voice in the government which they support with their taxes, with their loyalty and their blood. They have no desire to dominate any government, but merely wish to share the privileges as well as the responsibilities incident to their citizenship, just as other citizens do."[10]

NOTE: See Article in *Spelman Messenger*, Aust, 1942, Some Aspects of the Voting System in the South.

[1]**Atlanta Constitution**, November 28, 1845.
[2]**Atlanta Journal**, October 12, 1945.
[3]**Ibid**, October 14, 1945.
[3]Ibid, October 14, 1945.
[4]**Atlanta Journal**, March 10, 1946.
[5]**Ibid**, March 10, 1946.
[5]Ibid, March 10, 1946.
[6]**Atlanta Constitution**, February 17, 1946.
[7]**Atlanta Constitution**, March 10, 1946.
[8]**Ibid.**
[8]Ibid.
[9]**Atlanta Daily World**, April 7, 1946.
[10]**Atlanta Constitution**, April 2, 1946.

Lieutenant Col. Winthrop Rockefeller

Spelman College was honored on February 27 by the chapel visit of Lt. Col. Winthrop Rockefeller, fourth son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He was introduced to the students by President Read and spoke a few words concerning the responsibility which is a part of the privilege of living in our present-day world. He felt that to gather together each morning as is the Spelman custom to rededicate one's life to faith and hope was a marvelous privilege.

Col. Rockefeller was in Atlanta on a mission for the War Department. Among other duties, he was concerned with the effort to help coordinate the counseling services of the Veterans Administration with the efforts of the Negro colleges.

The interest of the Rockefeller family in this institution made Spelman College especially happy to welcome him. The administration building and the home economics building are named for the Rockefellers, who have been associated with the development of Spelman since its early days. And Sisters Chapel, probably the favorite building of the students, is named in honor of the Spelman sisters, Mrs. Laura Spelman Rockefeller and Miss Lucy Spelman. Mr. John D. Rockefeller was one of the men who applied for Spelman's charter in 1888 and he was a trustee of Spelman until 1907.

FULTON COUNTY REGISTRATION BY WARDS

Ward	Whites	Negroes
First	9,759	3,649
Second	2,305	77
Third	4,633	10,155
Fourth	13,892	2,607
Fifth	13,833	4,723
Sixth	12,432	33
TOTAL	56,854	21,244

GRAND TOTAL -- 78,108

JAMES V. CARMICHAEL

Campaign Headquarters
530 PIEDMONT HOTEL ATLANTA

GEORGIA'S NEXT GOVERNOR

June 28, 1946

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of June 26th enclosing a copy of a reply from Horace G. Davis, pastor of the Grantville Baptist Church.

Your interest in bringing this matter to my attention is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

James V. Carmichael

James V. Carmichael

JVC:IC

Register...Vote...Continue Good Government

J. P. KENNEDY, M. D.
HEALTH OFFICER

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 28, 1946

Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Secretary
Woman's Society of Christian Service
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter to Dr. J.F. Hackney, Director Public Health of Atlanta, has been forwarded to me for reply. This letter was referring to a letter written by Mr. Horace G. Davis on City Health Department stationery. Mr. Davis is an employee of the Division of Milk Sanitation of the Health Department and, I understand, conducts services at the Grantville Baptist Church on Sundays.

Mr. Davis acted in direct opposition to the provisions of the City Civil Service Law in writing a letter in opposition to or in support of any political candidate for any position. Mr. Davis advises me that he was unaware of the provisions in the City Civil Service Law forbiding political activities on the part of classified employees. This contention on his part is entirely possible due to the fact that Mr. Davis has been a temporary employee until the present time and has not been administered the oath of office that is given to regular employees. He advises me that he regrets his action in writing a letter of this type and assures me that he will refrain from any such activities in the future.

I am enclosing a letter to you from him explaining his reaction to the situation. Please understand that neither Dr. Hackney nor I condone political activities on the part of employees. I appreciate very much your advising Dr. Hackney and me of the conditions existing.

Very truly yours,

S.W. Graydon

S.W. GRAYDON
Public Health Engineer

SWG:gt
cc: Dr. Hackney
Mr. Davis

Encl.

1275 Lyle Place NW.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 28, 1946

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary, Christian Soc. Relations
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is with reference to a recent letter written to you in regard to your mimeographed booklet, "The Cross Is To Be Borne And Not Burned."

I have been temporarily employed by the city of Atlanta and am not familiar with the rules and regulations concerning employees participation in politics. Yesterday I was informed of the Hatch Act which forbids city employees to enter into politics in any form.

Since I have been unaware of any regulations of any nature governing political activity I should like to assure you that my future interest in politics will be confined to voting only.

Kindly disregard my letter of recent date, and let me assure you that I shall discontinue any and all further opposition to your program.

Yours very truly,

Horace G. Davis

Horace G. Davis

J. F. HACKNEY, M. D. M. P. H.
DIRECTOR PUBLIC HEALTH

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

1275 Lyle Place NW.
May 25, 1946

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have just received your mimeographed message,"The Cross is not to be burned but borne". Please read what I have to say about your efforts.

Your group, along with some commercial-minded ministers, are scoring those who have injected race issues into the campaign for governorship. This guilt lies at the door of none other than Ellis Arnall and Carmichael, who are using this to pedal into the governorship again with. They used the subject of Education last time and now they show up with the negro issue.

I shall vote for Eugene Talmadge for governor, and shall do all in my might to secure every vote possible for him. I am pastor of one of Georgia's better churches, and shall use all the influence I have for Talmadge.

Please do not send me any more of your trashy literature. I have a mind of my own and do not have to have a group of out-of-their-place women or any organization to tell me how to vote.

Less power to you, Mrs. Tilly. May Eugene Talmadge be the next governor of Georgia!

Respectfully,

Horace G. Davis

Horace G. Davis, Pastor
Grantville Baptist Church

The following letter is from a friend of ours who lives in a Georgia town not far from Atlanta. He is a lawyer and a plain ordinary citizen who tries to do the right thing as he sees it. - GBJ

- - -

COPY

July 9, 1946

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

With the thought in mind that what we are doing here in an effort to give the Negro a fair deal in his voting might interest you and I am giving you the picture.

First, early in the year, before the decision was handed down by the Circuit Court of Appeals in the King case I went to Dr. _____, the leading Negro in the county and told him that very likely Negroes would vote in this election and suggested that he get some associates and get as many registered as he could. He began this and had the co-operation of the county officials. There was no organized opposition to their registering and they had the full support of the registering officials.

Next, some of us brought to the attention of these Negro leaders that many ballots were not counted in every election because they were not properly marked and that likely as the Negroes were not accustomed to vote if nothing were done to instruct them, many of their ballots would not be counted because they would not be properly marked and suggested that they conduct a campaign of education along this line. This is being done.

So, just last night Mr. _____, who has been holding the elections here for many years met with this group to instruct them as to how to get their ballot, how to mark it and vote it. We plan to have some Negroes at the polling place to help those who desire it on election day.

None of this was done by any reformers or interracialist, but just in the matter of fair play and a willingness to give them a fair trial and try to live up to the spirit of the law.

Yours very truly,

_____

ATLANTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
CANDIDATES' RALLY
July 10, 1946

FOR CONGRESS FROM THE FIFTH DISTRICT

JAMES C. DAVIS. Age 51. Resident of DeKalb Co. 26 years.
Education: Public Schools; Reinhardt College, Waleska, Ga.; Emory College at Oxford, Ga.
Business: Lawyer since 1921.
Political History: Representative from DeKalb Co. to Georgia Legislature, 1925-28; Attorney for Georgia Dept. of Industrial Relations, 1929-32; DeKalb Co. Attorney, 1931-34; Judge Superior Court of Stone Mountain Circuit, 1934 to present. No relatives in public employ.

WYMAN C. LOWE. Age 41. Resident of Fulton Co. 7 years.
Education: 2 years Mercer U.; B.Ph. & M.A. in Government from Emory; total 7years college, specializing in law and Government.
Business: High School and college teacher 10 years; 6 years active duty in Army. Being processed for separation from active duty.
Political History: Ran for Congress, special 5th District election Jan. 1946. Withdrew before election.

HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN. Age 49. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.
Education: Atlanta Public Schools; Rockford College, Rockford, Ill., A.B.; Atlanta Law School, LL.B.
Business: Lawyer 20 years.
Political History: Representative from Fulton Co. to Georgia Legislature, 1937-46, resigned to run for Congress, Jan. 1946; member of Congress Feb. 1946 to present. No relatives in public employ

FOR STATE SENATE

JAMES A. (JIM) BELFLOWER. Age 54. Resident Fulton Co. 33 years.
Education: Grammar; Correspondence course, graduate Atlanta Law School 1918.
Business: Managing Editor daily paper, Rome, Ga.; correspondent in state legislature for old Atlanta Georgian; news reporter; detective mystery story writer; now a practicing attorney.
Political History: Former Atlanta Park Commission member; Chairman Board of Civil Service Examiners for Police Dept.; offered for City Council from old 3rd Ward, 1921. Participated in campaign of Judge A. W. Callaway for Recorder, 1926. No relatives in public employ.

G. EVERETT MILLICAN. Age.49. Resident of Fulton County 43 years.
Education: Atlanta Public Schools.
Business: 34 years, Gulf Oil Corp. At present, Division Mgr., Gulf Oil Corp.
Political History: Alderman, City of Atlanta, 1928-34; Mayor Pro Tem of Atlanta, 1931; State Senator, 35th and 52nd Districts, 1935-40, 1943-46. Also ran for County Commission, 1931. No relatives in public employ.

FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For Post No. 1

PAUL S. ETHERIDGE, JR. Age 40. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.
Education: Atlanta and Fulton public schools; A.B. and LLB., Mercer University.
Business: Practiced law in Atlanta since 1928.
Political History: Representative from Fulton Co. in Ga. Legislature, 1939 to date. Managed campaigns for late father for county commissioner and judge. No relatives in public employ.

McWHORTER MILNER. Age 69. Resident of Fulton County 45 years.
Education: Public Schools; Columbia University graduate in Pharmacy.
Business: Horlicks Malted Milk Co., Wm. R. Warner & Co., Pharmaceuticals for about 20 years; real estate in Atlanta. At present managing own property.
Political History: Ran for legislature, 1942
Second cousin employed by County.

G. HALL TAYLOR. Age 42. Resident of Fulton Co. 21 years.
Education: Grammar and high school, Charlotte, N. C., U. of N.C., Atlanta Law School.
Business: Practiced law for self for 20 years except for 4 years in army. Now practicing attorney; Captain, Air Corps Reserve.
Political History: None. No relatives in public employ.

For Post No. 2

LUTHER ALVERSON. Age 37. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.
Education: Atlanta and Fulton County schools, Emory U., Atlanta Law School.
Business: Practiced law until induction into army as private. Retired from active duty as First Lieutenant. Served as legal officer in Chicago Ordnance District. Returned to law practice.
Political History: None. No relatives in public employ.

ROY L. BARNETT. Age 40. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.
Education: Atlanta and Campbell County public schools, Atlanta Law School.
Business: 16 years general law practice.
Political History: Appointed office manager, personnel officer, Ga. Labor Dept. 1938-39. Participated in Commissioner of Labor Campaign 1938. Brother county police.

W. CICERO KENDRICK. Age 52. Resident of Fulton County 40 years.
Education: Public schools, Rome, Ga.
Business: Printing, editing and publishing. Present publisher and editor of "The Journal of Labor".
Political History: Deputy clerk, Fulton Superior Court. Fulton County Jury Commission. Present member Hospital Authority. Fulton representative in Ga. Legislature for past 10 years. Brother in state employ; 2 sisters in Atlanta school system before in legislature.

JOSEPH M. WALLACE. Age 59. Resident Atlanta 15 years.
Education: High School; business course.
Business: Operates and owns clothing store and trading post.
Political History: Ran for City Council in 1945.
No relatives in public employ.

For Post No. 3

W. R. BENTLEY. Age 41. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.
Education: Ga. Military Academy; U. of Ga.; Atlanta Law School.
Business: Practiced law in Atlanta since 1926.
Political History: Former member, City Democratic Executive Committee. Offered for Ga. House of Representatives, 1934. No relatives in public employ.

REUBEN A. GARLAND. Age 43. Resident of Fulton County 30 years.
Education: Atlanta Public Schools; Boys High graduate; U. of Ga.
Business: Trial lawyer for over 24 years.
Political History: Asst. Solicitor-General, Atlanta Judicial Circuit, 1944-45. Candidate for Atty-Gen. of Ga., 1936; Solicitor 1940; State Legislature 1932. Actively participated in all gubernatorial campaigns during last 14 years, except when running for public office.
No relatives in public employ.

ROBERT K. GLASS. Age 39. Resident of Fulton County 12 years.
Education: Saginaw High School, Saginaw, Mich; College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kirksville, Mo.; College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kansas City, Mo.; Dover St. Clinic, Boston, Mass.; Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind.
Business: General practice of osteopathy surgery and obstetrics.
Political History: Coroner, Atchison County Mo., 1932-35. Candidate City Board of Education, 1945, withdrew. No relatives in public employ.

MUGGSY SMITH. Age 44. Lifelong resident of Fulton County.

Education: Graduate Boys High; 4 years Ga. Tech; 1½ years at Oglethorpe U.; Armour Tech, Chicago.

Business: 3 years Southeastern Underwriters Assn.; 6 years representative Ethyl Corp.; 2½ years Divisional Used Car manager, Chevrolet Motor Division, Atlanta zone; 8 years own insurance agency.

Political History: Managed campaign of Ralph Huie for City Council, 1945. Wife teacher in city school 9 years; mother-in-law in Board of Education 21 years.

Patriotism and Profits

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, July 9

THE opening scenes of the Mead Committee hearings on war profiteering resembled a movie you had seen before. Toward the end of the first day somebody at the press table shook his fist in mock solemnity and intoned: "We won't let this kind of thing happen in the next war."

It took Gerald Nye nearly two decades to expose some of the less altruistic phases of World War I; Jim Mead, his eye on the executive mansion in Albany, was in no mood to wait. But the accused profiteers were comparatively little fellows in the big business of war production. Their corporate intrigues did not seem too original and their "take," however substantial, scarcely approached the highly respectable balances of those revered institutions which pledged in government-subsidized ads to "keep things the same" for our valiant boys abroad.

The slow start, however, was deceptive. As the week ended the Mead hearing was the best air-conditioned show in town. What began as the tale of an Illinois munitions ring had become the case of Andrew Jackson May, venerable chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

May is a member of the obstructionist fraternity. His most recent efforts have been dedicated to resisting civilian rule of the atomic energy program. The clue to his role in this new local drama was furnished early when the committee presented a chart showing the interlocking directorates which controlled sixteen arms plants, fifteen of which were located in Illinois. The sixteenth was called the Cumberland Lumber Company, identified simply as a Delaware corporation which received $48,000 from the Erie Basin-Batavia combine for lumber that was never delivered. This was cryptically introduced into the record on opening day and ignored until Saturday.

Meanwhile a parade of past and present procurement officials took the stand to describe their dealings with the Illinois group. The candor of their testimony varied with their army status: those already discharged talked freely, while those still in uniform—with a couple of exceptions—acted as if loss of memory were an occupational disease. Some able generalship by the committee attorneys—George Meader and Francis Flannigan—minimized these difficulties. The story was skillfully pieced together. An ambitious promoter named Henry Garsson, who was ousted from the Internal Revenue service some years ago after being tried and acquitted for extortion, got a $3,000,000 contract from the chemical warfare procurement service with the adept use of a borrowed letterhead. He and his brother Murray, immortalized in an FBI report as an ex-associate of Dutch Schultz, established contact with some Illinois manufacturers who were producing cigarette cases and other basic necessities. They created a couple of "phantom" corporations—Erie Basin and Batavia—for tax saving, multiple-salary payments, and other purposes. Then they pitched in for Uncle Sam. They got $78,000,000 worth of war business and paid over $2,000,000 in salaries to a handful of executives.

War contractors needed friends in Washington. There were intermittent troubles: manpower ceilings, production cutbacks, lost business. "Andy" May became the other man in a beautiful friendship. We are indebted to the recording devices widely used in the War Department (and erroneously denounced in some dispatches as wire-tapping) for the record of his services. Seldom, if ever, has any Kentucky Congressman labored so long and so earnestly for an Illinois enterprise sponsored by a couple of New Yorkers, the Garssons. Busy as he was with his manifold duties on the House Military Affairs Committee, he never forgot the Erie Basin boys. He protested to the chief of ordnance when their contracts were reduced; he protested to then Under-Secretary of War Patterson when the War Manpower Commission cut their labor force; he raised hell in general to secure an E-award for them over the objections of Chicago ordnance officials. He didn't wire. He telephoned. It gradually became apparent to even the dullest brass that Representative May was "interested" in the affairs of the combine. It got the jobs, despite some occasionally heroic resistance in lower echelons.

The blow-up came on Saturday. On that day the committee suddenly reverted to the subject of the Cumberland Lumber Company. A government auditor, testifying in a low, phlegmatic voice, reported he could find no books for the company. All he could find was evidence of "advance payments" from Erie Basin and Batavia for the undelivered lumber. Six of those checks, he added expressionlessly, were indorsed "A. J. May." One of the indorsements read: "A. J. May, President." They totalled more than $18,000. The company had also listed May as its official agent in a certificate filed with Kentucky authorities.

May, who had earlier called the hearings "hooey" now issued two statements in one Saturday afternoon.

At this moment he is vigorously maintaining that his

JAMES A. WECHSLER is Washington correspondent for the New York Post.

interest in the affair was a blend of patriotism and sentiment. Most of the "advance payment" has been returned (after the Mead inquiry began, the committee contends). May vaguely recalls some telephone conversations but insists that his relationship with the Garssons grew out of their mutual interest in war production. The Cumberland venture, he asserts, was designed to "aid a constituent" with some of the loose Garsson change. The Congressman declares he never pocketed any personal profit; he was just doing company business.

The story isn't over. May, who testified last month in a secret committee session, has coyly avoided the public hearings. But it is doubtful that he can wage this battle with a mimeograph machine alone. The case against him is overwhelming even if he demonstrates that his bank balance did not ultimately benefit from the transactions. As one correspondent put it, "He was certainly robbed if he didn't get anything for all that work." His abuse of his role as House Military Affairs chairman has been spelled out in such gory detail that his views on the atom-bomb may no longer warrant page-one headlines.

Before the latest revelations May protested bitterly that all he had done was "just what every Congressman has done." This lament offers a fairly vast field to the Mead Committee. Every correspondent knows some of the dimensions of war profiteering, advertised at Washington cocktail parties throughout the war. How much money was passed under tables remains to be shown. The current probe has indicated there were many responsive fellows in the War Department; two chemical procurement officers, for example, graduated from the army to Erie Basin's payroll after approving one of its lush contracts.

"Price was no factor in contracts" one honest ex-officer testified. "We had to get the materials."

I am not concerned about profit control in the next war but the Mead Committee can augment our national wisdom by looking into the wartime operations of bigger and more self-righteous outfits than Erie Basin. After all, we spent a good deal of wartime energy denouncing coal miners who wanted two dollars more a day—wages, not expense account.

It's Growing Time in Georgia

BY LILLIAN SMITH

Clayton, Georgia

WE ARE busy in our county today, plowing. For rain has slowed down the planting. Though good for trees and laurel and ferns, it's been bad for the gardens. Some fields even yet are not turned. But today folks are busy. Across the valley you can hear them. The air is full of fine promise.

Sitting here on the mountain, high up in Rabun, I have been turning old memories. I am remembering the county where I was born—where big oak trees hang heavy with moss, and sand is gray and hot to bare feet, and always that old enemy of childhood, the sandspur, is nestling in paths to slow down your running. I was born where green scum creeps over ponds in springtime, and mocking birds sing themselves crazy on warm nights, and alligators crunch their way through swamp water, shaking waterlilies out of their slow careless paths. I was born where the earth is flat and stretches endlessly... until the eyes of a child grow glazed as he looks, unable to bend his mind around the horizon.

Today I am remembering—as you must sometimes stop and remember—the old days: swimming in cold springs in the summer, and fried channel cat...hunting with big brothers on cold winter days...hog-killing and the old smoke house...my mother, with white and colored folks helping her, stuffing sausage casing while slow hickory fires smoked the hams.

I am remembering—Georgia. Hopping-John, and backbone and rice, and roast oysters, and scuppernongs, and figs, and boiled pinders...and corn pones and cracklin' bread, and going barefooted. Who can forget? Who can forget the wide, curving, sweeping fields of middle Georgia? Who can ever forget a thousand peach trees in bloom or the sweet tang of a sugar-cane grinding, or the pressing of apple cider on warm autumn days? Who can forget the sharp bay of hounds across hills when nights are good for fox hunting, or the tracks of rabbit in a deep mountain snow? Who can forget the ten thousand things that make Georgians love Georgia? The things that make a lump come in the throat when you've been away too long—that make you always want to come back, no matter how far you travel.

Yet today folks are forgetting. There are people in Georgia who are willing to trample and spit on all the good memories that Georgia folks have, leaving us with only the bad things. There is plenty that is bad about Georgia. All of us know that. We know, even as we love it and defend it, that there is plenty about Georgia that does not make for good memories. There are too many Georgians who are poor, too many who are ignorant, too

LILLIAN SMITH, author of "Strange Fruit," is now in India as a member of the American Famine Mission. PAULA SNELLING and Miss Smith are co-editors of South Today.

many who are sick. There are too many homes without sweetness and love and laughter in them, too many children who do not know how to play. Too many grown folks not busy enough with work that they like, who turn for excitement to things like tying a can to a dog's tail or building fires on Stone Mountain, pulling pillow-cases over faces, as if with pillow-cases they can cover their consciences! Doing things worse than pulling pillow-cases over heads. And we know that also.

Folks are forgetting. For this is election year. A governor must be elected. To get elected, some folks will do anything. Some folks are willing to turn loose upon our land microbes of hate and fear that will spread and multiply and sweep our state from Rabun to Glynn with a disease that struck Germany once—and ruined it.

All that a man like Gene Talmadge wants is to get elected. Like irresponsible sick men before him, he is willing to use hate and fear as his henchmen. He is willing to fan the little flame that flickers no larger now than a candle and blow on it and spread it to the size of a forest fire. He is willing to destroy the sweet things, the nobility and good-will that are here, destroy the sane and Christian efforts that have been made by the people of Georgia to treat each other like human beings, to give every Georgian a chance to be a good citizen, to give every Georgia child a chance to grow.

No one asks for more than that in Georgia today. No one wants more. This is growing time in Georgia, and we want our crops and our children to grow. That is all.

But Gene Talmadge, to get elected, would trample children in Georgia. He will deny it, but he is doing just that when he spreads hate and fear, when he declares that some children are not human, when he tries to turn man against man, when he states that the Constitution of our United States is wrong and it is not good to believe that all men are citizens, that all children have the same right to grow.

Perhaps he does not know what he is saying. Sometimes I have thought that he does not understand the terrible words he uses.

It's Election Time in Georgia

It's election time in Georgia and the air is heavy with hate. One small sick man, blowing upon those embers of insecurity and fear which never die out in a culture so impoverished and ill as ours, has spread a conflagration that is licking now into every life.

No one knows which way the election will go. Those who will cast their first ballot on July 17—World War II veterans, eighteen-year-olds, whites formerly disfranchised by the poll tax, and Negroes hold the balance of power. They may divide along the old lines, making the outcome a gamble, or they may line up solidly against Talmadge's anachronistic rantings. Certain it is that thousands upon thousands of Georgians are working hard and long to save the superstructure of respectability and decency which Arnall has built and which Carmichael may reasonably be counted on to retain. One hopes and believes that their efforts will swing the election away from Talmadge.

One recognizes, however with a kind of chronic heart sickness, that much of the opposition to Talmadge is basically opposition to his manners and techniques, not opposition to what he stands for. Too many Georgians today (too many Americans today) still want what Talmadge wants, but, God helping us, are not as willing as he to pay the price of physical and spiritual bankruptcy to get it. But the thing that chills the marrow is the realization that many other Georgians, who know and are glad that there is no place in today's world for "master race" theories, still feel that it is more important to defeat a candidate than to defeat his principles, and that in our state both cannot be defeated simultaneously. Some of us believe their judgment is wrong, but we cannot doubt their sincerity.

As a graphic illustration of this dilemma and the way certain Georgians are meeting it, I offer you the above article which was written by Lillian Smith as a part of her effort to rid the air of some of the poison Talmadge is spreading. This piece was submitted to two influential dailies in the state which are battling Talmadge. One editor expressed polite appreciation for Miss Smith's desire to help defeat Talmadge, but, after "considering from every angle the wisdom and effectiveness of publishing it," he decided against using it. The editors of the other paper, men of proven courage and integrity and vision, wrote letters of heartbreaking apology for their difficult decision. One of them said: "By all rules of duty and conscience it should have the widest possible circulation. . . . It's Growing Time is one of the most beautiful things Miss Smith has ever written. It must not be lost. One of these days we shall come into our own and truth will not fear to stand in the full light of the sun." Rightly or wrongly, this man is convinced that "conditions being as they are in this vicious campaign being carried on by Talmadge, the article would help the master demagogue rather than aid the cause of decency and democracy in Georgia"—the inference being that this was true whether or not Lillian Smith's by-line was used.

But somehow, though I too am a Georgian, I do not believe that even Gene could find anything inflammable in It's Growing Time. To make sure of my criteria, I re-read the Sermon on the Mount. And I stand by the conviction that there's enough in each of these bits of writing to quiet the flames sweeping Georgia—and the world—today.

PAULA SNELLING

The world is fast changing. As the earth shrinks, man's heart and imagination must expand to a size to meet the world's needs. But Gene's heart cannot expand; he has no world-size imagination; his mind long ago stopped growing.

Gene Talmadge is obsolete in modern Georgia and modern Georgians know it.

In the heat of summer, we shall have an election. A man will be chosen governor. Whether a good man or bad man wins, we will still live here. Even if that man is Talmadge we can protect ourselves with our Constitution, for we are not only Georgians—we are Americans also. But there is no way that a Constitution can protect our children now from the microbes of hate and fear that he has spread on them during this campaign. There is no way a Constitution can protect these children from reaping crop after crop of pain and bitterness and violence which his hate words are sowing in their minds. Unless you and I get busy.

We who love this state, who cherish its children, have work to do now.

This is growing time in Georgia for children. Everywhere you can see them growing sanely and sturdily toward a maturity that Georgia needs, that all the world needs. And now, like hailstones beating on tender plants, come Talmadge's words, beating on the minds of children, tearing their pride and hope and decency from them, making some of them arrogant and bullying little Nazis, leaving others bewildered and shamed. We must give back to Georgia's children the pride and self-esteem and hope and good-will that Talmadge is stripping away. We must reach down and lift up and make straight again the minds and spirits he is crippling with his words.

There are ways to do it. Each of us must find our own way. But no way is better than by enunciating quietly and clearly the teachings of Jesus, who said again and again, with beauty and simplicity and tenderness, that "even the least of these" is His.

Will the Arabs Revolt?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article,* although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

* *"Palestine and Bevin," June 22, 1946*

FREDA KIRCHWEY has just returned from a two-months trip to Europe and the Middle East. Her analysis of Arab strength, organization and intentions is particularly timely in view of current developments in Palestine and throughout the Moslem world.

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Incnass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the

10-1-46
Office of Attorney General

STATE SENATORS ELECT

1947-1948

District		
1.	Clarence T. Guyton	Guyton
2.	C. J. Smiley	Walthourville
3.	T. L. Howard	Ludowici
4.	J. Nolan Wells	Kingsland
5.	Mrs. Iris F. Blitch	Homerville
6.	Tom Miller	Lakeland
7.	E. L. Butler	Camilla
8.	Roy W. Bush	Colquitt
9.	Mrs. Benton Odom	Newton
10.	Dr. Gordon S. Sumner	Sylvester
11.	Albert S. Killingsworth	Fort Gaines
12.	Laurence D. Burks	Preator
13.	John E. Ferguson	DeSoto
14.	E. O. Richardson	Kawkinsville
15.	J. F. Darby, Sr.	Vidalia
16.	Vendie H. Hooks	Lexsy
17.	Porter W. Carswell	Waynesboro
18.	J. Will Overstreet	Wadley
19.	Lawrence Brown	Greensboro
20.	B. J. Tarbutton	Sandersville
21.	Alex S. Boone, Jr.	Irwinton
22.	Clifford Seay	Barnesville
23.	L. R. Adams	Butler
24.	James Persons Hogg	Buena Vista
25.	J. H. Woodall	Woodland
26.	F. A. Sams	Fayetteville
27.	W. H. Hodges, Jr.	Watkinsville
28.	Dr. E. F. Griffith	Eatonton
29.	Robert E. Knox	Thomson
30.	T. S. Mason	Hartwell
31.	T. D. Williams	Demorest
32.	Major Dorsey	Rt. 3, Cleveland
33.	J. B. G. Logan	Homer
34.	William T. Dean	Conyers
35.	Thomas G. Callaway, Jr.	Covington
36.	C. R. Gwyn, Sr.	Zebulon
37.	A. J. Huckeba	Rt. 1, Roopville
38.	W. D. Trippe	Cedartown
39.	Dr. Grady N. Coker	Canton
40.	L. T. Mitchell	Clayton
41.	Hoke Willis	Blue Ridge
42.	F. L. Baker, Jr.	Rome
43.	Charles A. Pannell	Chatsworth
44.	Charles B. Yates	Ringgold
45.	W. H. Walker	Milan
46.	E. C. Wideman	Douglas
47.	Walter W. Branch	Ashburn
48.	Leroy G. Tippins	Rochelle
49.	Robert Graham Daniell, Sr.	Metter
50.	Frank M. Arnold	Washington
51.	A. E. S. Weaver	914 Persons Bldg, Macon
52.	G. Everett Millican	Box 1704, Atlanta
53.	J. H. Kennon	Adel
54.	Bill Parker	Baxley

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES
FOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1947-1948

COUNTY	NOMINEE	ADDRESS
Appling	J. A. Tuten	Baxley - 202 Anthony Street
Atkinson	Maynard Higgs	Axson
Bacon	Homer L. Causey	Alma - 106 Mercer Street
Baker	J. M. Ethredge	Rt. 2, Leary
Baldwin	J. L. Sibley Jennings	Milledgeville
Baldwin	E. Culver Kidd	Milledgeville
Banks	Oscar Rucker	Maysville
Barrow	J. Julian Bennett	Winder
Bartow	J. L. Davis	Cartersville
Bartow	Leroy N. Jenkins	Cartersville
Ben Hill	C. O. (Bud) Walker	Fitzgerald
Berrien	J. H. Swindle	Ray City
Bibb	Marvin E. Kemper	Macon - 314 Villa Esta Circle
Bibb	W. Horace Vandiver	Macon - 1 Hardeman Bldg.
Bibb	Lewis D. Wilson	Macon
Bleckley	James Marion Dykes	Cochran
Brantley	W. H. Jones	Nahunta
Brooks	H. R. Garrett	Quitman
Bryan	W. K. Smith, M.D.	Pembroke
Bulloch	J. Brantley Johnson, Jr.	Statesboro
Bulloch	L. M. Mallard	Statesboro
Burke	Frank M. Cates	Waynesboro
Burke	J. J. Bargeron	Sardis
Butts	Benjamin B. Garland	Jackson
Calhoun	J. D. Cowart, Jr.	Morgan
Camden	Q. L. Claxton	Kingland
Candler	F. H. Sills	Metter
Carroll	Herschel L. Reid	Villa Rica
Carroll	Willis Smith	Carrollton - Box 315
Catoosa	James Evitt, Jr.	Ringgold
Charlton	Ralph Knabb	Moniac
Chatham	R. E. Evans, Jr.	Savannah - 121 W. York Street
Chatham	Herbert C. Skinner	Savannah - 2015 Reynolds Street
Chatham	Malberry Smith, Jr.	Savannah - 17 Drayton Street
Chattahoochee	M. R. Hollis	Cusseta,
Chattooga	H. Grady Ramey	Summerville
Cherokee	B. A. Manour	Canton - Rt. 2
Clarke	Jake B. Joel	Athens - Box 432
Clarke	Jack R. Wells	Athens - Box 541
Clay	Jim Gibbons	Fort Gaines
Clayton	A. B. Smith	Jonesboro
Clinch	Ben T. Willoughby	Homerville
Cobb	Sam J. Welsch	Marietta
Cobb	Harold S. Willingham	Marietta - Box 203
Coffee	Henry C. Ellis	Broxton - McCord Street
Coffee	Micajah Vickers	Douglas
Colquitt	Robert E. Cheshire	Moultrie
Colquitt	Wm. H. Riddlespurger	Moultrie
Columbia	Glenn S. Phillips	Harlem
Cook	D. M. Bruton	Adel
Coweta	Henry G. Arnall	Newnan - 77 LaGrange Street
Coweta	Myer Goldberg	Newnan
Crawford	Clifford R. Avera	Roberta
Crisp	Palmer H. Greene	Cordele
Dade	Rufus W. Massey	Trenton - Rt. 1
Decatur	S. N. Cox, Sr,	Bainbridge
Decatur	Tom E. Rich	Bainbridge - Box 210
DeKalb	Pierre Howard	Decatur
DeKalb	H. O. Hubert, Jr.	Decatur
DeKalb	W. Hugh McWhorter	Decatur - 302 Sycamore Drive

Dodge	Eugene E. Yawn	Eastman
Dooly	Leon F. Beddingfield	Vienna
Dougherty	Adie N. Durden	Albany
Dougherty	George L. Sabados	Albany
Douglas	Alpha A. Fowler, Jr.	Douglas
Early	Wilton B. Bostwick	Arlington
Echols	J. E. Padgett	Haylow
Effingham	H. C. Tuttle	Oliver
Elbert	E. J. Pulliam	Bowman - Rt. 1
Emanuel	H. C. Edenfield	Swainsboro - P.O. Box 209
Emanuel	George L. Smith II	Swainsboro
Evans	J. B. Glisson	Claxton
Fayette	Grady L. Huddleston	Senoia
Floyd	Dean Covington	Rome - 215 National City Bank Bld
Floyd	M. G. Hicks	Rome - Ba rron Bldg.
Floyd	A. D. Littlejohn	Rome - 14 Charlton Road
Forsyth	Jay L. Holbrook	Cumming - Rt. 2
Franklin	Ben F. Cheek	Lavonia
Fulton	Paul S. Etheridge, Jr.	Atlanta - 1311 Wm. Oliver Bldg.
Fulton	W. C. Kendrick	Atlanta - 714 Peters Bldg.
Fulton	M. M. (Muggsy) Smith	Atlanta - 601 Ten Pryor St. SW
Gilmer	Elected in General Election; Nominee unknown	
Glascock	G. M. Hardin	Gibson
Glynn	Charles L. Gowen	Brunswick
Glynn	Bernard N. Nightingale	Brunswick - 214 Dunwody Bldg.
Gordon	Buford A. Ingle	Resaca - P.O. Box 26
Grady	C. B. Trulock	Whigham
Greene	Miles Walker Lewis	Greensboro - P.O. Box 264
Gwinnett	Emmett O. Dobbs, Jr.	Buford
Gwinnett	Rhodes Jordan	Lawrenceville
Habersham	Frank D. Garrison	Cornelia
Hall	A. Richard Kenyon	Gainesville - Box 415
Hall	Howard T. Overby	Gainesville - Box 636
Hancock	John C. Lewis	Sparta
Haralson	James R. Murphy	Bremen
Hartis	Zade Kenimer	Waverly Hall
Hart	T. H. Risner	Hartwell
Heard	A. C. Caswell	Roopville
Henry	Joseph Mann	Stockbridge
Houston	John W. Bloodworth	Perry
Irwin	D. J. Henderson	Ocilla
Jackson	C. E. Hardy	Jefferson
Jasper	Wm. H. Key	Monticello
Jeff Davis	C. C. Harrison	Hazlehurst - Box 133
Jefferson	J. Roy McCracken	Avera
Jenkins	Walter Harrison	Millen
Johnson	J. H. Rowland	Wrightsville
Jones	W. B. Williams	Haddock
Lamar	A. N. Moye	Barnesville
Lanier	John W. Greer	Lakeland
Laurens	W. Herschel Lovett	Dublin
Laurens	Linton G. Malone	Dublin
Lee	C. C. Ansley	Smithville
Liberty	Marvin F. Clark, Jr.	Hinesville - Box 48
Lincoln	J. P. Wells	Lincolnton
Long	Robert L. Watford, Sr.	Ludowici
Lowndes	Country Johnston	Valdosta
Lowndes	J. E. Mathis	Valdosta
Lumpkin	G. H. Moore	Dahlonega
Macon	Tom Coogle	Oglethorpe - Box 231
Madison	A. F. Seagraves	Hull
Marion	E. C. Stevens	Buena Vista
McDuffie	Leonard N. Lokey	Thomson
McIntosh	W. E. Williams	Meridian
Meriwether	O. W. Hill	Greenville
Meriwether	G. C. Thompson	Manchester
Miller	Henry M. Miller	Colquitt
Mitchell	Fred Hand	Pelham

Mitchell	Frank S. Twitty	Camilla
Monroe	Wm. Buford Mitchell	Forsyth
Montgomery	Walter B. Morrison	Mt. Vernon
Morgan	C. R. Mason	Madison
Murray	Fred F. Long	Chatsworth
Muscogee	J. Robert Elliott	Columbus
Muscogee	Ralph M. Holleman	Columbus - Court House
Muscogee	I. Lawrence Shields	Columbus - Box 1100
Newton	A. M. Campbell	Mansfield
Oconee	Robert M. Nicholson	Watkinsville
Oglethorpe	J. C. Smith	Point Peter
Paulding	George T. Bagby	Dallas - Box 58
Peach	Sam M. Mathews	Fort Valley
Pickens	GENERAL ELECTION	
Pierce	L. H. Oden	Blackshear
Pike	W. J. Barrett, Jr.	Zebulon
Polk	W. Roy Adams	Cedartown - Box 804
Polk	Paul W. Hurt	Rockmart
Pulaski	D. C. Chalker	Hawkinsville
Putnam	Grady Leverette, Sr.	Eatonton
Quitman	Loren Gary, M.D.	Georgetown
		C
Rabun	Paul Green	Clayton
Randolph	W. H. Lockett	Cuthbert - Rt. 3
Richmond	Henry P. Eve	Augusta - 911 Marion Bldg.
Richmond	Wm. B. Morris	Augusta - 118 7th Street Bld
Richmond	John Bell Towill	Augusta - 1015 21 Southern Financ
Rockdale	James C. Mann	Conyers
Schley	Charles "Buddy" Battle	Ellaville
Screven	C. Elliott Hagan	Sylvania
Seminole	Bartow Gibson	Donalsonville
Spalding	R. L. (Bob) Addleton	Griffin - Box 327
Spalding	John J. Flynt, Jr.	Griffin
Stephens	George B. Ramsay, Jr.	Toccoa - Box 587
Stewart	Byron C. Anglin	Lumpkin
Sumter	Theron D. Jennings	Americus - Box 126
Sumter	W. G. Pearlman	Americus
Taliaferro	William R. Moore	Sharon
Talbot	H. Chris Callier	Talbotton
Tattnall	J. D. Bradley, Jr.	Glennville
Taylor	Garland T. Byrd	Reynolds
Telfair	J. K. Whaley	McRae
Terrell	Rebecca Laing Rainey	Dawson
Thomas	W. B. Cochran, Jr.	Thomasville - 223 Myrtle Drive
Thomas	Lawson Neel	Thomasville
Tift	I. Y. Conger	Tifton - 606 N. Park Avenue
Toombs	Garland H. Williams	Lyons
Towns	GENERAL ELECTION	
Treutlen	I. H. Hall	Soperton
Troup	H. W. Caldwell	LaGrange
Troup	M. E. Groover, Sr.	LaGrange
Troup	Tom Morgan	West Point
Turner	C. Z. Hardin	Ashburn
Twiggs	Homer L. Chance	Danville
Union	W. T. Meeks, Jr.	Blairsville
Upson	Robert A. Freeman	Thomaston
Upson	H. Doyal Salter	Thomaston - Box 370
Walker	Ray Crow	Rossville
Walker	John L. Mawity	Rossville
Walton	J. E. Briscoe, Jr.	Monroe
Ware	Wayne Hinson	Waycross
Ware	Jack Williams	Waycross
Warren	Jack B. Ray	Norwood
Washington	W. C. McMillan	Sandersville
Washington	Lonnie J. Moye, Jr.	Davisboro
Wayne	Robert L. Harrison	Jesup

Webster	J. L. Black	Preston
Wheeler	Wallace Adams	Glenwood
White	Guy C. Dorsey	Cleveland - Rt. 1
Whitfield	W. A. Britton	Dalton - 509 West Crawford St.
Whitfield	Stafford Brooke	Dalton
Wilcox	Dr. J. F. Witherington	Pineview
Wilkes	H. G. Garrard	Washington
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A. N. WILLIAMS
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October 30, 1946

The Hon J. Percy Priest, Chairman
House Committee on Campaign Expenditures
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

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WESTERN UNION

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GEORGE S MITCHELL=

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PLEASE WIRE COLLECT AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTIONS YOUR ORGANIZATION MADE AGAINST EUGENE E. COX, DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR CONGRESS SECOND DISTRICT OF GEORGIA JULY 17 1946 PRIMARY=

J PERCY PRIEST CHAIRMAN CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES COMMITTEE.

17 1946.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Georgia Politics

Mr. Ignoramus Hypocrisy Esq. (white)

George Avent – senior in Theology at Emory Univ.

A FAVORITE TOPIC of debate used to center around whether the jackass or the tiger in man prompted him to do more evil. Many thoughtful persons believe that either ignorance or meanness has led the people of Georgia to elect a governor who will guarantee them a greater measure of white supremacy.

Feeling as we do that ignorance was chiefly responsible for the election of Eugene Talmadge as governor, we would like to discuss in this department the issue which proved to be, as Talmadge said it would, the major issue of the campaign. That issue is, of course, the race question.

Our desire is to present the problem, as we see it, against the background of the democratic ideal—the professed philosophy of the party which elected Mr. Talmadge.

The underlying principle of democracy is that all men have an inalienable right to develop their potentialities, unhindered by considerations of race, color, or creed. Anyone who excludes the Negro from this "all men" must of necessity exclude himself from allegiance to the democratic principle as stated. If a principle is valid for all men, it is universal and necessary. Any exception destroys the integrity of the principle.

Those who desire to continue as adherents to the democratic ideal as stated above, but who insist that the Negro be excluded from enjoying equality now, must do so by introducing what we shall call "extenuating circumstances."

These are considerations in virtue of which we, justifiably or unjustifiably, alter the application of our principles in conduct. An example of this is the argument: The Negro is not educated enough to participate in our government; when he is, we will allow him to do so.

The logical conclusion which follows from this statement, if it is to be consistent with the democratic ideal, is that all people who are not educated above a certain level (to be determined by law) ought to be disfranchised. The people of Georgia have failed the ideal of democracy by not providing fairly administered educational tests for all prospective voters. Because of this they cannot escape the charge that they have been untrue to democracy.

THERE is another matter in which we believe Georgians can be demonstrated to be acting undemocratically and thus standing under an indictment issuing from their own professed ideal. This is in the matter of failing to give the Negro his share of the state's appropriation for education. The democratic ideal is to make available to all men an education which will develop all their capacities. We have not yet guaranteed this to either white or colored, but of what has been provided, the whites receive a highly disproportionate amount. We cannot justify this on the ground that the Negro would not or could not take advantage of better educational opportunities. The answer to that question will remain unknown until a sufficient experiment has been made to determine what the Negro is capable of learning and performing. We stand under an indictment of injustice and prejudice until we provide the Negro with at least a pro-rated share of appropriations for education.

If we analyze the democratic principle, we find that the individual constitutes the all-important unit in a democracy. The unit of self-consciousness, of a single rational being, is, by our definition, the object demanding our highest consideration and respect. The Negro is such a person.

The history of man reveals that in every age men of superior advantage, of one kind or another, have made something other than the individual to be of supreme consideration.

In counties of south Georgia, in which the Negro is predominant in numbers, if we determined voting rights on the basis of population, the Negro would, by rights, be the controlling body, granting that he voted as a group. These counties would be "Negro counties."

The white citizens of these counties, of course, have recognized no such claim. We do not suggest that they should. It is not mere individuality which qualifies voters in Georgia, it is a certain age and literary qualification. This is as it should be.

Given time, of course, the Negro might become the controlling factor in those counties. And that, according to our democratic ideal, is as it should be, if we deduce logically from our guiding principle.

MANY of the proponents of the ideal of dealing justly with the Negro have involved themselves in an inconsistency, and we believe, in an illusion. This is in reference to the much discussed issue of social equality. What, in the light of the democratic ideal, is logically right in this matter? The prior question for most of us is: are we willing to pledge ourselves to the truth in this as in other matters?

The people with whom we are dealing are saying that they believe in treating the Negro justly; but they do not believe in social equality. Is there a logical inconsistency in this social philosophy which is proving comforting to some of us? We believe that such a logical inconsistency does exist.

If the Negro is given an equal opportunity to develop his talents, he either will or he will not become equal, generally speaking, to the white citizenry. If he does not, he will find his natural place in the hierarchy of attainments, in which men are conformed to groups according to common interests and abilities. We find this social law at work in all societies.

In the light of the democratic ideal, we cannot legitimately invoke any other law or custom to divide men except this natural law of attainment. The moment any unnatural discrimination is applied, we violate our principle.

What then, specifically, does this mean in the matter of social equality? It means quite logically that if the Negro proved himself equal to the white man in all matters, and an unnatural social distinction was maintained, it would have to be maintained on the basis of a difference of race. And if this were done, we would violate one of the stipulations of our principle as originally stated.

We have the alternatives of pledging ourselves to alleviation and final dissolution of this problem or of repudiating the democratic ideal or of living as hypocrites before the world. By its own profession, our generation of college students has said that it hates hypocrisy above all things. Which way will we choose?

Motive, Oct. 1946

FOR FREE

(plus the cost of a measley postcard)

U. N. POSTER—A real whopper of a poster showing, with four pictures on one side, what we can expect if we truly work together as United Nations, and showing the alternative with four pictures on the other side. One picture is a view of Chicago as destroyed by an atomic bomb in 195?. This is really an attractive piece of work and is available to anyone who will display it. George O. Ludcke, Jr., General Mills, Inc., 400 Fourth Street, South, Minneapolis 15, Minn.

DO YOU KNOW?—Official publication of Committee for Amnesty for All Objectors to War and Conscription. Facts and figures on imprisoned C.O.'s with reasons for amnesty now. Literature Department, War Resisters' League, 5 Beekman Street, Room 1025, New York 7, N. Y.

THE BIBLE AND THE WORKING MAN—This booklet tells the story of a farm family that moves to the city, where the father is gradually won over to unionism. It is designed to appeal to those more familiar with religious precepts than with trade union ideology. It has been endorsed by Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish clergymen. CIO Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

BOOKPLATE DESIGNS—This is a catalogue of several hundred attractive bookplates available for purchase. Antioch Bookplates, 220 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

BRITAIN AGAINST GERMANY—This booklet contains 127 war pictures which makes for effective teaching and useful contemporary data. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

HOW TO PLAY BADMINTON—This sixty-four page pamphlet includes the 1946 official rules and a list of all the badminton associations and clubs through the nation. Wilson Sporting Goods Company, 2037 North Campbell Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM BIRTHRIGHT, INC.—This leaflet lists dozens of free and inexpensive leaflets dealing with sterilization, eugenics, numbers of stories, poems, reprints from anthropological books. Birthright, Inc., Box 441, Princeton, New Jersey.

LENINGRAD-STALINGRAD—This is a 9½x12½ book of large-size official photographs of scenes before, during and after the battles for these two historic cities. Sixty-four pages of pictures of people, soldiers, streets, leaders, artists, and maps of these cities. Write on letterhead for a copy to the Embassy of the U. S. S. R., Washington, D. C. Also if you desire them, request the newly published sixteen page speech of Stalin's and the twelve page speech given at recent elections in Moscow by Molotov.

BUILDING WITH LOGS—Learn how to build log cabins, benches, tables, and all types of furniture from this fifty-six page booklet with drawings on how to make about everything out of logs. Get out your ax and write to Fred Schoder, Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE—This publication has for its purpose the promotion of better race relations. Write for sample copy. F.C.C.C.A., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

PUT ON THAT ASBESTOS RAINCOAT [*Continued from page 12*]

courage when there is a small attendance at some church gathering. Actually, however, there is a positive thrust in the words. They suggest the creative power of fellowship. Two or three people gathered together because of their common beliefs are not simply two or three times as effective as a single individual, but twenty times or a hundred times more effective. It is in such fellowships that high spiritual power is generated. This is one of the reasons why the church is important to us. *The New Testament,* as John Wesley said a long time ago, knows nothing of solitary religion. It is through fellowship, intimate association in the spiritual quest, that extraordinary power is released.

Then we must reach out in fellowship to share with others the truth and the life that has laid hold of us. Jesus proclaimed his message. He called disciples into an intimate fellowship group for inspiration and discipline. Then he sent them out—not alone, but two by two to share the faith and to bring others into the fellowship of the coming kingdom. It is a timeless pattern. Not only the Communists but also the Christians can make use of the "cell" method. We must through fellowship receive the new life ourselves and we must share it with others by means of fellowship.

THERE is something that we can do for the world that is more important than merely giving ourselves. We can become transmitters to the world of something greater and better than we are. A medieval mystic once wrote, "I would fain be to the Eternal Goodness what his own hand is to a man." Was it not Muriel Lester who said that if you put a straw in the right place and turn it in the right direction the Gulf Stream will flow through it? It is possible for a human life to be so adjusted to the mainstream of God's will that power and wisdom and goodness infinitely greater than ourselves flow through.

And in the book of *Genesis* there is an old legend about the ancient city of Sodom. As the story goes, Sodom was so dreadfully wicked that there was nothing for God to do but rain fire and brimstone upon it. But, according to the legend, the presence of ten righteous men in the city would have saved it. But where were the ten? Our world today resembles Sodom a good deal more than it resembles the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven. Surely we have had our baptism of fire and brimstone during the past years. Is it still true that ten righteous persons can save a seemingly hopeless situation?

William James said: "I am done with great things and big things, great institutions, and big successes, and I am for those tiny, invisible, molecular, moral forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, yet which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride."

SCHIZO ON THE LOOSE! [*Continued from page 35*]

iated herself before him, he was hardly the perfect Son of God when he replied, "It is not fair to take the children's (Jew's) bread and throw it to the dogs (Canaanites)." Then, grovelling, the miserable woman said that "even dogs eat the crumbs from the masters' tables." That remark appeased him; he overcame his prejudice and healed her daughter, so we'd better forgive him for that, I guess.

Now understand me, Sir, I'm not blaming Jesus for this uncertainty about his mission; if he didn't know whether the Kingdom belongs to everyone or just to the Jews, I'm sure I don't. All I say is, his record needs more clarity.

The scholars say, "You have to understand his situation . . . Matthew had a *Jewish* outlook . . . Perhaps he misunderstood Jesus." But, Sir, I'm a simple-minded man. I want a straight-forward ideal that I can count on to be accurate. If I always have to ask, Does this teaching from Jesus measure up to the standards of Jesus? I might as well junk Jesus and decide things for myself.

I might revere Jesus completely if he really had been "tempted like as we are" —but was *he ever faced* with just a "teeny" bit of spying on an exam when his staying in school depended on it? That's the devil of a temptation. Was he ever faced with the draft and the gosh-awful army regulations? Was he ever in love, and faced the everlasting No, No of conscience every time a pretty girl went by? Then how can *he speak* with complete authority if he never had the real experience?

Sorry, Sir, but I'm done with double-mindedness, even in Jesus.

Regretfully,
SKEPTIC

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

December 20, 1946

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed are the newspaper clippings which you so generously lent me several months ago. They were invaluable aids in my report on the Georgia primaries and I certainly appreciate your efforts in compiling these articles.

Yours very truly,

Robert B. Payne

Robert B. Payne

November 1, 1946

Mr. Robert B. Payne
71 Little Hall
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Payne:

Thank you for your letter of October 23 requesting material on the Georgia Primaries of 1946.

We have a rather complete file of newspaper clippings on the election, but since we have only one copy of most of the clippings and frequent occasions to use the files, we do not like to take the files from the office. The clippings that we have in duplicate, however, we are lending to you, enclosing them in this letter. We should like to have them back, please, when you have completed your research.

The Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations for August-September, 1946, carries an article reviewing editorial opinion on the extension of Negro suffrage in the South. You might find this article helpful. If the Monthly Summary is not in the Princeton Library, you may obtain a copy from the Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

If the Princeton Library subscribes to either the Atlanta Journal or Constitution, you should have a good coverage of the Georgia elections, as both newspapers reported events rather accurately and impartially. The Atlanta Daily World is the local Negro newspaper, and The Statesman is the weekly paper published by Eugene Talmadge. If you have access to either of these you will probably find

some interesting material for your case study. The Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library should have copies of the World, and possibly you can find copies of the Statesman in one of the branches of the New York Library, also.

We hope that you will find these clippings and suggestions of other sources of information helpful. If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Enclosure

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 23, 1946

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University is conducting a conference this fall on the Negro in Southern Politics. The phase of this problem that I am undertaking is a case study of the Georgia primaries of 1946. Because research material on the primaries in Georgia is particularly difficult to obtain in New Jersey, I am taking the liberty of writing to you in the hope you may have material that would be of assistance in my work. Necessarily, I must stress the part the Negro played in the campaign, but any other material on the campaign would be welcome; campaign literature, newspaper clippings, articles, etc. Also I would appreciate any other sources you might suggest from which I might gain this information.

Yours very truly,

Robert B. Payne

Robert B Payne

71 Little Hall
Princeton, N J.

Perhaps some clipping which we have duplicate
Reference to p. 51 of Monthly Summary,
Aug-Sept. issue, 1946.

Politics, Ga

January 14, 1947

Honorable Ellis G. Arnall
Governor of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor:

If the Legislature elects Herman Talmadge--as I fear it is going to do today--for God's sake and for Georgia's sake please stay in there and fight to the finish! This is your greatest battle for law and order in Georgia.

The election of Herman Talmadge, who was not even a candidate for governor, would not only be unconstitutional but downright ridiculous. Only Gilbert and Sullivan could do justice to such a situation!

Your recent letter concerning the Walton County lynchings was splendid. It is a statement which we would like very much to make public. Will you give us permission to make public our exchange of letters as soon as this question of the governorship has been settled?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

Pulton - Gr

December 31, 1946

Honorable Ellis G. Arnall
Governor of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Governor Arnall:

As your term as Governor of Georgia draws to a close, I want to express appreciation for what you have achieved during your administration.

You have been a constant influence for good government and social progress in Georgia. You have caught the vision of the better day which is possible under a constructive and liberal state government, and you have carried your message to the people of Georgia and of the nation. You have lifted the name of Georgia from ridicule to high respect in the eyes of the nation.

Of course, you are well aware of the fact that there has been a reaction against you in certain quarters. I believe this is temporary and that the great majority of Georgians will soon have a better appreciation of what you mean to our state. I am confident that you will continue to fight for the right and that you will again hold a position of political leadership in Georgia or in the national scene.

I know that the Walton County lynchings have been very much on your mind. Would you be willing to make one more public statement on this matter before you leave office? May I respectfully urge you to make a statement expressing (1) your disappointment that so far no indictments have been made, (2) your hope that the state will continue its efforts until this atrocity has been punished, and (3) your views as to the measures needed to deal effectively with the problem of mob violence?

Because the Walton County lynchings were particularly outrageous, they stand even now, months after, in the forefront of the nation's conscience. Because they occurred in Georgia and because you bravely and with energy and ingenuity brought to bear on them the law enforcement machinery of both the state and federal governments, you are singled out among

governors as the one whose experience in the problem of lynching and of its punishment is deepest and broadest.

With highest regards and with greetings for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:t

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A housing and slum-clearance program.
Expanded light plant; more street lights.
A recreation center, stadium and auditorium.
Completion of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.
A tunnel or third bridge across the St. Johns.

NEW THREAT TO THE SOUTH

We call special attention to the column by Thomas L. Stokes which appears on this page today, because it describes the latest and most clever of the long series of attempts to hold back the economic progress of the South. Mr. Stokes describes the plans now afoot to rush through the Eightieth Congress the Bulwinkle bill, which would exempt the railroads from the anti-trust laws.

As this columnist points out, this evil measure is an attempt to preserve the discriminatory freight rates with which the South has been so long saddled, and which now seem destined to be removed through a Supreme Court ruling in the suit brought by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia. The nation as a whole would suffer if this great gaping hole were blasted in the anti-trust laws, but the first to suffer, and the worst to suffer, would be the states of the South which are only now beginning to climb out of the depths of economic oppression.

The hope of the proponents of this measure, as is always the case with the designs of special interests, is that they can pass it quietly. This was done in the House during the last Congress, but the plot was forestalled in the Senate. Is Florida's congressional delegation on its toes to stop the little game so neatly exposed by Mr. Stokes? We certainly hope so.

HOSPITALS: GOOD BUT SCANT

All of Jacksonville's six hospitals, it was announced yesterday, have received the approval of the American College of Surgeons. In addition, four have been approved by the education committee of the American Medical Association for various kinds of medical education.

The same thing, it seems, is true on the hospital front in Jacksonville as is true with regard to public health administration and with regard to public schools: those who are fighting on these fronts are fighting hard, and doing the best they can with what they have, but they simply do not have enough. This stamp of approval on the city's hospitals in no way changes the fact that Jackson-

UNCLE CLEVE.... *Florida Filosofy*

THEN AND NOW

Dear Journal: DeFuniak Springs, Jan. 23.

This is to contrast things as they were fifty-five years ago with the way they are today. When two dogs met in the street fifty-five years ago there was a dog-fight, and when a rough-neck got a few shots of "personal liberty" under his belt, he also went on the war-path. There wasn't so very much difference between dogs and people in those days. A dog would fight even if he was cold-sober, but the yap, as a rule, had to bowl up on chain lightning to make his heels stay put.

Uncle Cleve

Fifty-five years ago the United States government was bigger and more powerful than any bunch of gangsters or gunmen, and juvenile delinquency was comparatively unknown, for the reason that every woman stayed at home and personally supervised the rearing of her own children, instead of letting them go to the devil while she gabbed off to some sort of club meeting to tell other women how to raise theirs.

Fifty-five years ago lots of people believed that the world was flat, and that toothache could be "conjured" and cured. Today we know that the world, round or flat, is in a dickens of a fix and that the dentist is the best remedy for an aching tooth.

Some conditions are better now than they were fifty-five years ago, and these are being played up and greatly magnified to prove that "the world is getting better." Some other things are as bad, and in some cases much worse than they were fifty-five years ago. A return to conditions as they existed in the "horse-and-buggy days" is unthinkable, but some of the customs of that era could be projected into the present without hurting us any.

For instance, I never saw a woman or girl of real or supposed respectability under the influence of alcoholic beverages fifty-five years ago. Are there any such now? I am asking you. I have seen plenty of them during the era of "the noble experiment" and subsequently, and I am told that instances of feminine intoxication are nothing out of the ordinary about night clubs and cocktail lounges.

LARKIN CLEVELAND.

No child is born into the world to be bad or to be good. He is as bad or as good as we make it possible for him to be.

—Judge Jacob Panken of New York Domestic

Are We Going to Follow Georgia?

RALPH McGILL. *One Southerner's Viewpoint*

Primary Election Laws: How It Looks From Georgia

Georgia's legislature apparently will proceed Monday with bills which will have for their purpose the protection of what generally is referred to as "white supremacy" laws and regulations.

The bills may be expected to follow the pattern as adopted by South Carolina more than a year ago. (And about which South Carolina is so uneasy). That is, they will take away from the state code all laws pertaining to the primary. This will be done in the belief that the state primary laws will then be safe from any interference by federal law. As aforesaid, South Carolina always is regretful and in doubt.

Ralph McGill

While awaiting the proposals and the debate, it is well to

Georgia expressed itself in favor of such legislation last summer. There was a general reaction against the methods of negro voting and the charge of bloc voting was substantiated by the fact that many negroes who could not read or write were herded to the polls with marked, sample ballots. In many counties these sample ballots were passed back down the line as it moved on toward the balloting booths, or tables.

Without question many hundreds were thus allowed to vote who were not qualified by the little law that dealt with the subject. It was a badly handled situation and the net result did harm to the negro claim to citizenship.

Great impetus, and considerable hysteria, was given the idea of abolishing all laws dealing with the primary so as to bar forever the participation of any negro

to have a calm discussion. Tempers are such that any person who may wish to discuss the problem will be shouted down as a "nigger lover" or as a Henry Wallace Communist. The person who is fearful of being smeared by such empty and ridiculous calumnies will keep quiet, and there will be little or no debate.

These things are like fevers. They must run a course. History has shown that rarely is there any other way out. But, a man may raise his voice and urge for reason and calm considerations. As well as for simple justice and a facing of realities.

The intolerance which persists in demanding that we establish by law the inferiority of black skins to white skins or the intolerance which insists that all persons of white skins accept all persons with colored skins as equals, has no real business in legislative deliberation. They are

LETTERS..... *From Readers*

READER REPLIES TO EDITORIAL

Editor Journal: Regarding tonight's editorial entitled "Federal Gun Law Needed," isn't it true that this country no longer burns witches? Isn't it time for us to recognize the true causes of such things as the Jacksonville homicide rate which you would curb with a "Federal Gun Law?"

He is indeed a poor doctor who concentrates upon the treatment of symptoms and ignores causes. Many of this nation's troubles (racial, labor, criminal, and political) are the result of nothing but ignorance, and, as such, will respond rapidly to education but can never be solved by legislation.

If it is deaths you would eliminate, would it not be more fitting to campaign for an educational program acquainting all with methods of handling safely all the newly developed machines and ideas which this century is bringing forth so abundantly? He who is familiar with firearms and who has fired them in competition, is not usually involved in homicidal attempts. All true Americans should know their arms and how they are used, for it is with those arms that their land was won and has been held inviolate. And when most of the fighting was done it was not done by the professional soldier, but by the man who laid down his plow and took up his rifle.

When I am away in the interest of my profession it is comforting to know that any intruder into my home will be met by devastating and accurate fire, controlled by a woman who knows what it is like to experience intrusion unarmed.

From the Los Angeles Examiner (9-16-43) comes the headline, "REDS DEMAND ARMS REGISTRY—Sportsmen Oppose Proposal."

Do you still think "there ought to be a law," or are you willing to believe in the ideals of the National Rifle Association and help to make this again "A Nation of Riflemen."

W. E. MANN, JR.,
U. S. Navy,
1235 Challen Avenue.

THOMAS L. STOKES.... *Capital View*

Helping Railroads Become Monopolies

Both Democrats and Republicans have indulged in pious mouthings, in party platforms and from the stump, about preserving the free, competitive enterprise system.

Stokes

With equal piety, they have pledged to protect the system by curbing monopoly and monopolistic practices. Big business, too, has been saying some sweet things lately about the necessity of curbing monopoly, though in a sort of second-fiddle way to more noisy complaints about an alleged monopoly of labor.

The big smoke in the new Congress is over doing something about labor.

Now, behind this smokescreen, a nice little plot is being hatched to build up and perpetuate a most dangerous monopoly that concerns everyone of us. It affects the prices we pay for most everything, jobs, and small business, as monopoly always does. It gets down to the fundamentals of our daily living, however much it may be disguised in smooth, technical arguments.

The plot is embodied in the so-called Bulwinkle Bill that would exempt railroads, as well as allied transportation agencies, motor carriers, water carriers and pipelines, from the anti-trust laws. This measure was rushed through the House in the last Democratic Congress after only 40 minutes of debate, but was sidetracked in the Senate, thanks to the alertness of a group of Democrats and pro-

that this is an entering wedge to exempt other industries from anti-trust laws and thus further the purposes of monopoly. The rush in on to enact this bill in order to short-circuit the supreme court, which has before it an anti-trust case brought by ex-Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia charging discrimination in rates against the South. The aim also is to nullify a suit brought by the Government against western roads charging conspiracy to fix rates.

The same sort of short-circuit trick was tried by the insurance industry not long ago with a bill to exempt insurance from anti-trust laws. A case then pending before the supreme court involved that issue. That bill was delayed by the Senate, thanks to Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), until after the decision by the supreme court which held insurance subject to federal anti-trust laws. Subsequently a compromise measure was passed by Congress exempting insurance companies from federal anti-trust laws until next year.

Arguments in the Georgia railroad case begin March 15 before a master delegated by the court to take testimony, Lloyd Garrison. The western case is fixed for trial April 23.

The Bulwinkle-Reed bill goes beyond the railroad and allied transportation agencies in its effect, as was pointed out here in a series of articles several months ago. It would legalize rates and schedules fixed by regional rate bureaus and dominated by and subservient to the American Railroad Ass'n., a sort of top oligarchy which, itself, is tied up with big banking and industrial interests concentrated in the East.

This group would have power

measure, as is always the case with the designs of special interests, is that they can pass it quietly. This was done in the House during the last Congress, but the plot was forestalled in the Senate. Is Florida's congressional delegation on its toes to stop the little game so neatly exposed by Mr. Stokes? We certainly hope so.

HOSPITALS: GOOD BUT SCANT

All of Jacksonville's six hospitals, it was announced yesterday, have received the approval of the American College of Surgeons. In addition, four have been approved by the education committee of the American Medical Association for various kinds of medical education.

The same thing, it seems, is true on the hospital front in Jacksonville as is true with regard to public health administration and with regard to public schools: those who are fighting on these fronts are fighting hard, and doing the best they can with what they have, but they simply do not have enough. This stamp of approval on the city's hospitals in no way changes the fact that Jacksonville still does not have as many hospital beds available as is required for safety in proportion to its population.

Currently, the greatest attempt to make up for this inadequacy is the Baptists' project for building a 150-bed hospital here. In this they need a great deal of support from the general public. To deny them that support would be to reject a great opportunity to get Jacksonville over to the safe side, hospital-wise.

HONOR FOR GUERNSEY

Andy Jackson doffed his hat this week in the direction of S. Kendrick Guernsey, when the news came that this outstanding Jaxon was slated to become the next president of Rotary International. But Andy, thus saluting, was representing more than the city of Jacksonville. He was speaking for the whole state of Florida—as, indeed, Guernsey is a citizen of the whole state and will represent the whole state in this high national fraternal office.

Said the Tampa Tribune editorially: "Floridians generally and Florida Rotarians particularly are highly pleased that a Florida man is to be the next president of Rotary International. S. Kendrick Guernsey, formerly of Orlando, has been nominated for this eminent office by Rotary's nominating committee, which insures his election."

Jacksonville and this corner of the state have reason to know well the capacities of this fine citizen, for he has served them well as a member of the State Road Department. The state as a whole, and the servicemen who were stationed here during the war, know the results of his work as state chairman of the USO. As vice-president of the Gulf Life Insurance Company he is a national business leader. The Journal, seconding Andy, makes a deep bow in the direction of its next-door neighbor on Church street.

LIZZIE FOR LESS

A cut of $25 on a car selling for more than $1,000 may not seem very much. But it's a cut. It probably indicates the turn of a tide. It certainly indicates that prices of other cars need go no higher.

Cotton dresses need not go any higher, either. Nor shirts, nor furniture, nor electric washing machines. Too many things have been priced far out of line. It is high time they came down to earth, where ordinary earthy folks can buy them when they need them.

Neither flivvers nor butter nor clothes are down yet to where they prices make sense to the customer, but they are beginning to slide. The Fords say frankly they are in a mass production business and expect to do better with prices at which they can expect mass buying than when they can sell only to a few and to those infrequently. They want lots of buyers getting new lizzies every year.

the world was flat, and that toothache could be "conjured" and cured. Today we know that the world, round or flat, is in a dickens of a fix and that the dentist is the best remedy for an aching tooth.

Some conditions are better now than they were fifty-five years ago, and these are being played up and greatly magnified to prove that "the world is getting better." Some other things are as bad, and in some cases much worse than they were fifty-five years ago. A return to conditions as they existed in the "horse-and-buggy days" is unthinkable, but some of the customs of that era could be projected into the present without hurting us any.

For instance, I never saw a woman or girl of real or supposed respectability under the influence of alcoholic beverages fifty-five years ago. Are there any such now? I am asking you. I have seen plenty of them during the era of "the noble experiment" and subsequently, and I am told that instances of feminine intoxication are nothing out of the ordinary about night clubs and cocktail lounges.

LARKIN CLEVELAND.

No child is born into the world to be bad or to be good. He is as bad or as good as we make it possible for him to be.

—Judge Jacob Panken of New York Domestic Relations Court.

HOP PERKINS: ... *Nothing Serious*

ODDS ON CUPID

I hope you readers realize what a potent force your newspaper is. We people in the newspaper business practically run the world. Molding public opinion, you know. And it keeps us mighty busy.

Hop Perkins

Right now we're working on a big case in England: we're trying to decide if it's okay for the future Queen, Princess Elizabeth, to marry Prince Philip of Greece. You may remember how we of the press made things mighty hot for the Duke of Windsor when he fell kerplop for Mrs. Simpson; why, the Yorkshire Post is even credited wtih having precipitated the constitutional crisis which made him give up the throne. And now another of our London contemporaries, The Sunday Pictorial (circulation—2,500,000), is messing around with Elizabeth's love life. They're running a poll of readers' views on her rumored engagement.

So far the results of the poll are not too happy for the Princess. It seems that only 55% of the readers favor her marrying Philip. 40% are dead against her choice of the Greek Prince. And the remaining 5% say that it's okay for Liz to marry Phil if she'll renounce her right to the throne.

You can imagine how eagerly Elizabeth must look forward to the latest issue of the Pictorial. I imagine she waits just outside the Palace door for the newsboy to come by and fling her copy on the porch (except when he misses and the paper lands in the muddy flower bed).

Well, it just goes to show you the power of the press. And the importance of the public opinion poll in world affairs. But aren't we carrying this poll idea too far when we let it interfere with romance? Where do we get off telling Cupid where the survey says he should aim his darts? Personally, I hope Princess Elizabeth will do what her heart tells her. If she gives in to The Sunday Pictorial now, they'll want to run every detail of her life from here on. She won't be allowed to do a thing without checking first with the Survey Desk of the Pictorial. 2,500,000 readers will be asked to decide what kind of wedding dress she should have and where she must go on her honeymoon—in addition to having the final say-so on any plans in the nursery line.

Mr. Gallup started something big with his original poll, but lately it's been running away from him. It's time we slowed Gallup down to a trot.

I was all right when I got into the car to go home, but as I drove along the street lights kept coming too close to me.

—Circus midget in Chicago traffic court.

THOUGHT FOR TODAY

Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in Me.—John 15:4.

◈ ◈ ◈ ◈

Hast thou not learn'd what thou art often told,
A truth still sacred, and believed of old,
That no success attends on spears and swords
Unblest, and that the battle is the Lord's?

—Cowper.

RALPH McGILL. *One Southerner's Viewpoint*

Primary Election Laws: How It Looks From Georgia

Georgia's legislature apparently will proceed Monday with bills which will have for their purpose the protection of what generally is referred to as "white supremacy" laws and regulations.

The bills may be expected to follow the pattern as adopted by South Carolina more than a year ago. (And about which South Carolina is so uneasy). That is, they will take away from the state code all laws pertaining to the primary. This will be done in the belief that the state primary laws will then be safe from any interference by federal law. As aforesaid, South Carolina always is regretful and in doubt.

Ralph McGill

While awaiting the proposals and the debates, it is well, I think, to discuss the general proposal.

Certain facts seem obvious.

One is that no supremacy of any sort may be based on or protected by law.

Another is that it is not at all necessary to abolish the laws protecting the ballot to bar from elections those not qualified to vote, whatever their color. Qualification laws, which most of our states long have had, will bar from the ballot box any person who should not be there.

New York state has a very real qualification law which would bear study.

Georgia expressed itself in favor of such legislation last summer. There was a general reaction against the methods of negro voting and the charge of bloc voting was substantiated by the fact that many negroes who could not read or write were herded to the polls with marked, sample ballots. In many counties these sample ballots were passed back down the line as it moved on toward the balloting booths, or tables.

Without question many hundreds were thus allowed to vote who were not qualified by the little law that dealt with the subject. It was a badly handled situation and the net result did harm to the negro claim to citizenship.

Great impetus, and considerable hysteria, was given the idea of abolishing all laws dealing with the primary so as to bar forever the participation of any negro voter.

No thought, apparently, has been given to possible federal legislation or rulings of the future, or to the fact that qualification laws would add to the protection of the ballot, and that there is no actual need for wholesale abolition.

The ironic fact is that in almost every county in this, and other southern states, a relatively small number of negroes always have been allowed to vote in the Democratic primaries by a sort of unspoken realization they were qualified.

• • •

Regrettably, it is not possible to have a calm discussion. Tempers are such that any person who may wish to discuss the problem will be shouted down as a "nigger lover" or as a Henry Wallace Communist. The person who is fearful of being smeared by such empty and ridiculous calumnies will keep quiet, and there will be little or no debate.

These things are like fevers. They must run a course. History has shown that rarely is there any other way out. But, a man may raise his voice and urge for reason and calm considerations. As well as for simple justice and a facing of realities.

The intolerance which persists in demanding that we establish by law the inferiority of black skins to white skins or the intolerance which insists that all persons of white skins accept all persons with colored skins as equals, has no real business in legislative deliberation. They are not at all the real questions, as everyone knows. The struggle for political power does not necessarily call for extremes which must breed extremes.

The ballot needs, even the late Eugene Talmadge said in his campaign to get more such laws in 1938, a great deal more protection—not less. Let us think well before we embark on a course which may curse us much more than a few colored votes. Qualification laws protect the ballot. It is impossible to view the abolishment of protecting laws without genuine alarm and concern for the future of our election procedures.

WESTBROOK PEGLER.... *Fair Enough*

Mr. Rossbach Keeps His Seat While the Horse Is Stolen

Attorney General Tom Clark has emphatically impugned the administration of Edgar H. Rossbach, the United States attorney, in Newark, N. J., who last week lost an income tax fraud case against Joe Fay, a notorious crook and a mighty man in the Frank Hague political organization, of which Rossbach is a member.

PEGLER

Clark said this defeat was a "——damned outrage" and ordered an investigation of Rossbach's office.

The same office lost a black-market case in October, 1945, against another blackmailing union racketeer, as evil as Fay himself, after a trial before the same Federal judge who heard the Fay case, Thomas F. Meaney, also a Hague man in politics. The defendant in that one was Benjamin Pross, of New York, who operates a local union of the Wine, Liquor and Distillery Workers' Union. He is a thief who worked in bankruptcy frauds before he turned to the union racket and had been convicted of three offenses.

In the black market job it was shown that Pross compelled Schenley Distillers Corporation to allot to a New York wholesale liquor firm 10,500 cases of whiskey above its rationed quota by threatening to strike the Schenley plants. His pretext was that 106 employees of a small plant which Schenley had bought and was closing down must have work and that the handling of this liquor would provide employment for them. Actually, 10,500 cases would provide only a trifling spell of employment for only a few men and there was no record showing that more than five workers ever got jobs out of the deal. These five did not appear to be men displaced by the abandonment of the old, small plant and the length of their employment was not clearly shown. Moreover, Pross did not report this deal to his union.

At that time, in the summer of 1943, the liquor industry was rationing whiskey to its dealers and the black market was very active. The Treasury showed that this excess allotment went into the black market in the neighborhoods of Army training camps in Georgia, Texas, Louisiana and other southern States. American soldiers paid as much as $25 a bottle at retail and the excess price, by the case, to the Southern wholesale black market dealers ranged from $4 to $17.

* * *

Because he was a criminal with an unusually nasty record, Pross was afraid to take the witness stand in the Federal Court in Newark. He may have been hypersensitive in this. Fay, too, has a record, extending back about 25 years, but he took the stand in his defense before Mr. Rossbach and was treated with admirable courtesy. In fact, Mr. Rossbach conducted his cross-examination from a sitting position and did not embarrass the hoodlum politician with a number of searching questions which might have given a fair jury a very unfavorable impression of him. However, the Pross case was conducted by Charles A. Stanziale, an assistant to Mr. Rossbach, and it is easily possible that he would have gone after Pross much more aggressively.

Mr. Stanziale said he prosecuted the black market case with utmost vigor and could not understand how the jury could acquit Pross and still convict two minor accomplices. All ended well for the accomplices, however, for the August and Honorable Judge Meaney set aside their convictions on the ground that when the jury acquitted Pross the trunk of the conspiracy was cut. I thought it passing strange when I interviewed Mr. Stanziale last fall that he wouldn't let me see the record and said the boss, Mr. Rossbach, might not thank him for discussing the case with me.

Although Brother Pross' local is a New York racket of the A. F. of L., his jurisdiction extends into the Frank Hague territory in New Jersey, where a man able to command liquor in 1000-case lots in blackmarket days and to shake down the industry at will at all times by threats of labor trouble naturally would be a person of standing and high privilege. As elements of the CIO have complained from time to time, unioneering is a highly political racket over there. When the learned Judge Meaney, who now has had the distinguished honor to preside over the acquittal of two of the nastiest parasites on the body of labor, was up for confirmation in the Senate, some of his warmest testimonials came from eminent colleagues of Brother Fay representing groups and councils of A. F. of L. unions.

* * *

Because the Pross trial was not ogled intently by the press the opportunity was lost to observe whether the jury was chosen with the same simple trust in human nature that permitted Mr. Rossbach to accept on the Fay jury a man who had been a member of Fay's own union. Mr. Stanziale thought he had just about put the illicit profits in Brother Pross' pocket, and so it seemed from the evidence in review. Moreover, it did appear that if the accomplices were guilty, as the jury thought, then Pross must have been guilty, too, because he was the one who black-mailed Schneley out of the 10,500 cases, most of which was traced positively, by identifying data, into the black markets. After a lapse of time he bought a voluptuous country estate, but by then he had been cleared of profiteering on our brave lads.

The practice of law, like the practice of medicine, phrenology and gin-rummy, surrounds the practitioner with an assumption of good faith. Challenge it and indignation ensues, or worse. The lawyer may snort and bawl at a witness or defendant and yet ask the wrong questions, ask questions the wrong way or neglect to ask questions that another lawyer things he ought to have. Not often, however, or certainly not as a rule, does a prosecutor waive his historic rights and cross-examine a bottle-scarred old toss-pot such as Fay in the mannerly tones that Rossbach used, and from a sitting position.

Now Mr. Clark is sending a fellow up to Newark to have a look at that barn door, but this is a hell of a time to think of it.

sweet things lately about the necessity of curbing monopoly, though in a sort of second-fiddle way to more noisy complaints about an alleged monopoly of labor.

The big smoke in the new Congress is over doing something about labor.

Now, behind this smokescreen, a nice little plot is being hatched to build up and perpetuate a most dangerous monopoly that concerns everyone of us. It affects the prices we pay for most everything, jobs, and small business, as monopoly always does. It gets down to the fundamentals of our daily living, however much it may be disguised in smooth, technical arguments.

The plot is embodied in the so-called Bulwinkle Bill that would exempt railroads, as well as allied transportation agencies, motor carriers, water carriers and pipelines, from the anti-trust laws. This measure was rushed through the House in the last Democratic Congress after only 40 minutes of debate, but was sidetracked in the Senate, thanks to the alertness of a group of Democrats and progressive Republicans. Its sponsor was Rep. Bulwinkle (D., N. C.)

The plot now is to rush this bill first through the Senate and again through the House, which is necessary in a new Congress. The Senate interstate commerce committee has been called in session with the plan to hold public hearings for a day or two on this most important and far-reaching bill, sponsored in the Senate by Senator Reed (R., Kan.).

A vigrous protest against such rush proceedings was made by Senator Tobey (R., Vt.). Senators Tobey and Johnson (D., S. C.), voted against the bill in committee last session. On the issue, itself, Senator Tobey said Congress had no right to take a huge segment of our economy from under the anti-trust laws.

He recognizes, as do others, to exempt insurance from anti-trust laws. A case then pending before the supreme court involved that issue. That bill was delayed by the Senate, thanks to Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), until after the decision by the supreme court which held insurance subject to federal anti-trust laws. Subsequently a compromise measure was passed by Congress exempting insurance companies from federal anti-trust laws until next year.

Arguments in the Georgia railroad case begin March 15 before a master delegated by the court to take testimony, Lloyd Garrison. The western case is fixed for trial April 23.

The Bulwinkle-Reed bill goes beyond the railroad and allied transportation agencies in its effect, as was pointed out here in a series of articles several months ago. It would legalize rates and schedules fixed by regional rate bureaus and dominated by and subservient to the American Railroad Ass'n., a sort of top oligarchy which, itself, is tied up with big banking and industrial interests concentrated in the East.

This group would have power that would permit it "to dictate whether other business shall enjoy competitive success or be stifled to death", as the Tobey-Johnston minority report put it, as well as to hold back industrial development of the South and West, and generally to control prices of all sorts of things in which freight rates are a factor. It would be a dangerous private monopoly.

The congressional Republican leadership could hardly get off to a worse start than to pass such special interest legislation. It would, as well, give President Truman a ready-made issue. It is known that he will veto it, and his veto message will give him an opportunity to make some pointed remarks about passing such legislation while refusing to do anything about a number of social welfare measures long pending.

JAMES MARLOW.... *The Nation Today*

The Fulbright Presidency Proposals

Senator Fulbright, Arkansas. Democrat, startled the Democrats with his idea about the presidency. Now he has backed up his ideas with two proposals in Congress:

1. A law to permit a presidential election in mid-term if the President died or quit and there were no vice-president, as now.

2. An amendment to the constitution by which the President or Congress could call an election any time for President and Congress.

This is how it came about:

In 1886 Congress passed an act—it still stands—which said who'd be President if, for any reason, there were no President or vice-president.

First in line would be secretary of state and, after him, if anything happened to him, the other members of the cabinet.

When Vice-President Truman became President, we were left without a vice-president. Secretary of State Marshall now would be next in line.

But when Mr. Truman became President two years ago, his own political party, the Democrats, controlled House and Senate in Congress.

In last November's elections the Republicans won control of both houses. So these questions arose:

Would Mr. Truman be able to get along with the Republican Congress?

Or would they block each other? If so, would the country suffer?

Mr. Truman has two more years in the White House. The next presidential and congressional elections are in 1948.

Senator Fulbright thinks the November elections in 1946 show the people want the Republicans to run the country until 1948.

He suggested, after the November elections that Mr. Truman appoint a Republican secretary of state to succeed him and then quit, under that act of 1886.

That would mean a Republican President as well as a Republican Congress. The Fulbright idea shocked a lot of Democrats. No President had ever quit.

Mr. Truman made it plain he wouldn't quit. Now Mr. Fulbright has made his two proposals in this Republican - controlled Congress.

He suggested Congress change that act of 1886, in this way:

Anytime there's no vice-president and the President dies or quits there shall be an election within 90 days for President and vice-president.

So anytime the opposition party won control of Congress, the President, if he thought the people wanted a man from that party as President, could quit and let the people show by voting whether they did or not.

If there were a President and vice-president—and an opposition party won control of Congress—both could quit and let an election be held.

But Senator Fulbright offered another suggestion, a proposed amendment to the constitution which would need a two-thirds vote in both houses and approval by 36 states before it could go into effect.

But, once it was a part of the constitution, this could happen:

Any time at all, for any reason, the President could call for an election for President, vice-president, and both houses of Congress. Congress wouldn't have to okay this.

Or any time at all, for any reason, Congress could call for an election for President, vice-president, members of House and senate.

(Congress could call for such an election by simple majority vote and without any okay from the President).

But no matter who called the election—President or Congress—the terms of the President, vice-president, and members of both houses would run thereafter for six years, unless ended by another such election.

This would be similar to the British system where elections can be held any time it is thought the majority party in parliament doesn't represent the wishes of the people.

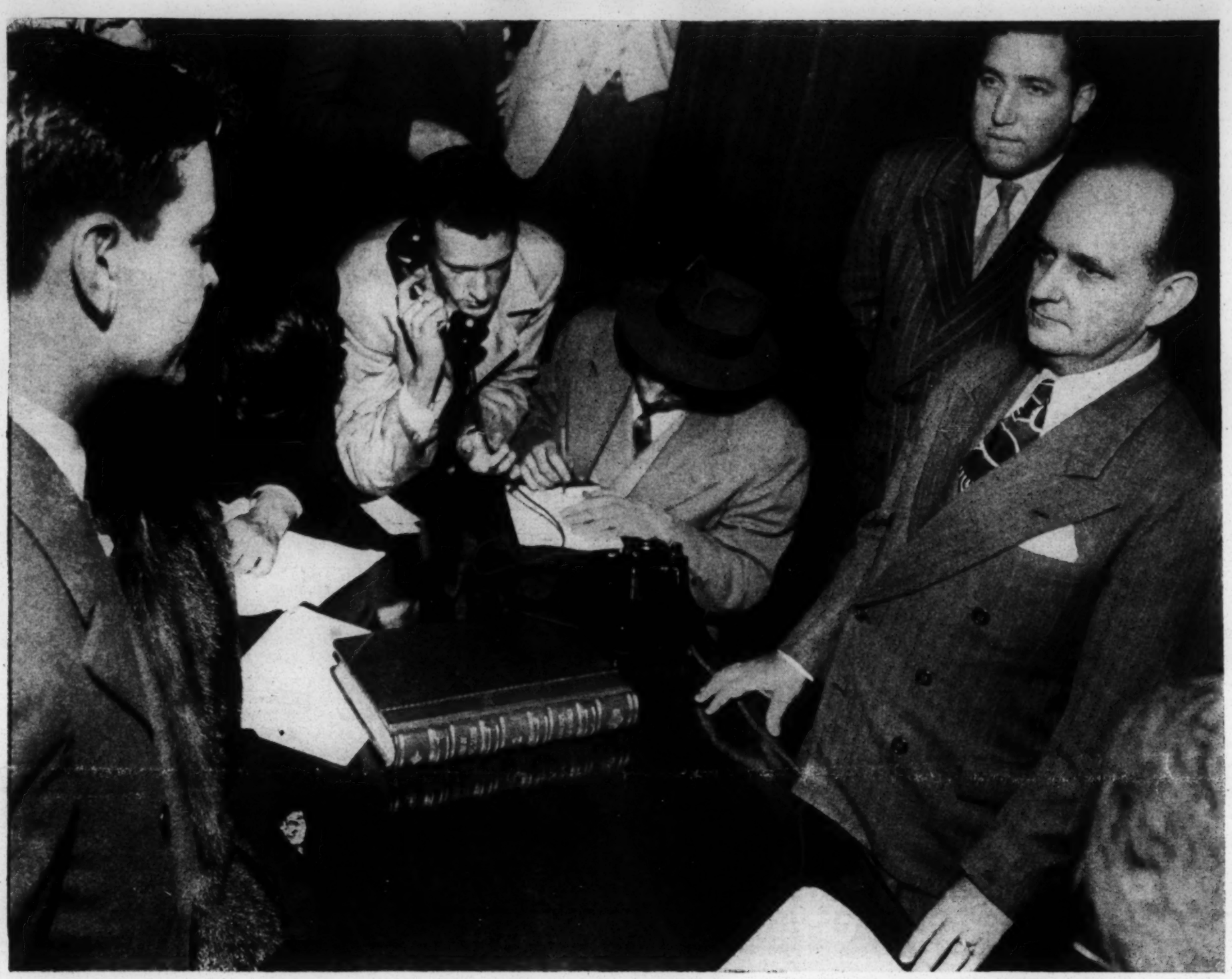
Since the Fulbright ideas would mean tremendous changes —and since Congress is slow on tremendous changes — probably nothing will be done about them this year—or next.

Raleigh News & Observer Jan. 26, 1947

'You Too, Nosey!'

LIFE

Vol. 22, No. 4 January 27, 1947



IN A TENSE MOMENT AT THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, YOUNG HERMAN TALMADGE (LEFT) AND HIS DETERMINED RIVAL ELLIS ARNALL STAND FACE TO FACE

ANOTHER TALMADGE TAKES OVER GEORGIA

In Georgia last week the U.S. got an object lesson in how fine is the line that divides democracy from rule by force, whim, family favoritism or mob violence. Thanks to a single careless phrase in a state constitution, the nation had to watch the unsavory spectacle of men fighting for the Georgia governorship as if it were a prize awarded for belligerent oratory, lock-picking and judicious maneuvering of the state police force.

The plot began last summer when Ol' Gene Talmadge won the Democratic primary. The Republicans did not even bother to name a candidate to oppose him in the November election. His old friends were rejoicing over the prospects of getting back on the gravy train—when suddenly a horrible thought occurred. Ol' Gene was a sick man. What if he died before inauguration?

Loyal Henchman Gibson Ezell (*see next page*) began studying the state constitution, found a phrase which struck his ingenious fancy. It said that in any election where the vote is split several ways so that no candidate receives a majority, the legislature names the governor from the two highest candidates. With a little legal stretching, this might cover a case where an election winner died before taking office. So the Talmadge henchmen got busy. On election day they persuaded 675 of their friends to scratch out Gene Talmadge's name and write in the name of his son. Young Herman Talmadge, 33, is a lawyer, one-time playboy, one-time Navy lieutenant commander and a perfect substitute for his father. He holds the same views on white supremacy and enjoys the same fond relations with the Ku Klux Klan.

Sure enough, after winning the election Ol' Gene died on Dec. 21. To his plotting henchmen the remaining contenders were young Herman and a granite salesman named D. T. Bowers, a perennial candidate who got 637 write-in votes.

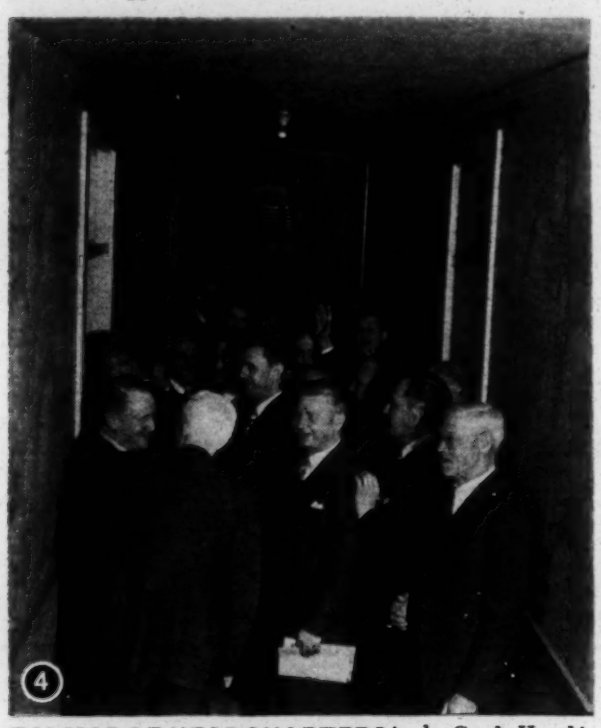
But in the way of the plot stood Ellis Arnall. Arnall had given his state an admirably progressive administration. But twice he had tried to persuade the legislature to change Georgia law so that he could run to succeed himself, and twice he had failed. Now he too found a phrase in the constitution which said that the governor should hold office "until his successor shall be chosen and qualified." After due thought he felt he was compelled to use the phrase to keep young Herman out of the governorship and let in Melvin Thompson, who was elected lieutenant governor last November.

The question was which interpretation of the constitution the legislature would accept. Before the opening session Talmadge and Thompson set up campaign headquarters, worked day and night to curry favor. In the showdown the Talmadge forces won. But when Talmadge tried to take over the governor's office, Arnall refused to budge (*above*). For the amazing events which preceded and followed this scene, see the next four pages.

BRAIN TRUSTER of the Talmadge plot, Gibson Ezell, studies the developments at newsstand in his dime store. Ezell first tipped off Talmadge forces to legal loophole.

BACKSTAGE POLITICKING before meeting of legislature finds Talmadge (*right*) cornering Sheriff D. S. Hudson in a bathroom of Atlanta's Henry Grady Hotel.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Melvin Thompson (*center*) holds a hotel-room conference with his followers. At left is ex-Governor E. D. Rivers, one of his chief backers.



TALMADGE HEADQUARTERS in the Grady Hotel is mobbed by army of Ol' Gene's friends and ambitious politicos who overflow rooms and mill in corridor outside.

THOMPSON HEADQUARTERS, on the same floor of hotel, is relatively quiet with only three of the faithful standing out in the hall at peak of the electioneering.

FORGOTTEN HEADQUARTERS belonging to dark-horse candidate, D. T. Bowers, looks out on empty hall. These three pictures, made same night, proved prophetic.

VOTE-SEEKER at crucial session of legislature wears Talmadge campaign ribbon and hooks thumbs through red galluses just as Ol' Gene used to. Talmadge supporters, especially faithful "wool-hatters" from the rural districts, poured into town for the show.

GENE TALMADGE'S WIDOW (*left*) eats lunch in gallery of legislature for fear of losing seat if she leaves. She told photographer, "You know country folks have to eat their lunch around noon." At right is Gladys Creal, former secretary to Ol' Gene.

TALMADGITES CHEER as tally of November's election returns shows their favorite son going over the top with enough write-in votes to qualify for governorship.

INAUGURAL OATH is administered at 1:55 a.m. Jan. 15 after legislature has named Talmadge governor by 161–87 vote. At right is his sister, Mrs. William Kimbrough.

LEAVING LEGISLATURE, Talmadge (*center*) is surrounded by his well-wishers, one of whom holds a flag over the new governor's head at an angle reminiscent of the famed Iwo Jima victory picture. Pretty woman in foreground is Talmadge's wife. They are on their way to governor's office in capitol, where Arnall awaits them.

FIST FIGHT breaks out as Talmadgites arrive and try to crash the door to Arnall's office. Here John Nahara (fist upraised), who once served as Gene Talmadge's bodyguard, aims a punch at Arnall's executive secretary, P. T. McCutcheon (*center of doorway*).

PEACEMAKERS push Nahara back from doorway. Intense feeling of the moment is shown in expression of youth on right in this photo and at left of the doorway in picture 12. Ruckus ended with Arnall holding the inner office and Talmadge outer rooms.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

LOCKED OUT OF HIS OFFICE, ARNALL MOVES TO INFORMATION DESK IN CAPITOL LOBBY. HERE HE IS INTERVIEWED BY TIME-LIFE CORRESPONDENT BILL HOWLAND

TALMADGE FORCES MOVE IN AND ARNALL GETS EVICTED

The climax of the battle was written at night. As soon as Arnall went home, Talmadge men changed the locks on the executive offices to let Talmadge in and keep Arnall out. For a day Arnall carried on in the lobby (*above*). But next morning he found even this desk taken over by a 237-pound Talmadgite. At the same time Talmadge used state troopers to effect a change of tenants at the executive mansion (*below*) and got busy swearing in his own assistants (*opposite page*). At week's end Arnall resigned, Thompson was sworn in as his successor and the fight went on toward a final settlement in the courts.

NEW TENANTS, Talmadge's wife and son, arrive at the governor's mansion with police escort. Said the new first lady, "Mrs. Arnall certainly left things in apple-pie order."

OLD TENANT, Arnall, finds two state troopers blocking him at mansion door. Talmadge cohorts took over during the night while Arnall and family were out of town.

NEW OFFICIALS are sworn in posthaste by Talmadge. Here he administers oath to Labor Commissioner Ben Huiet while Huiet's assistant, Berry Holbook, a midget, stands by on the desk. Many former Arnall appointees quickly shifted allegiance. But Attorney General Eugene Cook stuck by Arnall, filed suit challenging Talmadge's claim to office.

EDITORIAL

THE STATE OF SPORTS

ARE FIXERS AND COMMERCIALISM ENDANGERING OUR AMERICAN STANDARDS OF FAIR PLAY?

When a member of Congress (Hebert, D., La.) in all seriousness introduces a bill to make athlete-bribing a federal offense, it is time to take a look at the state of sports in the U.S. This bill was prompted, of course, by indignation over the case of one Alvin J. Paris, who is in a New York jail for trying to fix the big game (Giants-Bears play-off) of the professional football season. Two years ago five young "amateur" basketball players from Brooklyn College were caught in a similar bribery scandal. Both incidents invited wide comparison with the Black Sox tragedy of 1919. As in that postwar year, so today: such big money is bet on U.S. sports that characters like Paris can afford to invest heavily in the most tedious and elaborate chance-reducing operations. He spent hours bombarding two key backfield men with all manner of character-weakening attentions, among them glamour girls who might have inspired some real college tries in the happier days of Dink Stover, whereas nowadays to win the girl it seems you have to—but let's stick to the subject.

The subject is not at all frivolous. Sports are a palladium of one of the great American values, fair play. If one could rank these values by the importance Americans attach to them, fair play would surely be found near the top of the list, far above, for example, chastity or soap. That is why a local incident like the Paris case can reverberate in the halls of Congress. It is also why there is so much hypocrisy on the subject of sports, for hypocrisy—the "homage which vice pays to virtue"—is found only in the neighborhood of genuine values. If the standards of sports in America are really changing, a change in the American character will not be far behind.

What Is an Amateur?

There are two issues here, and they need to be kept separate. The first is commercialism, which actually has little or nothing to do with fair play but which has agitated the moral watchdogs of sports for a generation and is responsible for a lot of hypocrisy still. Only two weeks ago the National Collegiate Athletic Association met in New York under the shadow of the Paris scandal and also of the cancellation, forced by West Point, of the great national institution and bookmakers' Christmas, the Army-Notre Dame football game (there won't be any after this year). Professor Wilbur Smith of Wyoming, outgoing president of N.C.A.A., spoke in favor of outright subsidies for college football players, a level of realism already reached by the Southeastern Conference colleges, which are proud of being "openhanded in the matter of subsidization and other dealings with athletes."

But Dr. Smith was swamped by a rush of piety to the gavel. The N.C.A.A. adopted a new "purity code," reaffirming ancient standards of amateurism and even condemning the off-campus recruitment of promising ivory by college coaches. Almost every sports writer in America laughed a little angrily at this code, for none of them expects it to be adhered to. The president of Notre Dame, Father Cavanaugh, frankly denounced it. "We at Notre Dame make no apologies about wanting winners," said he. Obviously there is a serious lag between the real and professed standards of amateurism in American sports.

The classic authority on this subject is Paul Gallico, whose *Farewell to Sports* (1938) contains a chapter called "Amateurs? There Ain't None." He would not even allow the sportswriters' definition of an amateur: "A guy who won't take a check." His own definition of an amateur runner was a commuter running for the 8:13. His term for "going pro" was "turning square." Two things, he reasoned, had made true amateurism impossible: the increasingly rigorous standards of proficiency in all organized athletics, and the increasing gate receipts. "Only a rich boy or a loafer can devote all his time to play," and so the American athlete is working for somebody, whether he gets an overt and adequate cut of those gate receipts or not.

Rackety Rax

Since Gallico wrote, both gate receipts and proficiency have been increasing; indeed almost all sports had a record year in '46 and anticipate another in '47. A new sport, basketball, which did not even rate a chapter in Gallico's book, has achieved a measure of prosperity and proficiency which makes it almost the No. 1 national game.

In *Rackety Rax*, Joel Sayre's satire on commercialism, a gangster named Knucks McGloin put big-time football on a rational basis by founding a college (Canarsie) around 11 bruisers. He fixed it so the score of each of Canarsie's victories was dictated by the betting odds, instead of the other way around. At length a rival gangster muscled in on this good thing, and in the final game the two teams destroyed each other with Tommy guns and Mills bombs. But before Knucks died, he was looking around for ways to branch out, and it struck him that "there ought to be something in this here basketball for us." This prophetic hunch is worth recalling today, for Alvin Paris was also interested in college basketball, and that sport has not changed its ways any since the Brooklyn College scandal. It is at least as far from either amateurism or forthrightness as football was when Gallico bade that "last stronghold of hypocrisy" goodby. Certainly every college basketball team that makes Madison Square Garden is in effect working for the bookies and for Garden Vice President Ned Irish, whether Irish pays them anything or not.

Is that bad? Not necessarily. Competition of the Garden and Rose Bowl type puts a stimulating spotlight on a fast game and a fast player. The dollars that accrue from them undoubtedly exaggerate the educational value of these sports in the minds of college presidents, but it is worth remembering that the crowds came before the bookies, and the game came before the crowds. If there were not a real game at the bottom of it, the crowds would decline to the proportions which attend professional wrestling "exhibitions." And any educator who thinks commercialized sports are dangerous has one sure way out. The way to de-emphasize is to de-emphasize, *i.e.*, abolish the varsity. The University of Chicago did it.

So much for commercialism. It is not the real issue. The issue is fair play, which is characteristic of both "amateur" and professional sports and which (as the two scandals illustrate) is threatened in both. It is threatened not just by a few bookies and touts but by the same things that always threaten everybody's values, such as the fast buck and the blonde. During the Brooklyn College scandal the newspaper *PM* ostentatiously refrained from repeating the names of the bribed players on the grounds that the boys (three of them veterans) were not responsible for their sins but were instead "victims of a vicious racket." Seldom has the environmental theory of morals been carried to so puritanical an extreme. Obviously sin is sin, wherever you find it.

But a clean world of sports is important to America precisely because the major lesson of all clean sports, whether commercialized or not, runs against the Alvin Parises. This lesson is that the means (fair play) is more important than the end (winning). As victory-loving Father Cavanaugh put it, Americans "worship a winner so long as he wins honestly according to the rules." It is when the rules are broken that Americans get sore.

Keep Them Clean

Respect for fair play is not exclusively American but, along with competitive sports, it has been most developed in the English-speaking world. Many foreign people seem to have no concept of it at all. That is why international athletic contests, notably Hitler's 1936 Olympics, often produce such dismal results from the standpoint of international goodwill. When a Russian soccer team played in England a year ago, the "misunderstandings" almost reached the level of Foreign Office protests. Other peoples, or so it often seems, are for winning at all costs. They also misunderstand another value which Americans learn from their games, namely team play. This was illustrated in Berlin recently when U.S. soldiers began teaching German boys to play baseball. The Russians objected on the ground that baseball is a "paramilitary activity," involving "regimentation!"

Organized sport is accused of many crimes, among them Jim Crowism. But it is significant that sport is the first great business—next to minor branches of the entertainment industry—in which Jim Crowism is being attacked from within. Branch Rickey has four Negro baseball players on Brooklyn farm teams; Yale has Levi Jackson; the bars are lowering slowly, and that is natural because Jim Crowism is inconsistent with the basic morality of sport. So are a lot of other evils. Hobbes, the superrealist, called human society a "war of all against all." Perhaps sportsmanship may be defined as the voice that answers, "Parts of it aren't." For our own and everybody's sake, we will do well to defend and promote clean sports in America.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK:

Last week scenes like this were growing common at airports all over the U.S. At LaGuardia Field, where this picture was taken, planes were taking off with well under half of their seats filled. Operators attributed lack of business to the ending of the wartime boom and bad weather that grounded many planes. But another reason was that headlines of recent plane crashes had made the public jittery about flying. At week's end both the Senate and House of Representatives were assigning committees to investigate causes of the crashes and find a way to prevent them. For some of the causes and some means of prevention, turn the page.

Atl. Const. 1-29-47

RALPH McGILL

Sound, Fury And Opinion

An aroused public opinion is one of the finest things that can happen to a community or a State.

But, in the arousing of it, there always is a certain amount of hysteria. Until that element is winnowed out by the passing of time, it is impossible to evaluate the strength of the aroused opinion. At present, we seem to have reached the state of trying to outdo one another with rival meetings and no sure estimate is possible.

Caught in a struggle for political power, which is unusual only in the unusualness of the unwholesome methods employed in the wrestling match, Georgia seems to be at the boiling point. On almost every corner and in every market place one may hear the law expounded by those who know no law. And if one ventures into the offices of those who do, one may hear great argument as the attorneys wave the dust bones of the dead authorities who have made the law much as marine zoophytes make coral reefs.

Public opinion, if aroused, can do a great deal.

It can put on enough pressure so the law will be so amended as to prevent another such possibility.

It may be able, although by its hysteria it has made it doubtful, to force public opinion on the so-called White Primary Bill so as to make at least a small percentage of the people aware of the bill and its meaning.

Power While it has for its arguing point the establishment of a white primary, it really is another and most potent weapon in the struggle for political power.

This was determined last Summer in the primary. While much of the argument which put it over was false and unsound, it was given substance and won many supporters when Negro voters, quite understandably, but nevertheless harmfully in so far as their own cause was concerned, were voted publicly by means of marked ballots and written instructions. That, too, was a struggle for political power as well as a proper attempt to allow any citizen who pays his taxes and meets the requirements, to vote. A sound qualifications bill would be more honest and legal, but would not be as politically powerful.

That die was cast. When Eugene Talmadge died and his party found a legal loophole through which to thrust a hand and keep their party in power, there remained nothing that could be done except to await the legal decision.

Arousing public opinion is always a good, healthy thing, for any community or State.

It remains to be seen if it is merely sound and fury, a brief period of staying at the boiling point, or if it actually is an aroused, organized public opinion.

Organization You may be sure the Talmadge forces are organized and that the more or less irreducible minimum of support they command will exert a continuing opinion. It is important to keep in mind that during the several weeks when their course was plain and in the form of a public campaign, there was no expressed, articulate public opinion save theirs.

If there is an aroused, continuing public opinion it will be the finest and most healthful development that has happened to our political life.

For the past two decades that political life has consisted of certain campaigns with the same political shadows behind each and every one of them.

Public opinion cannot take Herman Talmadge out of office or put M. E. Thompson in. Only the courts can do that.

But if it is aroused, and continuing, it can have a great deal to do with the future.

Weapons It is well to reduce hysteria in other fields, as well. In order to hammer through political control, certain whipping boys and straw men have been set up.

No one detests Communism more than I. I like to try and hunt it out and expose it. But it is ridiculous to say that there are any Communist influences in the Georgia political controversy. It is true that the Communist Daily Worker and Communist agents have sought, and still seek, to take advantage of the undeniable mistreatment of the Negro in the South to win him to their side. That they have not done so is a tribute to the Negro in the South which ought to win him more friends from those who do so loudly profess their anti-Communism. The disease of Communism grows out of poverty and a sense of injustice. Too many confuse the efforts to obtain equal opportunity and equal justice for the Negro with social equality. They are not the same and only the uninformed or vicious make them so.

Henry Wallace, many of whose principles have found me in disagreement, is certainly no part of a Communist. He is not even a good Socialist. He now edits The New Republic and it is not a Communist mouthpiece. In the past it was Socialist more than anything else, but it is, in its new form, not even that.

Certainly former Gov. Ellis Arnall is not at all "a nigger lover," as his critics say. He is so branded in the political struggle in an attempt to lessen his influence. Certainly he is no Communist. He is no follower of Wallace. He has, in a sense, replaced him on the national scene with a different political approach.

Georgia desperately wants to be loved and respected. But we must not forget that we too often are unlovely.

We do ourselves no good by throwing so much political mud. We cannot be so childish as to blame the national magazines for "writing us up." We surely must be aware that we provide the unfavorable stories to be "written up."

There is nothing at all commendable about directionless frenzy. And we have had a lot of it.

Ga. Politics

adopted by Atlanta Social Workers Club June 29, 1947

RESOLUTION

Whereas the members of the Atlanta Social Workers Club deplore the events that followed the election of a Governor of the State of Georgia by the General Assembly, as undignified, violent, and undemocratic, and

Whereas the question of procedure in the selection of a Governor is now in process of litigation,

Therefore be it resolved by this meeting of the Atlanta Social Workers Club

1. That immediate steps be taken to safeguard the election of the office of Governor hereafter by the people of the State of Georgia;

2. That we urge the General Assembly to adjourn and transact no further business until this litigation has been settled by the courts;

3. That we urge the people of Georgia to make their opinions known to their representatives by exercising their constitutional right as stated in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, namely, "To apply to those vested with the power of government for redress of grievances by petition and remonstrance."

For Release
Week Ending February 1, 1947

JUST A MOMENT
WITH
LAMAR Q. BALL.

WHAT THE NEIGHBORS SAY.—Regardless of what anyone says about the comments which are being made about Georgia nationally just now, we who live here will gain nothing by stuffing cotton into our ears or by swaggering around offering to poke anyone in the nose if he doesn't mind his own business.

After all, Georgia occupies a most prominent corner house in a big neighborhood, which is the United States of America.

The Georgia family was one of the first to move into this neighborhood. It pioneered in the building of the neighborhood. It has been a solid old family in years gone by, but, when senseless brawls break out in the old Georgia mansion, it is only natural that the neighbors should talk.

Say this about the neighbors, at least: they're not indulging in unfair, malicious whispering. They're talking right out and what's worse, they're laughing at us.

The fact that we're sensitive to this outside criticism may help us to straighten up our house and get our affairs in order so that we can recapture our old self-respect and hold our heads high once more.

Some neighbors may go too far in their criticism of us, but after all haven't we gone too far in putting ourselves on a spot where we invite criticism? It happens like that very often in every neighborhood.

-0-

OUR BAD HABIT.--What Georgia needs is a good political overhauling. This crisis we have reached has emphasized this need. We have been drifting along carelessly letting our politicians handle the governmental affairs while we concerned ourselves with life's trivia. It is natural that the unwatched politician should ultimately reach the conclusion that all governmental business is his own exclusive private affair and that what he does is none of our business. He becomes indifferent about our interests.

The seriousness of the current brawl among the politicians seems to have aroused Georgians to a realization that they must pay closer attention to the affairs of government which actually affect their lives every day.

Each taxpayer is a stockholder in this business of government, which is the greatest and most vital business in his state.

Now the stockholders seem ready to get together and apply themselves to the serious job of straightening out this business instead, as they have in the past, of merely mailing in their proxies and waiting patiently for dividends which they have seldom received.

If this row has aroused the public to sustained interest and action in governmental affairs, then the bawdy brawl was worth all the unfavorable publicity.

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A SOUND CURE.—It becomes more apparent every election year that Georgia needs a two-party system of government. The present one-party system needs to be revised.

It doesn't matter what names the parties adopt. It is most obvious that there are two types of thought in Georgia—some citizens are for progressive government which will bring constant improvement in the state's welfare and others want merely to drift with the tide, disturbing nothing that will affect their accustomed standard of living.

In the one-party system, we find politicians switching from side to side as they pile expediency upon expediency in the preservation of their jobs and power.

The Governor is elected before the one-party's platform is written. He is chosen as an individual who can make empty promises, which will be fulfilled only as he sees fit.

Under a two-party system, each party could state its principles before the election and the public could decide from those two sharply defined statements of principles just which party it prefers to conduct its government.

The one-party system gives too much opportunity to the man with the glib tongue and the cold heart--and a complete absence of sincerity. Actually, it is more like a racket in which the political underlings move from camp to camp, depending on their personality and their skill at the game to impress their new boss--and they never consider the public as their boss.

The Georgia voter will do some serious thinking these next few years. It would be well for him to consider some more orderly system of selecting his public servants. Let him get the politician thoroughly on record before election day, and then--he'll have no one to blame but himself, if things go wrong afterwards.

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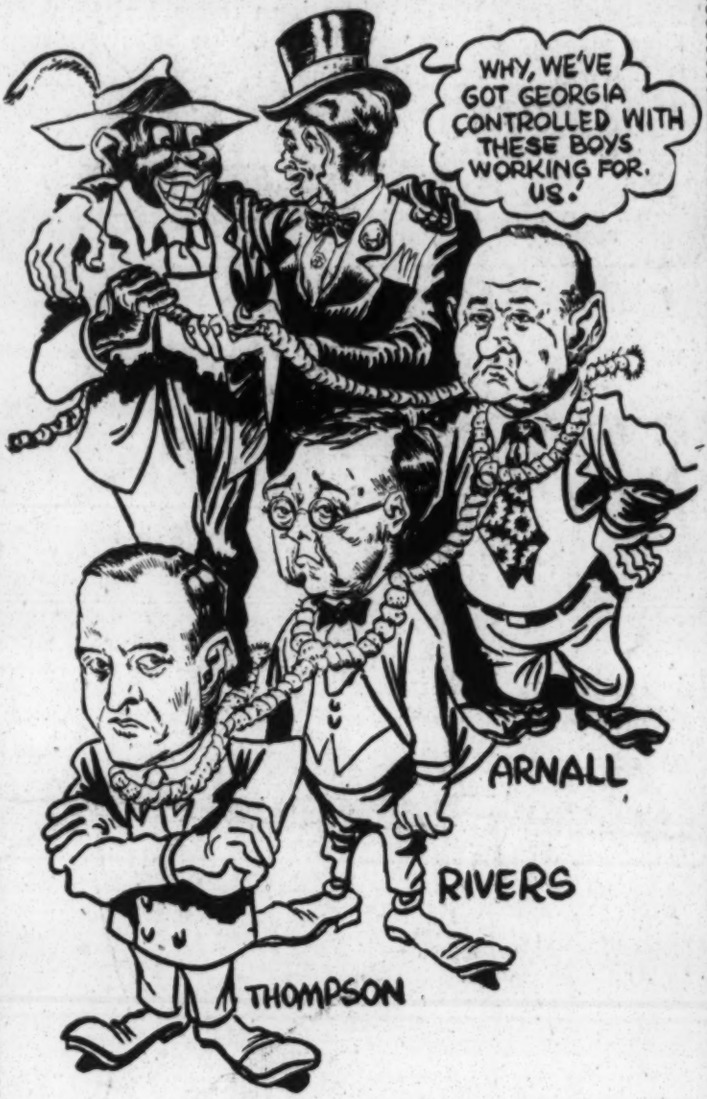
Well, Let's Give It REAL Circulation

Atl Journal. 2-23-47

OHIO—JIM COX



This is a reproduction of a cartoon picked up Feb. 12 from a stack lying on a desk in one of the offices of the governor's suite in the state capitol where callers are received.

THIS CARTOON is being circulated by the Talmadge forces now in charge of the government of Georgia.

It was being handed out a few days ago from a stack on the desk of the receptionist in the outer office of Herman Talmadge in the Capitol.

It was being distributed furtively in a hotel lobby, after the fashion of the vendor of filthy postcards. When a Journal reporter endeavored to speak to the distributor, the fellow fled to the street, jumped into a State Highway Patrol car and was whisked away.

We learn from indignant or disgusted recipients that it is being mailed out anonymously to citizens.

It is, of course, a sorry thing. The person who drew it was ashamed to sign it. The printer would not put his name to it—not even the union label, if he had one. Its sponsors are nameless, though it is costing somebody a pretty penny to have it printed and circulated.

Could it be, we wonder, that the taxpayers of Georgia are footing the bill? If so, we will move to reduce the cost by giving the thing the widest circulation possible in the state of Georgia—in 282,000 copies of this issue of The Journal.

Take a good look at it, if you want a measure of the respect in which the Talmadge gang hold the intelligence

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* * *

CERTAIN POLITICIANS have concentrated their attacks on this newspaper and its owner in the last two campaigns for governor. They did this because their one chance of success was to divert public attention from their own sordid record. Their hope was to persuade Georgians that a "furriner" is endeavoring to become a political boss of Georgia and destroy the customs and social philosophy which prevail here.

The cry against James M. Cox was first raised by E. D. Rivers in the last months of his malodorous administration when this newspaper exposed the rottenness of his pardon racket.

It was taken up by Eugene Talmadge in his race against Ellis Arnall in 1942. It was renewed even more loudly last summer by both Rivers and Talmadge.

The reason for that singular agreement between two incompatible political elements was simple. They feared the independence of this newspaper and the influence it might wield for good government, and against them, through its great circulation.

Unable to obtain the support or even the neutrality of this newspaper in campaigns vital to the welfare of the state and unable to stand on their own records, they sought to besmear The Journal and its ownership.

The cartoon published herewith is a sample of their thinking and their methods.

It may be an effective political stunt. We cannot claim to know. But it is a comforting fact that The Journal's circulation has grown steadily throughout the seven years of its denunciation by Rivers and Talmadge and their henchmen and now is limited only by the amount of print paper we can obtain.

* * *

THE GEORGIANS who run The Journal for James M. Cox think perhaps it would be well to discuss the scurrilous attacks made on him by these politicians. He has been more highly honored by the Democratic party than any other living American. A member of Congress, thrice elected governor of Ohio by votes of the people, he was the party's presidential candidate in 1920 with Franklin D. Roosevelt as vice presidential candidate. He was the choice of the Democratic party to conduct Woodrow Wilson's fight for the League of Nations against the reactionary Republican party led by Warren G. Harding. His political and journalistic career constitute a beacon light for those Georgians who edit and publish this newspaper.

The attempts to make James M. Cox an issue in Georgia politics have had at least one amusing manifestation. That is, it would be amusing, if it were not a case of venomous deception.

In the latter years of the last century, there was in Cincinnati a notorious Republican named George B. Cox. "Boss" Cox, he was called and, in cahoots with Mark Hanna and such local celebrities as Harry M.

Turn to Page 8, Column 1

Well, Let's Give It REAL Circulation

Continued From Page

Daugherty, he headed a gang which not only held Ohio in its grip but extended its powerful and corrupt influence to the White House.

"Boss" Cox rode to his fall. Theodore Roosevelt and militant young liberals in the Republican party loosed his clutch on Ohio, but it remained for James M. Cox and a vitalized Democratic party to sweep out of office and power the last vestiges of "Boss" Cox's ring. The broken old man died in 1916.

Yet 31 years later, pip-squeak Georgia politicians are endeavoring by radio and surreptitious circular to identify this newspaper and its owner with a man whose political power he had helped to destroy. Whatever else may be said of this effort, it's a poor compliment to the intelligence and information of the people of Georgia.

When James M. Cox purchased The Atlanta Journal in 1939, he was the owner of four newspapers in three other cities. All of them had distinguished records of public service. They were prosperous papers, therefore could afford to be independent. They had been created by a man who started as a country school teacher and borrowed $20,000 to buy his first paper. They were business successes and journalistic successes.

When he came to Georgia he was welcomed by the business, professional, agricultural and educational leaders of the state.

The political ring which is now riding high in Georgia did not welcome the new publisher.

When he bought The Journal and installed its staff of Atlantians and Georgians and Southerners, his one instruction to them was: "Run a good newspaper and be of service to your community and your state." These instructions have never been modified.

And it is because this newspaper has endeavored to put those instructions into action that it has incurred the hatred and abuse of political gangsters whose schemes and ambitions it has opposed.

* * *

BUT IT SEEMS TO US the Talmadge gang is doing us too much honor. In concentrating its bushwhacking fire on us, it is giving us more credit than we are due.

The Atlanta Journal and "Ohio Jim Cox" are only one paper and one publisher among more than 100 Georgia dailies and weeklies which are preaching the gospel of good government and exposing the evils and dangers in the gang which has seized political control of the state.

The Macon papers, the Augusta papers, the Columbus papers, with their various and independent ownerships; smaller dailies in every section, and the weeklies in scores of counties—all are standing in a stalwart phalanx for decency and justice and the right.

From the Tennessee line to the St. Mary's, Georgia has an honest and courageous press which is faithful to its duty, its state and to the people. The Journal is only one, but it is proud to be a member.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1947.

RALPH McGILL

The Needed Physic of the Law

Georgia's spectacular political case has moved now into the realm of law from whence will come a decision by a respected court.

It is without doubt well that the court, representing the law, comes into the problem and the emotions of the moment.

The law is a good physic for the emotionally sick.

And Georgia is emotionally sick.

There are vultures tearing at many livers, and there is much heat without enlightenment.

Therefore, the cold, hard waters of the law will be good for us.

There has been so much misunderstanding, that a discussion of the case may be justified.

The Law What the Supreme Court of Georgia will rule upon is the right of the Legislature to act. It will not directly consider any write-in votes. Nor will it take cognizance of any irregularities or fraud such as are charged in Telfair County, and insinuated in others.

It will deal with the interpretation of the legislative acts as permitted, or denied, by the State Constitution.

There will be no appeal from this decision of the next few days. There is no Federal law involved. Therefore, it is a matter for the State courts alone. There can be no appeal to Federal law since there is no Federal jurisdiction.

What Georgians must keep in mind is that this is their problem. Actually, the State court can decide only a point of law.

The court is not ruling, and will not rule, for or against Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson, de facto Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively.

It will rule only on the legality of the legislative act.

It is not fair to the court to think of it as ruling "for" or "against" the principals, although the effect will be just that.

The court will deal with the legality of the acts brought before it.

Fraud Evidence has been presented indicating fraud and irregularities in the Telfair County general election balloting.

No one may defend fraud, even obliquely. No one wishes to do so.

The most important thing about the Telfair County irregularities is not their revelation, but the fact they are routine practices growing out of the carelessness generated by the one-party system.

In none of the Southern States is any real supervision given the general elections. They are meaningless. They are routine affairs, with no opposition to the party ticket.

As a result they are handled, by custom or habit, in slipshod, careless fashion. The only effort made is to get enough of the boys out to validate the election returns. The election, in the one-party States, already has been held. The general election is a mere formality, handled with the carelessness attendant on anything regarded as an unimportant formality.

This does not justify, nor is it intended to justify, such carelessness. I am attempting merely to discuss, informatively, the whole problem.

Enigma It is charged, and in part sustained, that in Telfair County an even hundred votes were added in each of six districts. It is possible there was another sheet, but even so, the paradox of it is there was no necessity to add them. There was no opposition to the Democratic ticket. One vote would have put it in office.

The only suggestion that comes to mind is that some enthusiastic official was trying to be sure the welfare amendment was defeated.

At any rate, these votes had no connection with the present Herman Talmadge controversy. They were entirely unnecessary and must remain a mystery.

The Talmadge plan to have a few hundred write-in votes for Herman Talmadge, as a backstop against his father's possible death, was secretly carried out. Hence, it is illogical to believe he did not get the votes. With the committee of opposition on hand when the package was opened, it was not possible for them to have been slipped into the package.

Votes To even the most naive political students it must be obvious the Talmadge people telephoned only those on whom they could count to understand and had them write in some votes. It isn't common sense to believe he didn't get them.

It appears that some enthusiastic supporter added a few more. It is routine in most counties where there is not even county opposition, to vote for some of those who didn't get to the polls.

I do not at all mean to justify this practice. It is reprehensible, if routine. My whole thesis is that we go into emotional hysterics and try to achieve political reform by a single election or by occasional outbursts of civic virtue.

The plain truth is the average American active in politics has so conditioned himself that he accepts a little irregularity with the ballot as a part of his political system. Those not active never bother to probe into the weaknesses of election laws or the loopholes left for the unscrupulous. That is why the average American doesn't get really excited when he reads about Telfair County.

We cannot bring about reform from the top down.

It must begin with the grass roots.

That is you and me, Darby and Joan.

~~White Primary~~
Politics - Ga.

March 10, 1947

Mrs. Helen Dortch Longstreet
P. O. Box 294
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Longstreet:

I want to thank you for your fine letter of February 20 and to offer my most humble apologies for this unavoidable delay in my reply. We have been up to our ears in work and worry around here for the past several weeks.

Mr. Bridges was in error in saying that we intended to file a suit within ten days to test the constitutionality of the Georgia White Primary Bill. We were prepared to take action provided action was not taken by the N.A.A.C.P., which is the organization that customarily brings such matters into court. The N.A.A.C.P. has recently had a meeting in Atlanta and has made definite plans to test the White Primary Bill. They are equipped with legal staff and financial support to enable them to put this test through. Of course, we shall be helpful in any way we can.

I am not sure that the Primary Bill can be tested until some overt act - such as refusing a Negro the right to register or to vote in the Primary - has taken place.

I am very optimistic about the Georgia Supreme Court; in fact, I feel quite sure that they are going to throw Herman Talmadge out. That will be one victory for the forces of decency and democracy. I believe, further, that Mr. Thompson may refuse to sign the White Primary Bill, in which case there is a pretty good chance that it would not go into effect in its present form.

May I express my deepest appreciation and admiration for your wonderful statement at the Senate hearings on the White Primary Bill?

Yours very cordially,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

"So near is God to man when duty whispers Low thou must!"

International Confederation of Women for World Peace and Goodwill

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

HELEN DORTCH LONGSTREET ORGANIZER
(MRS. JAMES)
P. O. BOX 294,
MARIETTA, GA.

February 20, 1947

My dear Dr. Johnson:-

I was delighted by the information conveyed by Mr. Bridges, that you will file a suit in ten days to test the constitutionality of the White Primary Bill passed by the Georgia Legislature.

Assuming that the bill would pass, for the past two weeks I have been undertaking to contact lawyers who would bring such a suit; but without success. I am heartened to know that you are working on the problem.

I would like to have a talk with you, with a view to having you speed up the suit and get it into the Court before the Supreme Court decision on the claim of Herman Talmadge to the Governorship.

I venture to suggest that outstanding persons whose names mean something throughout the nation, should join you in this suit. First in my mind is Mrs. Leonard Haas, President of the Ga. League of Women Voters.

From the best information I can get, it seems that the Georgia Courts will sustain the claim of Talmadge. In that event will you be prepared to appeal the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court? If it ever reaches that body, there is no shadow of a doubt in my mind about the unseating of Talmadge.

Yours very faithfully,

Helen Dortch Longstreet

Helen Dortch Longstreet

Dr. Guy Johnson.
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorial Church,
Atlanta

"Ten men branded together in LOVE can do what ten thousand seperately would fail in."

Politics - Ga

March 19, 1947

Mrs. Helen Dortch Longstreet
P. O. Box 294
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Longstreet:

Thank you so much for your letter of March 16. As for the Georgia Supreme Court decision, my fear is that you are right but my hope is still a little bit stronger than my fear. At any rate, we shall probably know the decision by the time you receive this letter.

Whatever the Supreme Court decision is, I think that Georgians should be ready to go ahead with a new political party. Unless the White Primary crowd is licked and our election laws are reformed, there will be no semblance of democracy in Georgia. I shall certainly do what I can as an individual to help with a new party.

I believe I did not tell you that I have resigned as Executive Director of the Council and that sometime during the summer I shall be returning to the University of North Carolina. My successor will be Dr. George S. Mitchell who has been on our staff for the past year and a half and who is thoroughly familiar with our work. I am sure that he will want to talk to you and seek your advice.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

"So near is God to man when duty whispers Low thou must!"

International Confederation of Women for World Peace and Goodwill

Confidential

HELEN DORTCH LONGSTREET, ORGANIZER
(MRS. JAMES)
P. O. BOX 294,
MARIETTA, GA.

March 16, 1947

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:-

This will thank you for the courtesy of your letter of the 10th. I am sorry that I cannot share your optimism with respect to the forthcoming decision of the Georgia Supreme Court on the right of the Georgia Legislature to elect a Governor in the event of the death of a Governor-elect before being sworn in.

As I see it and I had just as well face facts, the court is going to sustain the Legislature in the election of Talmadge.

This impression was deepened by the questions of the Judges at the hearing, coupled with the announcement a few days later, that a decision would likely be reached in a couple of weeks. The Chief Justice had previously stated that the briefs presented included more words than Gone With The Wind. It would take a month or more to give even a cursory review of such voluminous matter. The fact of the decision coming so quickly after the hearing, is conclusive evidence that the Supreme Court has not waded through the briefs and does not intend to. They have searched for and found, in their private Library, ground on which they will take their stand, in supporting the Legislature.

But the Georgia Constitution is as plain as daylight. The compilers did not use mysterious language or seek to confuse. Any smart high school student could understand it.

It will be a black day in Georgia's history when her Supreme Court announces in favor of Talmadge. I would give my life to prevent the crime!

In my early teens, as editor of a newspaper in one of the mountain counties, I was fighting for clean government in Georgia. Conditions are worse now. And nothing else in the course of my long life, has remotely approached the brazen effort to steal the Governorship and set up a political machine through the White Primary, that will enable the skunks to keep on stealing elections. The Judges who support the theft will cover their names with infamy that can never be wiped from the pages of history!

After the decision supporting Talmadge, will you help me organize a new political party in Georgia?

Yours very faithfully,

Helen Dortch Longstreet

Helen Dortch Longstreet

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Room 432,
Atlanta

"Ten men branded together in LOVE can do what ten thousand separately would fail in."

March 20, 1947

Governor M. E. Thompson
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Thompson:

I am rejoicing with you in the victory of the people over the gang ofpoliticians who tried to take over Georgia. I never had much doubt as to what the Georgia Supreme Court would do. Any other decision would have blackened the name of Georgia for a hundred years. Now you and Eugene Cook and Ellis Arnall and all others who fought for constitutional government are completely vindicated and sustained by the Supreme Court.

Perhaps Georgia is better off for this whole affair having come to a head when it did. Irresponsible power usually carries the seeds of its own destruction. One enormous outrage jolts the people more than a hundred little ones. Now Georgia is aroused, and let's hope it stays aroused long enough to take the steps which will insure progress and good government from here on.

I believe that if you will veto the White Primary bill - a monstrous fraud, if there ever was one - and use your leadership to give Georgia sound election laws which permit every good citizen to vote, regardless of the color of his skin, you will go far toward setting this State back on the road to peace and progress.

Congratulations and all power to you in the task of getting Georgia back on the right road.

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

Politics

March 20, 1947

Mr. Eugene Cook
Attorney General of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook:

I want to rejoice with you in Georgia's return to constitutional government. It seems to me that you and Ellis Arnall, the public officials who have stood up and symbolized the right in both the legal and the moral senses, are the heroes in this affair.

My favorite reading right now is the decision of the Georgia Supreme Court. The Court has vindicated everything you have said and done about the controversy over the governorship.

Thank you and God bless you for your valiant fight!

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

Politics - 1947

March 20, 1947

Mr. Ellis G. Arnall
Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I am rejoicing with you over the victory for constitutional government and decency in Georgia. I never had much doubt as to what the Supreme Court of Georgia would say. The moral as well as the legal compulsion was so clear that any other decision would have smelled to high heaven.

It seems to me that the heroes in this affair are you and Eugene Cook. You have both symbolized the orderly processes of democracy. You have endured threats, humiliation, and personal danger. And now you are completely vindicated in every detail by the Supreme Court.

Perhaps Georgia is better off for this whole affair having come to a head when it did. Irresponsible power usually carries the seeds of its own destruction. One enormous outrage jolts the people more than a hundred little ones. Now Georgia is aroused, and let's hope it stays aroused long enough to take the steps which will insure progress and good government from here on.

Thank you, congratulations, and God bless you.

Sincerely,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

Gerald L. K. Smith And Herman Talmadge To Speak In Winnfield

WINN PARISH ENTERPRISE

Winnfield, La., March 27, 1947

White Supremacy, Anti-Communism, America First, Topics Sat., April 19

Verbal fireworks are scheduled to explode here Saturday, April 19, on the subjects of White Supremacy, anti-Communism, and America First program when Gerald L.K. Smith, crusading orator, and Herman (Hummon) Talmadge, who recently lost his claim to the governorship of Georgia, speak in an all-day meeting on the Winn Parish courthouse square. Dr. George S. Long, brother of the late Senator Huey Long, will preside.

Harvey G. Fields, Ex-United States District Attorney and one time Huey Long's law partner, also will speak.

A news release from the sponsors of the event say it will be a state-wide meeting held in Winnfield because it is the birthplace of Huey Long. The speaking program is set for 10 a.m. and 2:30 p.m.

According to its backers the program will have more than 100 ministers of all faiths on the Committee of Arrangements.

It is expected that the building of a shrine to Huey Long at Winnfield will be discussed at the meeting.

Smith A Former Pastor

Smith, whom his followers and admirers call a "fearless, fighting crusader against Communism" was at one time pastor of King's Highway Christian Church, 800 King's Highway, Shreveport.

Smith attained national prominence in the presidential campaign of 1936 as nominal leader of Huey P. Long's "Share-the-Wealth" movement. He gave Long's eulogy on the Louisiana capitol lawn.

As a speaker Smith has been praised by some as a great orator in a class with, or surpassing Bryan, LaFollette, Sr. and Billy Sunday.

He is a national director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, an anti - Communist organization claiming 3,000,000 members. In his Winnfield address he plans to discuss the Communist menace to America, and White supremacy. In pre-meeting publicity, Smith's office said this meeting would be a Christian meeting and not a political meeting.

Herman (Hammon) Talmadge, son of the late governor-elect of Georgia, Gene Talmadge, was reported by Life Magazine as "holding the same views on white supremacy as his father" and enjoying "the same fond relations with the Klu Klux Klan."

Life called him "a lawyer, one-time playboy and one-time lieutenant commander in the Navy." His recent front-page publicity splurge resulted from his attempt to take over the governorship of Georgia after his father, the governor-elect, died before inauguration day. On the strength of 675 votes written in for young "Hummon" by pre-arranged plan, he based his claim on a provision of the State constitution which states that the General Assembly shall elect the governor from the two highest if no one has a majority. Since "Old" Gene was dead, he could have no majority, the Talmadge-men figured.

The legislature thereupon elected young "Hummon" to the governorship, which he was forced to vacate a few days ago when the State Supreme Court ruled his claim unconstitutional by a vote of 5 to 2. Herman moved out of the Executive mansion but declared he would take his fight to the people.

Talmadge is reported to have accepted an invitation to speak in the auditorium of the First Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas, April 17.

Dr. George S. Long, chairman for the day of speaking, is chairman of the southern committee of the Christian Nationalist crusade and president of the White Supremacy League. He was defeated by Congressman A. Leonard Allen in the race for U.S. Representative from the Eighth District last year.

Will this be a "Christian and not a political meeting?" Talmadge is nationally known as a KKK hate-spreading, ambitious politician. "Evangelist" Gerald L.K. Smith, a protege of William Dudley Pelley, is ex-Silver Shirter 3223, the former leader of the America First Party, the publisher of "The Cross and the Flag" which a Federal Grand Jury indicted for sabotaging the morale of the American Armed Forces.

This Director of "The Christian Nationalist Crusade" said during the war: "My time will come in the post-war period. The candidate will not be me, it will be a young veteran, but I'll be behind him. If business conditions are bad ... my candidate will be elected. Then the flame will spread and the extreme nationalist will come to power. When chaos comes, I'll be the leader."

This man who called President Roosevelt "a tool of the Bolsheviks" was described by The Cleveland News as a demagogue who "smells of Fascist Ku Kluxers a block away."

These facts are presented to the people of Louisiana by the Committee for Louisiana, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La.

L.A. No 33 UNION LABEL NEW ORLEANS REGISTERED

File 28-Politics, Georgia

League of Women Voters of Georgia
220 Collier Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LEGISLATIVE LETTER
January 3, 1949

To: League Members

From: Frances Blackmon, Director

Subject: Pre-view of 1949 Legislature

Election Laws

Our election machinery is enmeshed in a confusion of laws which do, however, protect many fundamental rights. Therefore, we should urge our representatives to take every care--examine and re-examine--any measures introduced which concern our election machinery. It is entirely possible that the Georgia citizen might awake some 1949 (or 1950) morning to find himself deprived, through new technicalities, of some fundamental right or rights.

The greatest safeguards of democracy are two in number. One, a large number of citizens of voting age registered and voting. Two, a secret ballot so these citizens may vote their convictions without fear of reprisal--economic or otherwise.

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Indications are that legislation will be introduced which, if passed, will wipe more than a million voters from the voting lists. And this legislation will make it difficult for large numbers of them to get back on the voting list. A "registration fee" and biennial registration will be required of Georgia voters by these measures, it is feared.

When your December GEORGIA VOTER--which urged that the voters' lists be protected--went to press, the League thought the issues of the registration fee and biennial registration (opposed by the League in the 1947 session and killed in the House) would not come up again. But it now seems they will. A registration fee and/or biennial registration would result in a smaller and therefore more easily controlled voters' list.

An attempt will probably be made, as in 1947, to change the Georgia Constitution so registrars can test citizens trying to qualify to vote (if the attempt to wipe out the voters' lists is successful, this would be everybody who wished to vote) on their understanding of "the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government". In addition citizens would be required to be of good moral character and able to read or write any paragraph of the United States or Georgia constitutions in order to vote.

The League does not know now whether a citizen who wanted to challenge the registrars' decision as to whether he "understood the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government" would have recourse

to the courts.

Neither is it known whether the registrars in one place would have a different interpretation of what these "obligations of citizenship" are from the registrars in another.

Representative Charles Smith of Haralson County has stated he will introduce a bill including a plank on the League's emphasis program--primaries paid for from public funds and candidates' fees set by law. Too, he plans to provide that the democratic executive committees be elected by the people. In the past the people have, by party rule, elected members of these committees but the party rules adopted in July, 1948, failed to include this provision.

It is entirely in the hands of political party leaders as to whether or not these committeemen who handle the primary elections are elected by the people.

Another important feature of the Smith bill will be the abolition of the rotation system for election of state senators. Under this rotation system voters (in all counties except Fulton, Effingham, and Chatham) have no choice in the selection of the person who represents them in the Senate four years out of six.

Home Rule

Representative Charles Gowen of Glynn County is preparing legislation to repair the damage done his 1947 Municipal Home Bill through amendments by its opponents. Care will be taken it is believed to protect the seven municipalities which have voted home rule under the 1947 law.

As far as we know, no one is preparing a measure to secure county home rule--i. e., local county affairs handled by county rather than the state legislature.

The League is preparing a pamphlet on Home Rule which should be available in the near future.

Penal System

The Board of Corrections is asking for additional funds for 1) a building program which would include an institute for incorrigibles, an institute for juveniles, and a prison for women; and 2) an adequate industrial program for prisoners.

The League is heartily in favor of a state-wide probation system. We understand Representative Pierre Howard of DeKalb County is working on a bill in this connection. However, the League does not indorse or support a bill until after it has studied the measure and we have not as yet seen a copy of this bill.

For your convenience, items on the League's emphasis program which receive priority on our efforts are listed:

1) An election system made modern, integrated and enforceable and including:

   (a) Secret ballot (voting machines where population warrants);

   (b) Protection of citizens' access to the ballot;

   (c) Expense of primaries paid from public funds and candidates' fees fixed by law;

   (d) Protection of the permanent registration law.

2) Home rule extended to all cities and counties.

3) A penal system built with emphasis on rehabilitation and including an adequate probation and juvenile court system.

Jury Service for Women

The Association of Women Lawyers is sponsoring a measure for jury service to women. It is our understanding that the bill this time is mandatory--that is, a woman is required to serve on a jury as a man is required to serve except for a good reason. The League endorses the principle of such legislation. Jury Service for Women is an item on the League's platform but emphasis-program items have priority.

Appropriation Bill

The State Auditor is pleading that the legislature pass an appropriation bill in 1949. Under the law, if no appropriations bill is passed, the State continues to operate under the appropriation bill last passed. Georgia is now operating under the 1943 appropriations bill (plus appropriation of some extra revenue in 1946.)

Education

The Georgia Education Association is spearheading a movement for legislation for the "Minimum Foundation Program". The League did not take a stand on this but asked those candidates in the 1948 primary who favored the "Program" how they proposed to finance the additional 30 to 40 million dollars which would be required of state funds. According to newspaper reports, Roy Harris has been retained as counsel for the Minimum Foundation Program. Mr. Harris is a former speaker of the House of Representatives of Georgia.

If all its energy is not taken for the Minimum Foundation Program we understand the G.E.A. is interested in the following: a constitutional board for the Teacher Retirement Fund; a law to permit the executive secretary of the Georgia High School Association to come under the provisions of the Teacher Retirement System; some legislation in connection with tenure and hospitalization.

In addition to the above, measures are expected to be introduced by administration leaders which will enable Georgia to participate in the plan for regional schools at the college and graduate levels.

Health

Under the Hill-Burton bill passed by Congress, the Federal government will participate in the cost of constructing hospitals in Georgia up to the sum of 3 million dollars annually. While all except federal aid could be financed locally, it is expected that the appropriation bill will provide that 3 million dollars be made available from state funds, so that only one-third of the cost will need to be financed locally.

A bill to provide for pre-marital examinations of all applicants for marriage licenses, and to require every resident of Georgia who marries outside the State and returns to Georgia to conform to the provisions of the bill, will be introduced. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring this bill, we understand.

An enabling act to empower the state departments under a merit system--now Health, Welfare, and Labor--to provide a retirement system will be introduced. We understand this bill will require no special appropriation but each department within its own budget will set it up as it can.

The 1947 legislature repealed part of the vital statistics law providing for the recording of marriages and divorces--nobody seems to know why. An effort will be made to get this part of the law reinstated.

Highways

It is believed that a bill setting up a constitutional highway board will be one of the administration bills. There will probably be some difference of opinion as to whether the legislature or the governor does the appointing of board members if such a board is set up. Representative Knox Gholston may also introduce a bill in this connection.

Judiciary

(See "Jury Service for Women") We understand Holcombe H. Perry of Albany is chairman of a committee of the Georgia Bar Association which is preparing the legislation the Bar Association plans to sponsor in connection with the selection of judges. We have not seen a resume of this but were told it is a combination of the Brunswick plan and the Missouri plan. Charles Bloch of Macon heads a committee working to further perfect the new supreme court rules.

Labor

It is generally believed that Labor will seek to get some modification of the anti-labor laws passed by the 1947 legislature. Today's papers carry an account of Supreme Court decision on anti-closed shop legislation. (One of the 1947 laws was against the closed shop).

Safety

It is believed that the bill passed to prevent a repetition of the Winecoff tragedy by the 1947 legislature will be changed.

Taxes

Up to this date, there has been an undercurrent of talk about the sales tax. The Farm Bureau group has openly advocated this tax. The Governor is committed by campaign promises to refer any tax measure to the people "by direct referendum".

The League had long advocated the setting up of a tax revision committee to get expert knowledge for a revision of Georgia's tax laws. Such a committee was set up in 1947. All of the tax laws of the state were compiled into one volume by this committee and several pieces of research done. The Act setting up the committee provided that the committee

> "...study and suggest a program for the revision of the tax structure of the State government and...propose to the General Assembly amendments to the tax laws which would strengthen, equalize, clarify, simplify, and promote efficiency in the operation of the laws by which the State of Georgia can realize the tax income necessary to render the services that the people desire" and "...submit its report in the form of bills, amending, abolishing, or establishing tax laws and their method of operation."

This committee held its first meeting with the new Governor in early December at which time it voted to continue to do research until after the General Assembly could meet and submit a referendum to the people. It seems, therefore, that the people will be asked to vote on tax measures (or at least a type of tax) without any advice or guidance from the committee. The reason given for this was that at the time the committee was set up, there was no talk or knowledge of the additional money which the Minimum Foundation Program and other expanded services would require.

Welfare

The Welfare director stated that that department might have a legislative program later but did not have one at the present time. Indications are, however, that more funds will be asked for the Milledgeville Hospital.

Veterans

Other than the statements published that the Governor would try to get legislation for free lifetime drivers' licenses for all honorably discharged veterans of World Wars I and II, we do not know of any specific measures at this time which will be introduced for veterans.

Masked Parades

We understand that legislation will be proposed to prohibit public parades by masked groups.

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28 - Politics, Georgia

IN A NUTSHELL

The pending Registration Bill would erase the more than a million voters now registered and make registration so arduous that we would go back to the time when only a small minority of our people participated in elections. The smaller the number of voters, the easier it is for a controlled minority to hold the balance of power. The Bill:

1) Abolishes permanent registration. You would have to re-register every two years.

2) Requires a registration fee of $1. This is the old Poll Tax restored under a new name.

3) Puts such authority into the hands of the registering boards that in effect their judgment alone determines whether you or I would be considered qualified to vote, either morally or intellectually.

It is claimed that the Bill is needed to purge the registration lists. But actually the present law does this accurately, efficiently, and with a minimum of work. What we need is enforcement.

(Put out by League of Women Voters)

21 January 1949

HENDERSON LANHAM
7TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

SUITE 109, HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.

TELEPHONE:
NATIONAL 3120
EXTENSIONS 642 AND 1986

HOME ADDRESS:
ROME, GEORGIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
PUBLIC WORKS
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

STAFF:
MRS. JOHN D. PENN
MRS. MARSHALL C. TANNER

VETERANS REPRESENTATIVE
THOMAS G. SLAPPEY, JR.

G. Politics

May 14, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of May 11th which I appreciate. I, too, would like to see a spur of the Blue Ridge Parkway run through North Georgia. However, the decision about this would have to be made by the State Highway Department in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Roads. We Members of Congress have nothing to do with these highway programs except to furnish the money. And I expect the money is going to be cut in view of the demand that all non-defense spending be cut to the very minimum. So the outlook isn't too encouraging at present.

I appreciate your making the suggestion but would not want to sponsor such an idea at this time when all our efforts are being turned toward national defense and the elimination of unnecessary spending.

Assuring you of my interest and my appreciation for the kind things you have to say about me, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Henderson Lanham

Henderson Lanham

hl/tc

Ga Politics

CC: John A. Griffin

May 11, 1951

Hon. Henderson Lanham
Member of Congress
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Lanham:

Two or three people hereabouts have had an idea floating about for a good while for getting a spur of the Blue Ridge Parkway run through North Georgia.

For Atlanta's purposes, it ought to end in Atlanta or at least hook on to the new four-lane Highway 41. Maybe the terminus would be Allatoona. I don't know where in North Carolina it ought to fork off from the existing parkway.

Of course, people in the Georgia state government would have to support it with great energy, but a North Georgia Member of Congress would have to carry a lot of the load too. I admire and appreciate you, and would like to offer this first notion of an idea to you. If it has any merit, do what you can with it.

It could make a North Georgia tourist industry. And the people in the mountain cities, as you well know, deeply need that source of income.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

THOMPSON DEFENDS HIS PARTY

Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia, in vetoing the "private primary" bill passed by the assembly, put the issue as squarely as it can be put.

"As head of the Democratic Party in Georgia," he said, "it is my responsibility to defend it against its enemies. That I have done by my veto. The plot against the party under the guise of a so-called 'white primary bill' has failed."

That, in essence, is what the "private primary" plan is, in Florida as in Georgia: a plot against the parties, which are the property of the people. The property of the people in their parties is protected by the present system, in which primary elections take place under the supervision of elected state and county officials, with the same police powers which protect the people's lives and their other properties. And no property of the people is more precious than a fair and orderly electoral system.

That is what the "private primary" system would destroy. It would not simply move the present parties as we know them out from under the sanctions of law, for in so moving them it would transform them. They would be changed from the public property of the whole people into the private property of small groups. They would be separated from the established electoral and legislative system of our state, to rot and fester in the dark obscurity in which venal politicians thrive.

So it is clear that Governor Thompson speaks the truth when he calls this plan a plot against his party, and when he regards it as his duty to confound that plot. In Florida, it is the duty both of the legislators and of the executive to arrest this plot before it goes as far as it went in Georgia. In that duty they must not fail.

Politics

State Headquarters

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GEORGIA

Rooms 412-414

Henry Grady Hotel

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find two mats for newspaper advertisements setting forth the Democratic Party's position in regard to County Unit Amendment No. 1. You are being sent as many kits of ad mats as there are weekly and daily newspapers in your county.

As you know, this amendment carries out the mandate of the party as expressed in the platforms, unanimously adopted, by the State Democratic Conventions in both 1946 and 1950.

You will also find in this envelope two small card -- size mats which may be used to print cards to pass out on election day.

It is our hope and desire that you will be able to collect enough funds locally to sponsor both of the large ads in every paper in your county between now and the election, November 4, being sure to run at least one of the ads the week immediately preceding the election.

Several people have indicated that they considered the following schedule as ideal for their weekly papers and planned to run these ads as follows:

Oct. 17. "Your Stake In The County Unit Amendment"

Oct. 24. "True or False"

Oct. 31. Repeat: "Your Stake In The County Unit Amendment"

Of course, daily papers which are run each day, insertions can be made at which you consider the best time. There are some few tabloid-size weekly papers which are not large enouth to take these ads straight up on the page. They can run them sideways in the center spread in what newspapermen call "double truck."

As you have perhaps observed, the Atlanta newspaper monopoly is manufacturing false "news" and perverting the rest. The only way we can combat this unfairness is through paid ads in the newspapers and through television and radio.

Your help and aid in getting the true facts to the people will strike a heavy blow for Democracy in Georgia and the protection of your homes and institutions.

Sincerely,

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GEORGIA
James S. Peters, Chairman

Politics - Ge

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

ARTICLE I

BILL OF RIGHTS

Sec. I

1. Origin and foundation of government. All government, of right, originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted for the good of the whole. Public officers are the trustees and servants of the people and, at all times, amenable to them.

.....

25. Right to assemble and petition. The people have the right to assemble peaceably for their common good and to apply to those vested with the power of government for redress of grievances by petition and remonstrance.

P E T I T I O N!

WE THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF _____ COUNTY, GEORGIA, WISH TO REGISTER OUR VIGOROUS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE ACTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN ELECTING A GOVERNOR.

WE EARNESTLY REQUEST THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO ADJOURN AND TRANSACT NO FURTHER BUSINESS UNTIL THE PRESENT DISGRACEFUL CONTROVERSY OVER THE GOVERNORSHIP HAS BEEN SETTLED BY THE COURTS.

- - - - - - - - - - -

SIGNATURES

I affirm, on my honor, that I have signed only one of these petitions

_____	_____
_____	_____
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CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

ARTICLE I

BILL OF RIGHTS

Sec. I

1. Origin and foundation of government. All government, of right, originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted for the good of the whole. Public officers are the trustees and servants of the people and, at all times, amenable to them.

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25. Right to assemble and petition. The people have the right to assemble peaceably for their common good and to apply to those vested with the power of government for redress of grievances by petition and remonstrance.

.....

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Sec. I

1. Governor; term of office; salary, etc. The executive power shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold office during the term of four years, and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified. .....

.....

4. How returns published. The members of each branch of the General Assembly shall convene in the Representative Hall, and the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the returns in the presence and under the direction of the General Assembly; and the person having the majority of the whole number of votes shall be declared duly elected Governor of this State; but, if no person shall have such majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life, and shall not decline an election at the time appointed for the General Assemnly to elect, the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor viva voce; and in all cases of election of a Governor by the General Assembly, a majority of the members present shall be necessary to a choice.

.....

Sec.II

Other Executive Officers

1. Executive Officers, How Elected.....The provisions of the Constitution as to the transmission of ~~returns~~ the returns of the election, counting the votes, declaring the results, deciding when there is no election, and when there is a contested election, applicable to the election of Governor, shall apply to the above named executive officers.....

ARTICLE V, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Cont'd.

Section II

Other Executive Officers, ~~NowElected~~

1. Executive Officers, How Elected. .... The provisions of the Constitution as to the transmission of the returns of the election, counting the votes, declaring the results, deciding when there is no election, and when there is a contested election, applicable to the election of Governor shall apply to the election of the above~~n~~ named executive officers;,,,

.....

ARTICLE VI

JUDICIARY

Section I

4. Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court shall have no original jurisdiction but shall be a court alone for the trial~~s~~ and ~~xxxxx~~ correction of errors of law..., in all cases that involve the construction of the Constitution of the State of Georgia or of the United States,...;in all cases in which the constitutionality of any law of the State of Georgia or of the United States is drawn in question; ....

STATE CANDIDATES RECOMMENDED BY THE PAC

For Lieutenant Governor -- M. E. Thompson in opposition to Frank Gross, Marvin Griffin, Dr. L. N. Huff, Spence Grayson and Belmont Dennis.

For Secretary of State - Ben Fortson, in opposition to Napier Burson.

For Attorney General - Eugene Cook against Irwin Kimzey.

For Labor Commissioner - Harry E. Monroe against Ben T. Huiet, the incumbent.

For Commissioner of Agriculture - Jim Manning against Tom Linder, the incumbent.

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

Augusta, Georgia
June 8, 1946

Report on the Citizenship Project in Mississippi-

To -- Dr. Guy Johnson
Dr. W. W. Alexander
Dr. Chas. Johnson

I happen to be at Paine at our usual Leadership School, hence the letterhead.

I feel sure you will be interested in what we are doing in Mississippi. I have been over there three times this year working and planning with my Citizenship Committee. It has just had a meeting which I did not attend but the report of the meeting has just come to me and is full of things that I want to pass on to you.

First, I would like to let you know just what we have done up to the time of this meeting on May 31st.

1. The registering and voting project was presented at all zone, district and Conference meetings since Dec. 1st.

2. Blanks were sent to all societies on which to report, by circles, the number of women registered. When the blanks were not returned a tracer-card was sent after them.
These blanks also had these questions. "give plans you have made to get 100% of your women registered-- plsns for extending the work to the other women's organizations in your community.

3. Every two weeks, there has been mailed to the societies, a mimeographed sheet tabulating the results of the registeration and giving stories culled from the reports, especially of the societies having all women registered or extending the projects to the P. T. A., etc

4. Both Conferences, at their annual meeting passed resolutions condemning race being used as an issue in the political campaign . These resolutions were sent to all candidates (Bilbo' did not write a nice reply.)

These resolutions have been printed on slips, the size of a business envelope. Literally hundreds of them have been distributed-
(Dr. Johnson, they decided to have some printed bearing the signature of the Miss. Conferences , rather than the ones we had with my name on it, so it could not be termed "an outside agency"

5. The Woman's page in the Christian Advocate features the project regularly.

6. One of the major projects of the two Conferences is the promotion of the study in the societies of the little book of Henry Bullock "The Divine Fatherhood".

The Excerpts from the letter just received of the meeting of the committee at Heidelberg Hotel, Jackson, Miss. May 31st.

"At our morning session, we decided to get out three letters - about ten days apart -- before the election.

1st Letter -
The first letter will be mailed June 5th. It will urge the women to accept their responsibility as voters and will ask for a report on the number of qualified voters in the society as of this date. We will enclose our "news sheet" with fresh news from the field.

With this letter we will send the reprint from the Georgia League of Voters. Martha Hall feels that we have to overcome the apathy of many women and also the idea that church women have no part in such a movement as this.

2nd Letter -
The second letter is to go about the 14th of June and will call attention to the qualifications we should seek in men for whom we vote for the five offices to be filled.

(This will be done in this way. We will have printed on a slip letter size envelope , the principles we learned in our study of "The Divine Fatherhood", and will ask our women to measure the candidates by these standards)

With this letter we will enclose a copy of the resolutions, we passed at Annual Meeting against race being an issue in the political campaign. We will enclose another "news sheet"

3rd Letter
The third letter will be mailed the last week in June, urging the women to go to the polls and see that all others do so also. With this letter, we will enclose a blank on which to report the number of the women who voted on July 2nd.

Further plans will depend upon what happens at the polls then.

In the afternoon, the committee went in a body to the office of the Attorney General and while he was out, we had a most interesting conversation with an assistant, who reallybelieves that the women should take their franchise more seriously.

These are some of the ~~tings~~ things we got straight (we will give this to our societies)

a. A person can register through July 5th this year, since the law reads "four months before the General Election" which comes on Nov. 5th. So, if a woman's poll tax has been regularly paid, as many of their husbands do pay it, she can register up until 5 days before the first primary and vote. The five days is because

the law requires the Election Committee to check the poll books "5 days before any election"

2. Any person whose 21st birthday comes before the General Election on Nov. 5th, may register and vote without poll tax receipts.

3. Any persons 60 years or over may register and vote without poll tax receipts.

4. Any person who is crippled or who is deaf or blind or dumb, may vote by registering. No poll tax.

5. Veterans who have a certificate saying they were in the armed forces in 1944-45 can vote without poll tax receipts.

After this, we asked him, "Doesn't the Democratic Party in Mississippi make some rules of its own about who shall vote in our primary elections"

He replied-
"They use to do that, but now Uncle Sam has ruled that if elections are financed by public funds, no one can make any other rules and regulation Therefore, if the Democratic Party wants to make any rules about who can vote, it will have to finance the elections. So, that makes it possible for any citizen of Mississippi to vote in any of our elections without discrimination because of race, color or creed."

We went from the Attorney General's office (he gave us some tips about materials we could get) to the office of the Secretary of State, We already knew how he felt about the Negro. Well, he looked us over and found out who we were and that we each came from a different place, then we explained that we were trying to get our women interesting in voting, so he turned loose and gave us what we wanted! !! !!

Not knowing how we felt, he told us how he had kept Negroes from voting, etc. One of the clerks in the office (a man) asked me if many Negroes were registered in Meridian. I told that I did not know. He said of many them are registering in Jackson.

Now about the political situation in Mississippi. I can give it to you ~~you~~ as I see it.

Things seems very quiet - in fact the only sparks that seem to be flying are just between the candidates themselves. The people as a whole seem to be merely sitting on the side-lines with an amused attitude.

Frankly, there seems little choice when it comes to Bilbo or Collins. The only difference in my mind is that I do not think Collins would embarass us by not being a gentleman.

As for Levings , he seems to have rather disgusted people by using his uniform as he has done-O- he is still wearing it. He does not seem to be very strong.

Our best bet is Ellis, but we fear he is not strong enough to overcome ~~th~~ the others. However he is going to get many votes and there may be a surprise -- I am always surprised at things which happen in elections.

If only some one with a lot of personality and high ideals had come out, we could have gone places. I understand that the crowds at Bilbo's speaking are not even enthusiastic.

Well, that is the picture as I see it.

WHAT WE MUST DO, like the women of New Orleans, is to begin this year and work toward our goal. In 1947, we elect all of State and county officers.

Will be writing to you from time to time as our plans develop."

Signed -- Katharine Wilson-
Co-chairman of Citizenship Committee

The resolution passed in the Greenville District Conference, at the request of one of the State legislators, against our Methodist literature and its teachings on race -- was not altogether an attack on the literature but on what our missionary women are doing in this campaign.

Sincerely yours

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

July 1, 1946

Mrs. E. V. Perry
Rolling Fork, Mississippi

Please make careful observations at polls tomorrow and send me report.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

This telegram also sent to:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Miss.
Mrs. E. V. Perry, Rolling Fork, Miss.
Mrs. W. A. McCormack, Corinth, Miss.
Miss Bettie Ridgeway, Ellisville, Miss.
Mrs. T. H. Fore, 105 Arlington Ave., Natchez, Miss.
Mrs. Stanley Wilson, 2212 15th Street, Meridian, Miss.
Mrs. J. W. Hollandsworth, Booneville, Miss.
Mrs. Paul Arrington, 1735 Piedmont St., Jackson, Miss.
Mrs. E. M. Sharp, Aberdeen, Miss.
Mrs. J. W. Clark, Utica, Miss.
Mrs. W. H. Mahaffey, Prentiss, Miss.
Mrs. L. W. Alford, McComb, Miss.

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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July 1, 1946

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Sherard, Mississippi

Please make careful observations at polls tomorrow and send me report.
Wire Mrs. Dan Comfort.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

THE VICKSBURG EVENING POST, TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1946

ELECTION JUDGES OVERRULE SHERIFF AT MOUND BAYOU

Official Fails To Halt Voting Of Negro Residents

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., July 2 —(AP)—The three election judges of this all-negro community of some 1,000 persons today overruled a petition by Bolivar County Sheriff W. E. Kent contesting the right of Mound Bayou residents to vote in today's democratic primary.

Mayor B. A. Green, Harvard-educated mayor of the town, said Kent formally filed the contest action with the judges shortly after the polls opened this morning. The judges promptly overruled the petition.

Green said Kent charged that Mound Bayou registrants were not qualified democrats and therefore not eligible to vote in the democratic primary. The sheriff could not be reached immediately for comment.

About 25 persons already had cast their ballots by 9 o'clock (CST Green said, adding that he expected a total of 200 before the polls closed.

Reached later at Cleveland, Miss., Sheriff Kent said his challenge was "just a formality" and that the validity of the Mound Bayou negroes' votes would be decided by the state democratic executive committee.

"There's been no trouble," he said. "No attempt will be made to keep them from going ahead and voting in the normal manner," he said. "It'll be up to the executive committee then to determine whether they qualify as democrats."

JACKSON NEGROES VOTE

JACKSON, July 2—(AP)—Between 200 and 300 negroes will cast ballots in the democratic primary here today, Percy Green, negro editor of the Jackson Advocate, and a member of the NAACP and the Progressive Voters League, estimated here this morning shortly after voting his ticket in the 31st precinct here.

Green, one of the first negroes ever to cast a ballot in a Mississippi democratic primary for federal offices, said negro leaders were pleased at the attitude of poll holders when the negroes appeared to cast their ballots.

"I don't see how anyone could have been nicer. There was no sign, no expression of any kind that anyone wanted to deny us the ballot," he said. "And there was no sign of any trickery or indication that our ballots might not be counted. The lady handed me a ballot from the same pile she handed them to two white men. No one attempted to take my ballot or mark it or do anything that would allow it to be distinguished from any other ballot. I was allowed to put the ballot into the ballot box with my own hands. And there

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A similar report came from T. B. Wilson, president of the Mississippi chapter of the Progressive Voters League which has waged a campaign over the state to get negroes to register and vote in the democratic primary.

"There was no sign of intimidation or ruse at the polls of the 31st precinct," Wilson said. "There was no "pink ticket" or any unusual marking that would in any way deface the ballots cast by negroes."

Sen. Theo. G. Bilbo has suggested in campaign speeches that white voters challenge negro voters on the grounds the negroes had not been in accord with the Democratic party for the past two years and were consequently disqualified to vote. In such a case, he said, the ballot would be placed in an envelope and set aside until a decision had been made by election officials.

Wilson said at the time his ticket was handed him, it bore no mark other than the handwritten initials "H. M." which are the initials of Mrs. Merle Hardin, one of the poll officials.

The secretary of state's office said proper voting procedure in Mississippi is as follows:

The voter appears at the polls and asks for a ballot. The poll book is checked to ascertain if he is properly registered and the voter is requested to show his poll tax receipts for the past two years. The ballot, already initialed by one of the election officials, is then handed to the voter who signs a receipt sheet and then goes to the booth to mark his ticket. The voter then either hands the ballot to an election official to drop into the ballot box or, if the official chooses, the voter is told to put his own ballot in the box.

There is no provision in law which would allow setting aside or marking one ballot differently from any other ballot except in these cases where the qualifications of a voter are challenged. In that case the secretary of state's office said, the ballot is placed in a separate envelope bearing the name of the voter and set aside pending determination by the state democratic executive committee as to whether the voter is qualified to cast a ballot.

Meanwhile negroes continued to register at the office of the circuit clerk here. More than a dozen were there shortly after 10:30 a. m. asking for certificates which will exempt them, as veterans of world war 2, from payment of the poll tax. No figures on the number registered there today were immediately available.

THE WEATHER

For Vicksburg and Vicinity—Partly cloudy tonight and Wednesday.

Vicksburg Evening Post.

TEMPERATURES

Temperature, 7 a. m., 74 degrees
Temperature, 9 a. m., 80 degrees
Temperature, 11 a. m., 84 degrees
Temperature, 2 p. m., 88 degrees

VOLUME LXIV | ASSOCIATED PRESS | VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1946 | N. E. A. FEATURES | NO. 167

RANKIN ASSAULTS PHOTOGRAPHER

Scratches Neck Of Associated Press Man, Tears Shirt

Few Negroes Are Voting In State Primary

Quiet Prevails As Mississippians Go To Polls Today

JACKSON, July 2 —(AP)—Negroes voted today in Mississippi's democratic primary, the election in which Senator Theo G. Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin sought return to Congress with a promise to continue to speak out for white supremacy.

Some negroes were challenged at the polls on legal grounds, but there was no report of disorders to climax a heated campaign during which Bilbo called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep the few qualified negroes from casting ballots.

Negroes voted in rather sizeable numbers in Jackson, Clarksdale and Mound Bayou, the last an all-negro community in the Delta country.

A few had participated in the balloting by noon in Laurel, Vicksburg and Greenville.

A number of counties had no negroes registered.

At Tupelo, Rankin ripped the shirt off Associated Press Photographer Allen W. Snipes of Memphis when the latter attempted to photograph him outside a polling place.

Rankin scratched Snipes' neck and hands and snatched the photographer's camera. The congressman said that Snipes insulted Mrs. Rankin when he attempted to photograph her while she was voting.

Snipes, who is considerably larger than the slightly-built Rankin, made no effort to strike the angry office-seeker.

Bilbo planned to vote this afternoon in Pearl River county, near the "Dream House" where he lives when he is not in Washington.

"The Man," as he calls himself, said he was confident of victory. His four opponents each conceded him a lead today, but each hoped to win a place in a run-off primary which will be held in eight weeks if no one receives a clear majority of the votes cast today.

By 11 a. m., 12 negroes had voted in the Central fire station at Biloxi.

At another Biloxi precinct, it was reported that a group of bystanders gave a "move on" command to some negroes who drove up in an automobile. The negroes left without voting. There was no physical violence.

One negro succeeded in voting at Laurel. Two others were disqualified, and two challenged.

About 45 negroes voted before 10 a. m., in four Clarksdale precincts. More negroes than whites voted during the first hour.

Seven negroes had voted in Greenville's north box by 9 a. m.

No negroes had voted in Greenwood, Gulfport, Hattiesburg or

(Continued on Page Seven)

Incident Occurs After Picture Is Taken

TUPELO, Miss., July 2—(AP)—U S. Representative John Rankin of Mississippi assaulted an Associated Press photographer here today, ripping off the newsman's shirt and scratching his neck and hands after the latter took a picture of the congressman outside a Tupelo polling place.

Rankin is seeking renomination from Mississippi's first congressional district in today's Democratic primary.

The photographer was Allen W. Snipes of Memphis.

Walter Long, Tupelo baker, gave The Associated Press an eyewitness account of the incident. Said Long.

"I was standing over on the courthouse lawn about 30 yards away from the two men. I saw the photographer take the picture and turn around to walk away.

"Just then, Rankin yelled and jumped on the photographer's back, scratching his neck and gouging at his hands to get the camera.

"Rankin," Long continued, "then shouted, 'I'll kill you, I'll kill you'."

The baker said Snipes was holding his camera with one hand and trying to shield himself with the other. "He obviously didn't want to hurt Rankin for he made no effort to strike him or throw him off his back."

Long said he then ran across the street and pulled Rankin off the AP man. Rankin wrested the camera away from Snipes.

The congressman told The Associated Press office in Memphis that the photographer "didn't respect my rights" when he took the pictures of the representative and Mrs. Rankin.

"This man did not respect my rights or the rights of my wife. I just took his camera away from him, took the film out, and sent the camera back to him."

Rankin said Snipes was "in the polling place in violation of the laws of Mississippi. "He took my wife's picture without permission, and then flashed that thing in my face without my permission."

The representative said he gave an account of the altercation with the photographer in a radio broadcast from Station WELO shortly before noon.

Photographer Snipes said from Tupelo that he called Rankin this morning and asked to take a picture of the congressman as he voted. Rankin denied the request.

Later, Snipes snapped a picture of Mrs. Rankin in the polling place as she voted alone. Several minutes later Snipes said he saw Rankin outside the courthouse and went out to take the picture.

Later, Snipes said he made an attempt to retrieve his camera from the congressman.

"I met Rankin some time later," said Snipes, "as I was on my way to get another shirt." (He said a merchant offered him a shirt to replace his torn one.) "He was talking with a group of men.

"I walked up to the congressman and said, 'Mr. Rankin, I'd like

(Continued on Page Seven)

FEW NEGROES

(Continued from Page One)

Pass Christian.

A check made between 11 a. m., and noon showed that 2,702 votes already had been cast in Jackson, where the total vote was 5,662 in the latest contest for the governorship and other state offices.

Polling places were swamped with a rush at noon.

By noon, 110 negroes had voted. Eleven others had their ballots challenged. In one ward, the challenge was on the ground that the negroes had not been in harmony with the Democratic party. In the other, election officials said simply "we are challenging their right to vote." About 40 negroes already had voted in one of the wards.

The circuit clerk's office at Jackson was jammed by late registrants, many of them negroes. The books remained open throughout the day. Negro voters had the assurance of Attorney General Tom Clark that their rights would be protected.

Those who voted were not molested. And two negro leaders said they saw no sign of trickery or intimidation.

The question of whether negroes would vote overshadowed all other aspects of the primary because Bilbo had called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep them from the polls.

Forty-nine negro votes were cast during the first hour of balloting at Jackson. Four negroes were among the 282 persons who voted during the first two hours at Vicksburg.

A last-minute legal move failed to prevent voting in the all-negro town of Mound Bayou, in the rich, cotton-growing Mississippi delta.

Sheriff W. E. Kent of Bolivar county challenged the right of Mound Bayou residents to participate on the grounds that they were not qualified democrats. State law requires that voters in a primary must have been in accord with the political party during the previous two years.

But the three election-judges of the negro community overruled the sheriff, and permitted 25 negroes to cast their ballots before 9 a. m., Central Standard Time. Mayor B. A. Green said that about 200 in all would vote.

Four negroes who went to the polls in Natchez were challenged on the ground that their names did not appear on the poll list. A lone negro at Meridian was not allowed to vote because he did not present his certificate of exemption from paying the poll tax. Veterans who were out of Mississippi during their

RANKIN ASSAULTS

(Continued from Page One)

to get my camera back'."

The congressman turned to Snipes, the photographer related, and said:

"You can have your camera back when you come with me and take the film out of it."

Snipes said he told Rankin that he had come to Mississippi to take pictures of the primary, "and I'm not in a position to throw away my negatives at your request." Snipes quoted the Mississippi representative as replying that "You are down in white man's country now and to hell with you!"

Rankin then walked away.

Snipes said he had requested several Tupelo policemen to help him retrieve the instrument and that they had referred him to the police chief who, the photographer said, could not be reached.

Rankin's assault on Snipes was described by Eugene Roper, editor of the Tupelo Daily News, who said he had talked to witnesses of the incident.

Roper said he, too, tried to get Rankin to return the camera but that the congressman declined. Roper quoted Rankin as saying that "Snipes insulted my wife" by taking her picture.

The AP photographer said when he asked Mrs. Rankin if he could take her picture in the polling place she at first demurred.

"I leaned over and took one, though," Snipes said. "Mrs. Rankin just laughed and exclaimed, 'Oh, that wasn't bad'."

Long, who pulled the infuriated congressman off Snipes, said that a crowd of 150 to 200 persons quickly gathered on the courthouse square. Long said he was the first to reach the struggling pair and that others made no attempt to interfere.

"I yelled at Rankin as I pulled him away from Snipes: 'You don't have to do that, Congressman! He just took a picture of you'."

He said that, after he separated them, Rankin shouted for the police. Snipes walked across the street to a store where he phoned details of the assault to the Mem-

The Daily Corinthian

Fifty-first Year No. 157 The United Press Corinth, Mississippi, Tuesday, July 2, 1946 Associated Press Price 5c

WEATHER

Partly cloudy today, tonight and Wednesday; scattered thundershowers near the coast today.

250,000 ESTIMATED STATE VOTE

NO TROUBLE IS REPORTED ON NEGRO VOTING

County Vote May Be Large As Rain Is Staying Away

BULLETIN

TUPELO, Miss.—Rep. John E. Rankin of Mississippi, a candidate for re-election in today's Democratic primary election attacked Associated Press Photographer Al Snipes this afternoon when Snipes snapped his picture in Tupelo.

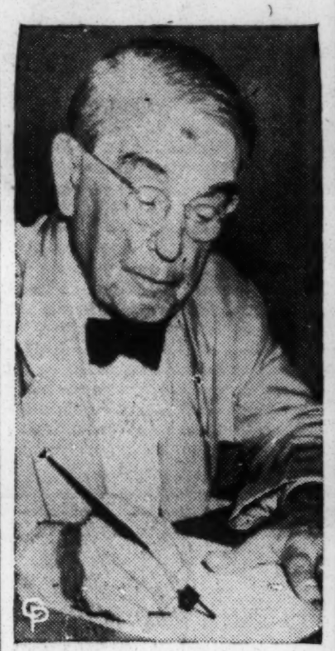
Voters began flocking to the polls in a spasmodic manner in Alcorn county this morning to cast their ballots for choices in the Democratic primary election in which a U. S. Senator, a congressman and a circuit court judge are to be selected.

In spite of the highly-publicized negro voting campaign, only three negroes had applied at the three city precincts at 10 o'clock this morning. Two of the negroes went away after asking a few questions of an election official while the third was found to be under-age and therefore not eligible to vote, a reporter for the Daily Corinthian learned before noon today.

No trouble had been reported from outlying precincts in the county, and law enforcement officials said they anticipated no trouble.

An indication of the trend of the voting in the three largest precincts in Alcorn county was given at 12:30 today when only 567 ballots had been cast in the Edgar, West and East Corinth boxes. A total of 132 in Edgar, 250 in East

Signing OPA Bill



PRESIDENT Pro Tempore of the Senate, Sen. Kenneth McKellar (D-Tenn.), signs the OPA extension bill after it was passed by a vote of 47 to 23. This was the last act of the government legislative branches before the bill was sent to President Truman for either his veto or signature. *(International)*

TAXES MAY BE HIGHER SOON

Secretary Of Treasury Says Higher Prices Will

polls in a spasmodic manner in Alcorn county this morning to cast their ballots for choices in the Democratic primary election in which a U. S. Senator, a congressman and a circuit court judge are to be selected.

In spite of the highly-publicized negro voting campaign, only three negroes had applied at the three city precincts at 10 o'clock this morning. Two of the negroes went away after asking a few questions of an election official while the third was found to be under-age and therefore not eligible to vote, a reporter for the Daily Corinthian learned before noon today.

No trouble had been reported from outlying precincts in the county, and law enforcement officials said they anticipated no trouble.

An indication of the trend of the voting in the three largest precincts in Alcorn county was given at 12:30 today when only 567 ballots had been cast in the Edgar, West and East Corinth boxes. A total of 132 in Edgar, 250 in East Corinth, and 185 in West Corinth.

Indications were that approximately 5,000 ballots would be cast in the primary, when residents of the area awoke this morning to see an overcast sky, indicative of rain. However, no rain fell in the early forenoon and this lack of rain may result in a larger outpouring of voters than at first anticipated.

Interest of county voters is centered in all three races where the issues have been highlighted in recent days by an intensified campaign by all contestants for office, each of whom has conducted a campaign characteristic of races in other days.

Counting of the votes will begin shortly after close of the polls at 6 o'clock this afternoon and results may be known as early as 10 o'clock, although counting and tabulating of the ballots in the larger voting centers may require an extra period of time. However, the rural vote and the smaller centers, will be able to get returns in earlier because of the short ticket.

Radio Station WCMA in Corinth will remain in operation until all returns are in and will endeavor to keep listeners in the Corinth trade radius informed of the balloting as the tabulations are made. The station staff, augmented by the staff of the Daily Corinthian will compile the county returns and get them on the air as soon as they are available, in order that the public may keep close track of the trend of the voting.

In addition to furnishing the people of this area with results of the balloting, Radio Station WMCA will utilize the services of the United Press 24-hour wire service to keep the public abreast of the results from over the state.

JACKSON, Miss., July 2 (UP)—The chips are down in Mississippi's Democratic primary. The last speech has been made, the last appeal broadcast. Now, it is up to the voters, and what they will say today is anybody's guess.

Top interest is centered in the top race—that in which Senator Bilbo is seeking reelection against four candidates. His opponents are Nelson Levings, Tom Ellis, Ross Collins and Frank Harper.

In addition there are four congressional races and a few judicial district contests.

In the first district, incumbent Congressman John Rankin has two opponents, Judge Claude Clayton and Charles Hamilton.

Congressman Arthur Winstead, of the Fifth District, has one opponent, J. O. Hollis.

In the Sixth District, Rep. William Colmer has opposition by Grover Doggett.

Congressman Dan McGehee, of the Seventh District, is opposed by three aspirants, John Bell Williams, Stewart C. Broom and Arthur Sullivan.

A vote of between 200,000 and 250,000 has been predicted.

JACKSON, Miss., July 2 (UP)—A check of circuit clerk's offices soon after the polls opened today in Mississippi reveals that the negro vote is running in a light to none at all category.

In Brandon where instances of violence were brought up within the past few weeks, the circuit clerk declared he had only two negroes registered and that no negro veterans are applying for poll tax exemptions and that thus far no negroes at all are appearing at the polls.

In Hinds county, where some 500 negroes were said earlier to be registered, the clerk reveals that the negros are voting, but says they have had no indication that this is happening in large numbers.

It is indicated in other counties heavily populated with negroes that the white vote is coming in slowly and is rarely interspersed with that of the negro voter.

The clerk reported that in one city precinct some 25 out of 30 early voters were negroes, but said this was not representative of the whole county.

Mississippi's first oil refinery in the Tinsley Field has processed over 4,000,000 barrels of oil since it began operation July 1, 1941.

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TAXES MAY BE HIGHER SOON

Secretary Of Treasury Says Higher Prices Will Call For Higher Taxes

WASHINGTON, July 2 (UP)—Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder says that if prices are allowed to rise with no further controls, "it would be normal to expect taxes to follow"

In his first news conference since taking office, Snyder said both corporate and individual taxes will have to be raised if price controls are not revised and price levels are allowed to skyrocket.

TWA Plane Lands On Rail Tracks

CHICAGO, July 2 (UP)—A TWA mainliner bound from Chicago for Kansas City made a forced landing today on a railroad track, slightly injuring the pilot and tying up traffic on the belt line railroad. Police say none of the passengers was injured, and all were returned to Chicago, from which they had taken off just a few minutes before.

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w To Attend The

Effective Rebuke

Considerable concern had been expressed among the self-styled liberal groups in the North and East about the freedom of the ballot in Mississippi prior to Tuesday's Democratic primaries. Some of the professional agitators were unusually vocal and unrestrained in their outcries, predicting bloodshed and worse.

What actually happened was the most complete and effective rebuke that could have been administered to these potential trouble peddlers. All properly qualified negroes who appeared at the polling places were allowed to vote. Election day was among the most quiet and orderly in the history of Mississippi, and the reaction of the negroes who cast their ballots was well summed up by the statement of a negro leader in Jackson who said "no one could have been nicer than the election officials" where he voted.

It will doubtless be noted by the rabble rousing clan that the negro vote in the Democratic primary was very small. That is true, and for the fact there are sound reasons. It was the first time negroes have been eligible to take part in the election. Comparatively few of them had qualified, and the fact is that the vast majority of Mississippi negroes have previously been affiliated with the Republican Party. Under Mississippi law an applicant for part in a party primary must have been in accord with the party's position for at least two years before any given election.

In any event, the manner of the election and the behavior of the members of both races who took part in it were beyond exception. The fact should silence all honest critics who were apprehensive. It would be impossible to please the others, for they had self-serving and subversive purposes in mind to begin with, but the facts should put them on display for what they are.

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES FEARFUL AFTER ELECTION

Near Million Voters Ready For July 17 State Primary

A NEWSPAPER WITH A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY

Jackson Advocate

PRICE 6c PER COPY

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 38 — JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1946

$3,000,000 Negro School Fund Disbursement Discussed

ACTION ON EIGHT MONTHS TERM DEFERRED

Recommendation for the disbursement of the $3,000,000 Negro school fund was discussed in a meeting of County Superintendets of Education here last week. The meeting was called by A. F. McGeehee, of Pascagoula, president of the County Superintendents' Association.

The $3,000,000 fund, for the improvement of Negro Education in the state was appropriated by the 1946 sesion of the State Legislature.

The group revised a resolution presented by 238 Negro teachers attending the North Delta Summer School and Health Workshop at Clarkdale. As revised, the resolution agreed to adopt common policies on training, regrouping of schools, transportation, length of term and pay.

The superintendents also voted to ask the accrediting commission to evaluate four years high schools and colleges in order to raise educational requirements for Negro teachers.

Instead of consolidating the schools as the resolution asked, the group voted to re-group them explaining that a larger number of students would be able to obtain training at less expense through this plan.

On July 1, said W. G. Eckels, Superintendent of transportation school buildings, a form will be mailed to all county superintendents and County school boards and Negro boards of trustees, which will be complied in order to estimate the need in distributing the appropriation.

Action on the section of the resolution asking an eight month term for Negro schools was deferred.

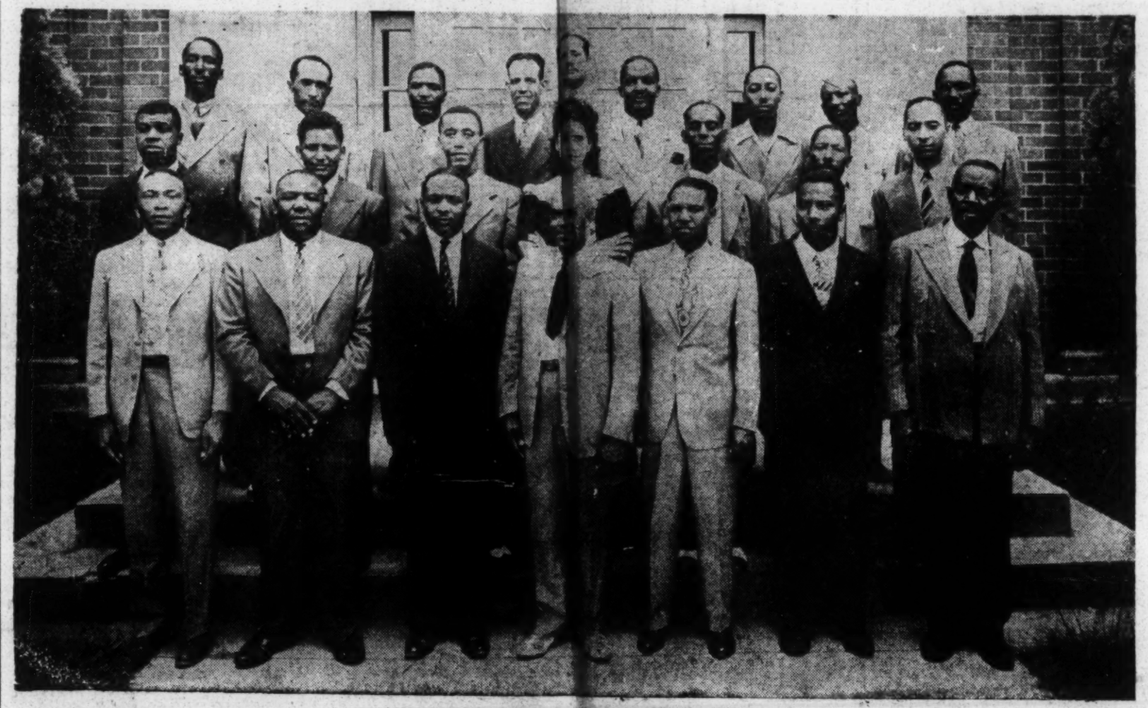
Another section asking a minimum salary scale was eliminated stating that some counties were unable to meet the requirements. The resolution asked for $50 per month for emergency teachers, $75 for high school graduates, and $100 per month college graduates.

Biennial Session Of Southeastern Regional Of Federated Clubs Of Women Will Meet In Virginia

PRENTISS, Miss.—The Federated Club Women of the Southeastern Regional will hold their first post-war session this summer, Mrs. Bertha L. Johnson of the Prentiss Institute, Mississippi Regional President, in her final announcement this week states: "We are fast approaching the date when we shall assemble at Virginia State

All delegates will be entertained on the campus. No pains will be spared in making our stay one of profit and enjoyment.

"July 27 is the opening date for the National Convention which will be held in Washington. We are urging all club women to attend this session which will be our Golden Jubilee Convention



Pictured above are the Vocational Trades Teachers of the Type "B" Ships of Mississippi. The group met at Lanier High School here June 3-24 in its regular trades conference. There was three goal objectives for the meeting. (1) Revision of workbook in Carpentry made by the group in conference some years ago. (2) The outline of the years work in the Building Trades with emphasis on correction of workbook with proposed free text book. (3) Formulation and outline of programs in diversified occupations and suggested organization of new training program in other skilled trades.

The group further went on record as favoring the construction of training centers for Veterans being studied by Governor Bailey and the State Board of Education.

Wide-Spread Apprehension

Record Number On Voters' List

ATLANTA, Ga. —(SNS) — Registrars of Georgia closed their books Friday, reporting a total 913,515 citizens qualified to participate in the important July 17th Primary election. Of this number, 118,387 were Negro registrants, most of whom have registered within the first six months of the year, following the action of a federal District Judge in ruling Georgia's Democratic White Primary unconstitutional and violative of the 13th, 14th and 17th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

Heaviest registrations were reported in Fulton, DeKalb, Bibb, Chatham, Floyd, Richmond, Troup and all of which carrying six unit votes. The total registration of Negroes in these counties is set at 60,347. There are 159 counties for the state with a total of 410 county votes.

COMPLAINTS POUR IN

Meanwhile, Negro leaders through out the state continue to report subterfuges and threats in newly registered Negroes. A. T. Walden, head of the State Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, stated that a number of lawyers are now working overtime to stem this tide of rank discrimination against the Negro voters. In one county alone, declared Mr. Walden, one man, regarded as a Talmadge henchman, is reported to have signed 700 challenges ,the entire Negro registration for the county, in an effort to keep Negroes from the polls.

One response to this legal service being provided member clubs of the State Association, was that the names of 700 Negroes, were restored to good standing in Ware County, where three members on the Board of Registrars quit in protest to the bias and rank discrimination in purging the names of Negroes and skipping over those of whites.

PROSECUTION SEEN

In Atlanta Saturday, Henry guilty of violating section 51 of the Criminal Code of the U. S. Constitution, which provides that if two or more persons conspire to injure or oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of any rights secured by the Constitution or the laws of the United States shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years. Notice that this section says imprisoned and fined. It requires that a prison sentence be given."

STOP NEGRO MOVE

In further clarification Troutman

(Cont'nued On Back Page)

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PRENTISS, Miss.—The Federated Club Women of the Southeastern Regional will hold their first post-war session this summer, Mrs. Bertha L. Johnson of the Prentiss Institute, Mississippi Regional President, in her final announcement this week states: "We are fast approaching the date when we shall assemble at Virginia State College, Petersburg for the 13th biennial session of the Southeastern Regional which will be held July 25-26.

Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Flordia, Tennessee, and Mississippi will be well represented. From present indications, this will be one of the most successful meetings in the history of the organization.

The program promises to be informative as well as inspirational. It will include and emphasize the orginal objectives as set forth by the founders—Intensive Organization, Constructive Citizenship, and Inter-racial cooperation.

Juvenile Delinquency, Cancer Control and opportunities and achievements for women in the professions, will be among the subjects for discussion. The general theme is, The Southeastern a Dynamic force in Reconversion. We shall be favored with the presence of three past presidents, Dr. Mary M. Bethune, Atty. Ora B. Stokes and Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Taylor. Dr. Charlotte H. Brown will also appear on program.

All delegates will be entertained on the campus. No pains will be spared in making our stay one of profit and enjoyment.

"July 27 is the opening date for the National Convention which will be held in Washington. We are urging all club women to attend this session which will be our Golden Jubilee. Convenience in reaching Washington from Petersburg in ample time will be made available. The distance from Petersburg to Washington is only 130 miles.

The officers of the Regional are: Mrs. Ida Henderson, v.-president, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. W. A. Scott, rec. sec., Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. C. M. Shappe, cor sec., Petersburg, Va.; Mrs. A. P. Mack, treasurer, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Mrs. A. G. Mickens, chaplain, West Palm Beach, Fla.; Mrs. Hazel G. Reese, parliamentarian, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. M. D. King, historian, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. E. C. Hampton, statistician, Ocala, Fla.; Mrs. Eva Hall Harris, auditor, Brookhaven, Miss.; and Mrs. H. M. Gibbs, chmn. executive board, Montgomery, Ala.

The president of the Regional are Mrs. M. B. Gaillard, Birmingham, Alabama; Mrs. Hattie M. Reese, Albany, Ga.; Mrs. F. A. Ponder, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells, Jackson, Miss.; Miss Ruth Rush, Durham, N. C.; Mrs. Daisy Taylor, Orangeburg, S. C.; Mrs. Francis J. Pierce, Nashville, Tennessee, and Mrs. L. H. Goff, Covington, Virginia.

Institute For Ministers, Social Workers, Youth Congress To Be Held At Campbell College Site

An Institute for ministers and social workers and the 8th Episcopal District Youth Congress will be held July 14-19 at Campbell College according to the final announcement made by President S. L. Greene, Jr., president of the College here Monday.

Dr. Charles Spivers, pastor, St. John AME Church, Cleveland, O., formerly Dean of Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce University, Ohio, will deliver the keynote of the institute and congress Sunday morning, July 14, at Pearl St. AME Church. The Sunday morning services at Pearl St. Church will also mark the close of the first summer school in the history of Campbell College when Miss Mamie Huddleston will receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Dr. H. T. Primm, pastor of Bethel AME Church, New Orleans, La., is president of the congress. Rev. R. K. Young, pastor of Bethel AME Church, Baton Rogue, La., Director of Religious Education for the 8th District will head the Institute.

Members of the faculty will include Dean John J. Morant, Campbell College, School of Religion; Dean A. H. Jones, Liberal Arts Department, Campbell College, Rev N. H. Jeltz, Meredian; Rev. B. J. Nolen, Jackson; R. M. Stevens, Natchez and A. O. Wilson, New Orleans, La.

Johnny Wooly, Big Time Chians, Help Re-elect Senator Bilbo

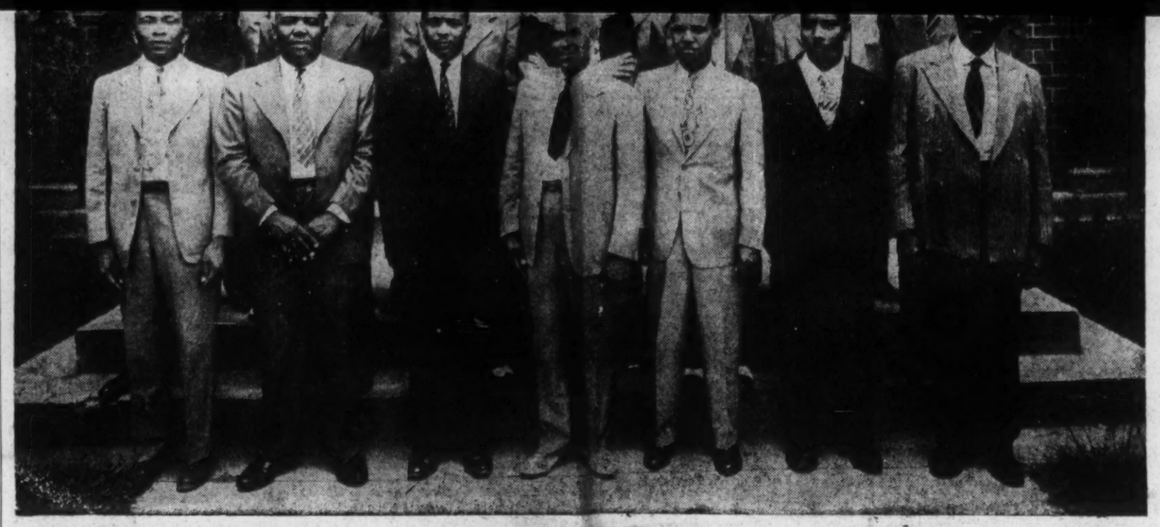
JACKSON, Miss. —Johnny Wooly, bigtime Chicago Clubman and widely known southside politician boasted here last week that he had helped re-elect Senator Theo, G. Bilbo.

According to reports Wooly told a well-known Chicago newspaper man and a local college professor that he had received a large sum of money from the Senator to come to the state and work for his re-election.

During his stay in the state Wooly visited his former home Coiah County, Mississippi.

PLENTY OF GRANDPARENTS

BLOOMINGTON, Ill.—Gary Peyton, 21-months-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Peyton, has 12 living grandparents and great-grandparents. Youngest of the great-grandparents



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The group further went on record as favoring the construction of training centers for Veterans being studied by Governor Bailey and the State Board of Education.

Wide - Spread, Apprehension Among Negro Citizens As Reports Of Election Incidents Grow

There were no reports of violence on election day, July 2, when Negro citizens voted in the Democratic Primary for the first time in the history of the State, but beginning with the very next day following election day and almost daily since that time there have been increasing reports of intimidation and violence visited upon Negro citizens. With the election past Negro citizens still live under a deep cloud of fear and apprehension in many sections of the state.

The result of the election shows Senator Bilbo with a majority of slightly over 3,000 votes over the combined total of all his opponents. With a conservatively estimated 5,000 Negroes, including veterans qualified under a state law exempting them from paying poll tax, eligible to vote in the election, had it not been for the actual violence and fear of violence on the part of Negro voters wide spread over the state it appears certain now that there would have been a second Senatorial Primary.

The reports of election day violence began with an account in one of the state's leading daily papers of the shooting to death of F. C. Fowler, a Choctaw County Negro citizen. Fowler was shot to death on election day by the town marshall. The marshall said he shot and instantally killed Fowler when he stopped a car Fowler was driving and Fowler got out and started towards him like he was fixing to draw a weapon.

In Gulfport, leading city along the gulf coast section of the state, a number of Negroes were beaten and among Negroes there is fear that at least one Negro was killed. J. T. Hall, wealthy Negro undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day. Because of fear it is almost impossible to obtain information from any Negro regarding the election day incidents.

In Canton, just 25 miles from the State's Capital City of Jackson, according to a well-known farmer who is often deputized for law enforcement duties when anything happens involving Negroes, he stationed himself at one of the polling places armed with a heavy club and when the first Negro appeared to vote, who was a well-known Negro businessman and property owner, he began beating him with the heavy club, the man managing to escape with only a few blows. When the news spread rapidly over the town no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their homes and off the street.

In McComb in the southern section of the state, much in the news in recent weeks following the reported decision of the Veterans Administration to locate an all-Negro Veterans Hospital there, a 77-year-old Negro registered and qualified by exemption from poll tax was the first to attempt to go to the polls. He was met by a group of men, one of whom, after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the sidewalk. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls.

At Prentiss, home of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute, patterned after the famed Tuskegee Institute and founded by one of its graduates, J. E. Johnson, protege of Booker T. Washington, after a few Negroes went to the ballot box the voting place was moved. At the new place all Negroes who came near were "Advised" by a watchman not to go in.

In Natchez, Bluff City by the Mississippi River in the southwest section of the state, a serious election day incident was narrowly averted due to a hurried meeting of white and Negro leaders. Here, according to reports, the near serious incident came about when Negroes going to the polls were told they could not vote. They were later allowed to vote. But all their votes were challenged. It is doubted that the challenged votes were counted. According to newspaper reports Adams County, of which Natchez is the principal town, had the largest number of qualified Negroes of any county in the state.

All of the Negro voters in Bolivar County were also challenged. Bolivar County is in the heart of the Mississippi delta and also had a large number of Negro citizens qualified in the election.

Thus is the general terror of a rapidly increasing number of post election day reports from large and small towns and communities from all sections of the state with a great many still unreported because of the blanket of fear that still hangs pall-like over the Negro citizens.

In Louisville, in northeast Winston County, Negroes were stopped at the polls by two men who told them if they insisted on voting they would see that they were taken out and properly taken care of.

In the meantime reports say an increasing number of letters from Negroes especially World War II veterans who were qualified and denied the right to vote and threatened and intimidated and beaten are being secretly sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Wendell L. Wilkie Memorial Bldg., 20 West 40th Street, N. Y., to the Civil Rights Congress, 205 East 42 Street, N. Y., and to Henry Lee Moon, Political Action Committee, 205 East 42 Street. N. Y.

Perry Howard Statement Reduced Negro Vote

A statement attributed to Perry Howard, Negro National Republican Committeeman from Mississippi, appearing in a local daily some two or three days before election day is charged with having greatly reduced the number of Negro voters in the July 2, Democratic Primary, in which Negroes voted for the first time in seventy years.

The Howard statement urged Negroes not to go to the polls on July 2nd but to be prepared to go to the polls in 1948 to elect a Republican President of the United States.

Already fearful and apprehensive many Negroes made the Howard statement their excuse and stayed away from the polls on election day.

CAPITOL SPOTLIGHT

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

(For NNPA)

SOME SENATORS AGREE that the Senate may expel Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo for misconduct during his term of office. . . . Dr. Henry M. Ladrey, the Alexandria (Virginia) medico, indignantly denies findings of fact made by the Court of Appeals in affirming his conviction with his mate, Eva, for offering a bribe to Hazel Queenan to refrain from testifying against him in an illegal operation case. He is seeking a Supreme Court review.

Joe Louis, the heavyweight champ, has a new car. It was picked up by Alvin Barnes, local sportsman, who with his bride, Cecelia Penny, drove to Cleveland to meet Joe .....Bennie Caldwell is shuttering Club Caverns on July 11, but will keep Club Bali open all summer — unless he decides to remodel and turn it into a cocktail lounge.

Of the 9,800 officers chosen for commissions in the Regular Army only thirty-three are colored, and of that number thirteen are in the Army Air Forces. Among them are Lieutenant Colonel James H. Robinson, who will be a major, and First Lieutenant Matthew D. Branch, who will retain his rank. They're Washingtonians. Colonel Robinson is on duty with the Secretary of War's Discharge Review Board.

Major William A. Campbell, of Tuskegee Institute, also was chosen but in the grade of first lieutenant. . . . Ditto Captain Elwood T. Driver, of Trenton (New Jersey), whose grade will be first lieutenant. . . . Billy Hueston, the son of William C. Hueston, Elks' commissioner of education, died unexpectedly the other night.

Senator Wayne Morse, liberal Republican, of Oregon, inserted in the Congressional Record the other day the resolution Lowell Lomax, the lone colored delegate in the 10-man delegation from the District of Columbia, sponsored at the recent convention of the American Newspaper Guild in Scranton, Pennsylvania. . . . E. A. Jones, a doctor of philosophy and an instructor in French at Morehouse College and Atlanta University system, is one of about 100 French teachers who will be guests of the French government on a tour of

(Continued on Page Eight)

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Meanwhile, Negro leaders through out the state continue to report subterfuges and threats in newly registered Negroes. A. T. Walden, head of the State Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, stated that a number of lawyers are now working overtime to stem this tide of rank discrimination against the Negro voters. In one county alone, declared Mr. Walden, one man, regarded as a Talmadge henchman, is reported to have signed 700 challenges ,the entire Negro registration for the county, in an effort to keep Negroes from the polls.

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PROSECUTION SEEN

In Atlanta Saturday, Henry Troutman, prominent Atlanta lawyer predicted that the Federal Government will prosecute these county registrars for arbitrarily purging the names of Negroes from their lists. "County Registrars who are striking off Negroes without also purging white voters are flirting with terms in the federal penitentiary, Troutman said in an interview. Others who have voiced extreme disapproval of the rank discrimination, threats and subterfuges against Negro registrants include Austin Dean, editor at Gainesville, who condemns the "Talmadge Purge of Negro voters in Hall County, where over 600 have been stricken from the list. Active purging of Negroes only is reporting also in Sumter, Houston, Early and in Randolph Counties.

"If this purge story is right, Mr. Troutman said in his interview, it is a part of the plan of such challenges to frighten the Negro voters from appearing and defending their rights to vote, those who participate in such a conspiracy would be

(Cont'nued On Back Page)

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The Governor declared that the polls at many of Georgia's colleges and at a recent Star Bar examination, the comprehensive tabulation gathered by Georgia Justices of the Peace and Constables and the Sullivan-Ellis poll of county officials and businessmen all show that Carmichael is the winning candidate.

"You can tell which way the wind is blowing by holding out your hand, and the political wind in Georgia is blowing up a hurricane to sweep into oblivion the demagogues, the charlatans and the petty dictators who have, in years gone by, damaged the reputation and good name of Georgia and have wasted its substance and injured its institutions," declared Governor Arnall.

The speaker also declared that the women of Georgia, a large majority of the men who fought in the recently ended world conflict, the young voters, the silent-voters —the businessmen, farmers, teachers and merchants—and all voters will vote for the liberal and progressive young Marietta candidate and repudiate race-baiters and graft dealers.

It was pointed out that Georgians do not desire to return to the days of the political spoilsmen

Continued On Back Page

Church Council Plans Fight For Democracy

LITTLE ROCK—(A N P)—With an appeal to representatives of its 6,000,000 members for consideration of a five-year program of organization aimed toward aiding the Negro "to achieve full citizenship status in the United States," the National Fraternal Council of Negro churches closed a two-day annual session here last week.

A recommendation for the five-year plan, with a proposal for national, state, and local community committees to "fight for righteousness and social justice," was made by Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., executive secretary of the council and recently appointed bishop to New York in the AME Church.

Bishop Wright, who reported 1945 as one of the best years for membership, morale and finances, in the 12 year history of the council, urged research to aid in better adjustment of the Negro to the American scene. Organization, of the type outlined, might prevent an incident such as the Columbia disaster, he said.

IGNORANCE BLAMED

"Ignorance of facts, not only on our part, but, on the part of white people, leads to most of racial troubles," he continued.

The bishop also recommended a committee to confer with President Truman during periods of peace in what might be "prevention of trouble" conferences.

Bishop John H. Clayborn, Arkansan and presiding prelate of the AME church for the 14th Episcopal district, was elected president of the council for 1946. The seventh president of the group, which is composed of 11 religious denominations, Bishop Clayborn succeed Bishop Alexander P. Shaw. Other officers include the Rev. W. M. Townsend, Arkansas, treasurer; E. W. Perry, Oklahoma, vice president; Dr. J. W. Eichelberger, Chicago, recording secretary and Dr. E. T. Harris, Memphis, chaplain.

Choctaw Co. Negro Shot To Death On Election Day

GILBERTOWN, Miss.—(Special) —F A. Fowler, Choctaw County Negro was shot to death near here on election day by Marshall L. W. Barfield.

According to reports the marshall said he shot and instantly killed the Negro when he stopped a car he was driving and the Negro started towards him as if attempting to draw a weapon.

No further information on the incident was immediately available. Negroes in the community are afraid to even speak of the incident.

MOBILE, Ala. — (SNS) — Nine Negroes were burned near here when they unloaded gaseous bombs from the hold of the S. S. Francis Lee at the Naval Ammunition Depot in Theodore Tuesday.

Vicksburg, Mississippi
July 3 1946.

Dear Mrs Dilly

The results of the election in this state are both a surprise and disappointment to me. I was confident "The man" was losing strength but apparently not so.

The few negroes who wanted to vote were not disturbed at the polls. The attached clippings from the local paper will give you a picture of the situation here yesterday.

I visited four different precincts and was concerned over the light vote which was cast.

You may wonder why I'm writing you from Vicksburg but have been here for two days

in the Hospital with Mr Clark who is recovering from an operation - the second this year - for a malignant tumor on his lip. The Doctor tells us he has removed it but we have to follow this with "plastic surgery" - I trust that he will continue to improve as I'm still planning to attend the Study at Juralinka.

Reports from the Local Centers are coming in as I am compiling them for my quarterly report to you.

Sincerely
(Mrs J.W.) Edith Clark.

MRS. N. N. MAXEY
SECRETARY ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION
SENATOBIA, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. D. H. HALL
TREASURER
NEW ALBANY, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. C. R. CAVINESS
RECORDING SECRETARY
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

Woman's Society of Christian Service

North Mississippi Conference

The Methodist Church

MRS. W. R. McCORMACK
PRESIDENT
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. DAN G. COMFORT
VICE-PRESIDENT
DURANT, MISSISSIPPI

Corinth, Mississippi
July 4, 1946

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I am sending you one of the daily editions of our Corinthian and a clipping from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, another daily newspaper. These, I believe, will be of interest to you since they refer to the election held in Mississippi on last Tuesday.

I was particularly interested in this election for more than one reason. I regretted very much that the race question had been raised to such embarrassing peak by two of the candidates who were re-elected. Then, I was anxious about the woman vote in our state.

Locally there was absolutely nothing out of the ordinary about the day. I think it was more or less that way over the state. The clipping from the Commercial answers this with a reason wholly satisfactory to its editor and to most of its readers.

Corinth is most fortunate in having a Christian and well-educated man here at the head of the negro schools. He is an asset to the town, and his race or color follows him in whatever opinion he advances about any subject. He is a peace maker. The leading citizens here value his spirit of cooperation, and realize he is doing much to bring about a feeling of brotherhood in our town.

The ladies voted. It was gratifying to note that in the boxes where the ladies who have studied their privilege and taken advantage of it voted, the candidates running on a Christian platform received the heaviest vote.

Just to know the outcome of the election one would probably think our cause has suffered a serious defeat. However, when one considers the fight that some of the candidates had to put up this time as compared to other elections, then he knows progress has been made. No miracle is going to happen in this matter. Only as we work and pray over it and about it will we be able to realize an answer to our prayers. May our faith and wisdom grow stronger!

(over)

I expect to attend the workshop on the afternoon of July 23rd. at Jonesboro. My secretary of C&R hopes to attend, also her assistant, Mrs. Martha Hall of Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.R.) Edna McCormack

President
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Sherard, Miss

Vice President
Mrs. E. U. Robinson
216 N. Washington St.
Cookeville, Tenn.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. J. Roy Jones
5618 Colonial Drive
Columbia 40, S. C.

Treasurer
Mrs. C. O. Hinton
1120 Main St.
Paris, Ky.

SECRETARIES

Home Work
Mrs. C. C. Sapp
Box 117
Albany, Ga.

Foreign Work
Mrs. J. M. Johnston
337 Rosalind Ave., S.
Roanoke 14, Va.

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Organization and Promotion
Mrs. R. M. Howell
Box 426
Albertville, Ala.

Missionary Education and Service
Mrs. D. R. Little
302 Lawrence St.
Marietta, Ga.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. K. W. Warden
2284 Evelyn St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Student Work
Mrs. David J. Cathcart
1330 La Salle St.
Jacksonville 7, Fla.

Youth Work
Mrs. Dwight L. Fouts
Weldon, N. C.

Children's Work
Mrs. H. R. Cogburn
2505 Springhill Ave.
Mobile 17, Ala.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. Stanley Wilson
2212 15th St.
Meridian, Miss.

Supplies
Mrs. Glenn C. James
4744 N. E. 1st Court
Miami 37, Fla.

Spiritual Life and Message
Mrs. W. L. Mullikin
109 West Cambridge St.
Greenwood, S. C.

Status of Women
Mrs. Marvin D. Eblen
425 S. Elm St.
Henderson, Ky.

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. B. R. Stout
1621 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tenn.

CHAIRMAN

Research Committee
Mrs. J. W. Payne
Cherryville, N. C.

Southeastern Jurisdiction

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

July 5 - 1946

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

So sorry to miss you - I am at Race Relations Institute at Fisk rep. Woman's Division. I told Thelma I could not stay - She said part time would be fine

I have to go back home for a few days to get house in order for the long stay in Junaluska My Bea is having a baby! - So I am under double responsibility. But my good husband cooperates with me.

The election went off very smoothly as far as I can tell - When I left home early Thurs. morning - everything seemed o.k. haven't seen any miss news since then.

When the negroes were beaten I wrote Atty Gen. Tom Clark asking them to please watch and not let any thing develope if it could be helped - + I understand they were on the job. I had your telegram - I so hoped you would be here while I was here - I wanted to talk

about programs - But we can talk at Junaluska -

Love

Cora R.

William Johnson Bethlehem Center
508 NORTH FARISH STREET
Jackson, 19, Mississippi

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

July 12, 1946

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing the front page of this week's paper and because we question the truth contained in the marked stories we are asking more information. Do you have any method by which they can be checked? If they are true then they should be widely published. We heard of no incidents here on election day, these stories came to light only through the press, they bear a close resemblance to stories printed in the Pittsburg Courier and we wonder.

Thanking you for any help you can be to us, I am

yours sincerely,
(Miss Lena Mae Rust

P.O. Box 1481
Jackson, Miss.

August 1, 1946

Mrs. W. F. Mahaffey
Prentiss, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Mahaffey:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

We hope that you will be able to give us information about an incident in Prentiss, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, as follows:

> "At Prentiss, home of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute, patterned after the famed Tuskegee Institute and founded by one of its graduates, J. E. Johnson, protege of Booker T. Washington, after a few Negroes went to the ballot box the voting place was moved. At the new place all Negroes who came near were "advised" by a watchman not to go in."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check this incident and give us as much information as possible about it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

The Rev. Joseph Smith
First Methodist Church
McComb, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Smith:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly suggested that you might be able to give us information about an incident in McComb, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, as follows:

> "In McComb in the southern section of the state, much in the news in recent weeks following the reported decision of the Veterans Administration to locate an all-Negro Veterans Hospital there, a 77-year-old Negro registered and qualified by exemption from poll tax was the first to attempt to go to the polls. He was met by a group of men, one of whom, after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the sidewalk. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check this incident and give us as much information as possible about it.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

Mrs. S. W. Garrett
221 Otto Street
Canton, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Garrett:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. F. Tilly told us that you might be able to give us information about an incident in Canton, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946:

> "In Canton, just 25 miles from the State's Capital City of Jackson, according to a well-known farmer who is often deputized for law enforcement duties when anything happens involving Negroes, he stationed himself at one of the polling places armed with a heavy club and when the first Negro appeared to vote, who was a well-known Negro businessman and property owner, he began beating him with the heavy club, the man managing to escape with only a few blows. When the news spread rapidly over the town no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their homes and off the street."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check the incident and give us as much information as possible about it.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

The Rev. W. V. Albert
Grace Episcopal Church
Canton, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Albert:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, Florida, Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, Fourth Province of the Episcopal Church, and a Field Secretary of the Southern Regional Council, told us that you might be able to give us information about an incident in Canton, reported in the Jackson, Mississippi, Advocate, July 13, 1946:

> "In Canton, just 25 miles from the St te's Capital City of Jackson, according to a well-known farmer who is often deputized for law enforcement duties when anything happens involving Negroes, he stationed himself at one of the polling places a armed with a heavy club and when the first Negro appeared to vote, who was a well-known Negro businessman and property owner, he began beating him with the heavy club, the man managing to escape with only a few blows. When the news spread rapidly over the town no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their homes and off the street."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check the incident and give us as much information as possible about it.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

Politics
Miss

Mrs. O. C. Dubra
Box 497
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Dubra:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. P. Milly told us that you might be able to give us information about these incidents in Gulfport, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946:

> "In Gulfport, leading city along the gulf coast section of the state, a number of Negroes were beaten and among Negroes there is fear that at least one Negro was killed. J. T. Hall, wealthy Negro undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day. Because of fear it is almost impossible to obtain information from any Negro regarding the election day incidents."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check these incidents and give us as much information as possible about them.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

The Rev. G.R. Stephenson
St. Peter's Church
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Stephenson:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, Florida, who is Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, Fourth Province of the Episcopal Church, told us that you might be able to give us information about an incident in Gulfport, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946:

> "In Gulfport, a leading city along the gulf coast section of the state, a number of Negroes were beaten and among Negroes there is fear that at least one Negro was killed. J. T. Hall, wealthy Negro undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day. Because of fear it is almost impossible to obtain any information from any Negro regarding the election day incidents."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check the authenticity of this report and give us as much information as possible about the incidents.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 1, 1946

Mrs. E. H. Green
107 North LeFlore Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Green:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

We hope that you will be able to give us information about the story which appeared in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, to the effect that in Bolivar County all Negro voters were challenged. The newspaper article stated that large numbers of Negroes in the County were qualified to vote. Can you check on the report that all Negro voters were challenged and give us as much information as possible about the situation in Bolivar County?

We shall appreciate it very much if you will check the authenticity of the report and pass the information along to us.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 2, 1946

Mrs. T. H. Fore
105 Arlington Avenue
Natchez, Mi sissippi

Dear Mrs. Fore:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly told us that you might be able to give us information about an incident in Natchez, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, as follows:

> "In Natchez, Bluff City by the Mississippi River in the southwest section of the state, a serious election day incident was narrowly averted due to a hurried meeting of white and Negro leaders. Here, according to reports, the near serious incident came about when Negroes going to the polls were told they could not vote. They were later allowed to vote. But all their votes were challenged. It is doubted that the challenged votes were counted. According to newspaper reports Adams County, of which Natchez is the principal town, had the largest number of qualified Negroes of any county in the state."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check this story and give us as much information as possible about the incidents.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 2, 1946

Mrs. J. H. Graham
Ackerman, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Graham:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, Woman's Society of Christian Service, and a Field Representative of the Southern Regional Council, told us that you might be able to give us information about an election day shooting in Choctaw County. The Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, reported the story as follows:

> "The reports of election day violence began with an account in one of the state's leading daily papers of the shooting to death of F. C. Fowler, a Choctaw County Negro citizen. Fowler was shot to death on election day by the town marshall. The marshall said he shot and instantly killed Fowler when he stopped a car Fowler was driving and Fowler got out and started towards him like he was fixing to draw a weapon."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check this story and give us as much information as possible about it.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 2, 1946

Mrs. Susie Hairston
Box 255
Macon, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. hairston:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connecti n with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, Woman's Society of Christian Service, and a Field Representative of the Southern Regional Council, told us that you might be able to give us information about incidents in a neighboring county, Winston. The Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, reported that

> "In Louisville, in northeast Winston County, Negroes were stopped at the polls by two men who told them if they insisted on voting they would see that they were taken out and properly taken care of."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check these incidents and give us as much information as possible about them.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 13, 1946

Mrs. E. H. Greene
107 N. LeFlore Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Greene:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 8. The information which you gave is interesting and helpful. We shall not make any use of your name in connection with this matter.

With best wishes and appreciation for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

107 N. Le Flore St.

Cleveland, Miss.,

August 8, 1946.

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson

Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I give you as much information herein, as I have been able to gather.

As you know, we have the all Negro town, Mound Bayou, in this county. It has never voted in the Democratic primaries, but always in general elections and in ones called to fill vacancies. In the 1944 Presidential election the vote was as follows: Republicans,52; Democrats, 5. The Mississippi law states that in order to vote in a primary, the voter must have been in harmony with his party for two years before the election. The 1944 election was in November and the present primary in July, 1946. On these grounds, the County Democratic Executive Committee agreed to consider the whole box at Mound Bayou as ineligible and so, in their reports to the State Committee, they did not include the returns from this town in the total tabulation. At that box there were 302 registered, with 241 qualified. Of these approximately 35 were veterans. Their vote was: Bilbo 12, Collins 18, Ellis 42, Harper 13, Levings 27.

As for the rest of the county, I can give you authentic data for only the second district (the county is divided into two). Approximately 65 Negroes were registered, with 25 of these being soldiers, ot rather, veterans. Not nearly all of these presented themselves to vote, but those who did were challenged and their votes placed in an envelope. I have not been able to learn of a single instance of any intimidation or violence at

a box in the entire county.

At one of the boxes in the first district, several Negroes voted unchallenged, though some were challenged at this same box. There have been a few Negroes who have voted in primaries for a number of years and we have had a Negroe on the grand jury here in Cleveland.

My husband and I thought your account of the Columbia affair most ably presented. While we did not know the exact truth, we had surmised that the trouble must have begun in just such a manner. It is most distressing that we are having a series of such troubles in the country, and I sincerely hope that the Regional Council can act as a sane balance wheel in the situation as a whole.

For various reasons, I ask that you do not give my name any publicity in this matter.

As an after thought concerning the Mound Bayou box, I will add this. In a special election held for a vacancy in the district attorney's office in the spring of 1944, irregular and fraudulent voting was proven in a contest in the circuit court and the decision was affirmed in the supreme court. The candidate who lost was a citizen of Bolivar County and was the favorite candidate at the Mound Bayou box. In the primary of this summer there were no charges of fraud, however.

Yours truly,

Mrs. E. H. Green

August 15, 1946

Mrs. L. W. Alford
728 Delaware Avenue
McComb, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Alford:

Thank you so much for your report on the election in your community. You have canvassed the situation thoroughly, and we appreciate it. We shall not use your name in connection with the report.

Apparently some of the Negro newspapers have picked up gossip and exaggerated stories as a basis for some of the news stories that they had published about the Mississippi election.

Thank you for enclosing the editorial clipped from the New Orleans Christian Advocate. It is a very good statement. I believe you did not enclose the resolutions concerning the Georgia lynchings. If you have these convenient, we would like to see a copy.

Again let me express our appreciation for your cooperation. With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

Registered Optometrist

Alford Optical Company
L. W. ALFORD, OPTOMETRIST

PRESCRIPTIONS FILLED

EYES EXAMINED

NORTH BROADWAY
McComb, Mississippi

GLASSES FITTED

Aug. 9-46

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern R. Council
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson

Your letter of the 3rd of Aug. was appreciated.

I have not replied earlier because I wanted to make several contacts with the Negro group before I wrote you. My conclusion concerning this story which appeared in the Jackson Advocate, July 13th is as follows -

A contact with 3 Negro Leaders in McComb was made and none of them had had any information concerning this report.

Besides this personal contact - The Day of the Election, I in person went to the voting

Registered Optometrist

PRESCRIPTIONS FILLED

Alford Optical Company

L. W. ALFORD, OPTOMETRIST

EYES EXAMINED

GLASSES FITTED

NORTH BROADWAY

McComb, Mississippi

Places to determine if there was any violence or intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent election. And there were no irregularities in the observations that I made. In fact I did not see a Negro casting a ballot. I asked the question if any Negroes had voted and the ans. was that no Negroes have voted ~~at~~ in this precinct so far today. At another the reply was that 2 or 3 had voted.

If such a thing was done I saw no evidence of such conduct.

The fact that the Negro's did not take advantage of this opportunity was a disappointment to me personally.

There was, in the press, "Jackson Daily News" an article ~~an article~~ advising the returned Negro Soldiers to stay away from the polls.

But if there was any injustice or misconduct

Registered Optometrist

PRESCRIPTIONS FILLED

Alford Optical Company

L. W. ALFORD, OPTOMETRIST

EYES EXAMINED

GLASSES FITTED

NORTH BROADWAY

McComb, Mississippi

at that time I am not aware of it.

Dr. J. A. Smith & I have conferred concerning this matter and no doubt you will hear from him.

He said he would contact the Negro Ministers of the town & see if he could get any information. I contacted the Negro soldiers' Mothers and outstanding teachers of our town.

If a 77-year-old Negro registered & qualified by Exemption from Roll Day appeared at the Voting Precincts that Day I failed to get evidence to that effect.

This matter will not be dismissed entirely, and if any thing comes to light I shall send a follow-up letter.

Sincerely,
Mrs L W Alford

PS.

There were citizens of our town that were very antagonistic to the idea of the Negro Veterans Hospital. The fact that Mr. Alford & I favored the Hosp being located here. A Party phoned us & said that before the Hosp. was completed we would be cared for. We requested the name of person talking with us

and they refused to tell us who was speaking. Mr. A & I decided to ignore the matter entirely and no reference was made to his phone call whatsoever. The attitude was not favorable to all our McCombs Citizens. But many did endorse the plan.

I am not writing this note for publicity — Just simply stating some facts in reply to your letter.

Any time I can help just command me for I believe we have some very important work to do.

Am enclosing Resolution concerning the Ga. Lynchings, also an Editorial.

Very cordially,

Mrs. S W Clifford

August 1, 1946

Mrs. L. W. Alford
728 Delaware Avenue
McComb, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Alford:

Several stories have been brought to our attention alleging violence and intimidation of Negroes in connection with voting in the recent Mississippi election. We are anxious to establish the truth or falseness of the stories and to take whatever action we can to see that justice is done.

We hope that you will be able to give us information about an incident in McComb, reported in the Jackson Advocate, July 13, 1946, as follows:

> "In McComb in the southern section of the state, much in the news in recent weeks following the reported decision of the Veterans Administration to locate an all-Negro Veterans Hospital there, a 77-year-old Negro registered and qualified by exemption from poll tax was the first to attempt to go to the polls. He was met by a group of men, one of whom, after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the sidewalk. Following the incident no other Negroes attempted to go to the polls."

We shall appreciate it very much if you can check this incident and give us as much information as possible about it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 22, 1946

Miss Lena Mae Rust
P.O. Box 1431
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Rust:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, the Exectuive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has been out of the office almost constantly since receiving your letter of July 12 in which you asked us to check the authenticity of the election day stories carried by the Jackson Advocate of July 13, 1946. For this reason he has not written to you, but he is checking the stories.

We have written to reliable people in each town and county about which the Advocate carried a report, and so far we have heard only from McComb and Bolivar County.

The person to whom we wrote in McComb says that as far as she can ascertain from what she herself saw on election day and from talking to Negroes in McComb, the report of the arrest of the 77-year old Negro man who attempted to vote is false. She says, however, that few Negroes attempted to vote in McComb.

According to the report we have received from Bolivar County, the Mound Bayou ballot box was thrown out, since the majority of the votes case there in the 1944 Presidential election were Republican. The Mississippi law states that in order to be eligible to vote in a primary, the voter must have been in harmony with his party for two years before the election. On these grounds the Mound Bayou box was declared ineligible. We have authentic data for only one of the two districts in Bolivar County. In the Second District, approximately 65 Negroes were registered, 25 veterans among them. Not nearly all these registered presented themselves to vote, according to our report, but those who did were challenged and their ballots placed in an envelope. A few Negroes are supposed to have voted unchallenged in the First District, although others were

challenged. The person to whom we wrote says that she can find no evidence of violence or intimidation at the polls.

Thank you for writing to us about the reports. It certainly does not help an already bad situation to circulate reports of violence, intimidation, and fraud if these are false, but if the reports are true, they should be publicized, as you suggest.

As reports come in from the other communities, we will pass the information on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. T. H. FORE
105 ARLINGTON, NATCHEZ, MISS.

PRESIDENT
MRS. E. V. PERRY
ROLLING FORK, MISS.

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. CLIFF THOMAS
CRYSTAL SPRINGS, MISS.

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

TREASURER
MRS. C. E. MULLINS
BROOKHAVEN, MISS.

SECRETARY OF ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION
MRS. JOHN CIRLOT
MOSS POINT, MISS.

The Mississippi Conference

SECRETARIES

MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND SERVICE
MRS. E. E. DEEN
206 32ND AVENUE
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES
MRS. J. W. CLARK
UTICA, MISS.

SPIRITUAL LIFE
MRS. P. E. CUNNINGHAM
1628 CHAMBERS STREET
VICKSBURG, MISS.

LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS
MRS. BERRY CRAIN
BRANDON, MISS.

SUPPLY WORK
MRS. R. E. ROLLINGS
617 MAIN STREET
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD
MRS. JESSE H. GRAHAM
2100 29TH AVENUE
MERIDIAN, MISS.

STUDENT WORK
MRS. C. C. CLARK
714 NORTH RANKIN STREET
NATCHEZ, MISS.

YOUTH WORK
MRS. EUGENE W. ULMER
MT. OLIVE, MISS.

CHILDREN'S WORK
MRS. HERMAN SHIELDS
3926 GRANDVIEW
MERIDIAN, MISS.

MISSIONARY PERSONNEL
MRS. R. R. PRIDDY
1121 MONROE STREET
JACKSON, MISS.

CHAIRMAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE
MRS. C. C. McDONALD
BAY ST. LOUIS, MISS.

DISTRICT SECRETARIES OF ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION

BROOKHAVEN DISTRICT
MRS. R. C. TOLBERT
HAZLEHURST, MISS.

HATTIESBURG DISTRICT
MRS. W. H. WEATHERSBY
200 32ND AVENUE
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

MERIDIAN DISTRICT
MRS. M. E. BLANKS
COLLINSVILLE, MISS.

JACKSON DISTRICT
MRS. CHANDLER H. HUTTO
163 LYNN AVENUE
JACKSON, MISS.

SEASHORE DISTRICT
MRS. C. L. NELSON
ESCATAWPA, MISS.

VICKSBURG DISTRICT
MRS. C. D. CRAWFORD
ROLLING FORK, MISS.

Prentiss, Miss
Aug. 23, 1946.

Mr Guy B. Johnson,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

In replying to your letter of August 1st, I have inquired about the incident in Prentiss, as reported in the Jackson Advocate.

I was told that the voting place was changed from upstairs, in the Court House, to the Supervisor's room downstairs — for convenience for those who could not climb the two flights of steps (age + heart trouble). Plans were made in advance for holding the election downstairs and the place was not changed after voting began.

This was my first time to vote in Prentiss. I had received a telegram from Mrs Tilly that 9 m.

so; I spent a couple of hrs. in the voting place — just visiting and quietly observing. I asked the manager if any Negroes had voted. He replied, "No." I mentioned that surely some would vote from "The Institute." I was told that Young Johnson & his wife, Thelma, had been in, but did not vote. When I asked why, I was told that their names were not listed on the roll of eligible voters. I did not see a "Watchman" advising the Negroes not to go in. As far as I know there was no disturbance. Later, I saw Prof. J. E. Johnson, at the Post office. I asked him confidentially about Negroes voting in Prentiss. He told me that his son & wife and a few others — probably 12 — from the school would have voted — but that they were told that their names were not listed & so they could not vote.

I regret my delay in answering your letter, and I trust this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Mamie R. Mahaffey

(Mrs. W. F.)

September 14, 1946

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Henderson:

I wonder what response, if any, you got from the Governor of Mississippi as a result of your letter of August 11? Did he call you a Communist, or just ignore you?

Keep up the good work. We must never give up hope.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

COPY

706 Hancock St.
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

August 11, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1946
Southern Regional Council

Hon. Thomas L. Bailey
Governor of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Govemor Bailey:

Walter Sillers, speaker of the House, is credited in today's Times-Picayune as saying that he is reasonably certain that you will call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of "wiping off" all existing Democratic primary election laws. As Mr. Sillers puts it, the object is to provide that the "white Democratic party in this state may be preserved."

In plain language, Mr. Sillers wants to deprive Negroes, regardless of their qualifications as citizens, of the privilege of voting. He seeks to violate both the spirit and letter of the U.S. constitution as defined by the Supreme Court. And he would make you a party to it.

Let me say at the outset that I am a native Mississippian, white, a graduate of Mississippi State College, a home owner, with a wife and three children, a member of the Bay St. Louis Methodist Church, and a Master Mason.

I am strongly opposed to the proposal of Mr. Sillers. I hope that you will have no part in it. This is no time for intelligent white men to light the torch of mob fear and try further to penalize minority groups. Certainly those Negroes who are qualified should not only be permitted, but encouraged, to vote. Mr. Sillers' proposal, regardless of his motives, would serve only to stir up more racial friction. It would also further confuse many whites and Negroes as to the meaning of democracy. Negroes who have any pride in themselves or their race are certain to resent any attempt to cheat them of their simple rights as citizens. What would any self-respecting white man do if the situation were reversed?

I do not believe that any sincere follower of Christ can approve Mr. Sillers' plan of action. It does not seem to fit into any rational plan for world-wide or domestic peace. I suspect that the plan is motivated by the same conscience-easing theory which permits him and other delta cotton planters to exploit and suppress Negroes in that area.

I am not proud of the conduct of whites who were involved in the recent incidents at Columbia, Tenn., Monroe County, Ge., and Athens, Ala.

Let's try to improve Mississippi's record, not make it worse.

Sincerely yours,

L

J. Lewis Henderson

Polette - Nels

VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. T. H. FORE
105 ARLINGTON, NATCHEZ, MISS.

PRESIDENT
MRS. E. V. PERRY
ROLLING FORK, MISS.

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. CLIFF THOMAS
CRYSTAL SPRINGS, MISS.

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

TREASURER
MRS. C. E. MULLINS
BROOKHAVEN, MISS.

SECRETARY ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION
MRS. JOHN CIRLOT
MOSS POINT, MISS.

The Mississippi Conference

SECRETARIES

MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND SERVICE
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206 32ND AVENUE
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES
MRS. J. W. CLARK
UTICA, MISS.

SPIRITUAL LIFE
MRS. P. E. CUNNINGHAM
1628 CHAMBERS STREET
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LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS
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SEASHORE DISTRICT
MRS. C. L. NELSON
ESCATAWPA, MISS.

VICKSBURG DISTRICT
MRS. C. D. CRAWFORD
ROLLING FORK, MISS.

Prentiss 23, '46.

Dear Mrs Tilly,

Your telegram came — the morning of "the election" — I had tried to use my influence as per requested — with individuals + every group contacted. I "got busy" + rushed down to voting place. This was my 1st time to vote in Prentiss. (We have been going back "Home" — Mendenhall until this yr.) Well, those holding the election were prominent citizens + friends of ours. Mr. Mahaffey + I are both particularly interested in Race - Relations + in using our influence to help bring about better + more Christian attitudes + relationships. We went to the Court House together - Both lingered a while - When he left to go to his office, I expressed my desire to remain + "visit" for a while. You know how we Methodist women work

things! A member of my W.S.C.S. was checking the Roll of eligibles - I soon eased around, got in conversation with her & had an extra seat by her side for quite a while. I got a bit of information. Not a negro voted at least while I was there - about 2 hrs. (none voted all day) I was told that Prof. J. E. Johnson's son - ~~who~~ and wife Thelma, who are connected with the Negro Institute here & graduates of Columbia University went in to vote. They were told their names were not on the list of eligible voters. Possibly after some little discussion they were referred to the circuit clerk's office. They were gone for some time and later Thelma returned but was not permitted to vote. I feel sure they were not heard in circuit clerk's office - I know many whites were & when they presented their slips of paper, Certificates?, their names

were placed on roll of eligibles & they voted!

I talked with Prof. Johnson (the Dady & founder of the Institute) later. My husband & I met him at the P.O. He said he really wanted to vote - that his son & wife & few others from the school would have ~~+ I~~ but when they saw they were not listed they couldn't ___ without causing trouble that would reflect on him (elder Johnson) & hurt the school. So, he persuaded the younger negroes to be patient & know their time would come later. This is true. Johnson is tactful & very wise. He knows people & the situation here. Jeff. Davis Co is 52% negro. Many of these older white people say the negro must stay in his place! They won't live always, but they will never change their attitudes. Many "little things" I'd like to talk over, but 'tis hard to write them.

Pardon my negligence — It wasn't intended for such. I wanted time to inquire further & listen etc - - I did what I could & I shall continue to do so.

The Voting Place was planned in advance for room downstairs at Court House instead of upstairs — for convenience — : older folk & bad hearts. So many had complained about the 2 flights of steps & that they could not climb them to vote. I know this is true because some tell me they can't attend monthly meeting of American Leg. Auxiliary because of the steps. We hold our meetings in court room upstairs.

I'm trying to promote "Status of Women". It is indeed challenging & most interesting work. Keeps me on the job whether thinking in Conf. terms, local com. etc — Makes me accept responsibility — too, civic organizations etc. I attended my 1st State or Dept. Convention of the A. L. Auxiliary — in Gulfport recently. What a surprise when I was elected Dept. Chaplain! Yes, I accepted & felt

honored. Also to be elected 1 of the delegates to Nat'l Conv. in San Francisco. Doubt if I attend but wish could afford it. Am having Dist. & Dept. Presidents as guests at my local meeting nite of 30th. I am V. Pres. of local Federated Woman's Club. Pres. is moving so now responsibility is on me - You know how these things pile up on us.

My mama has been with us during Aug. Sick 2 wks. An aunt; only sister & children from Sherrport. The daughter husband & baby here wk end & little grandaughter staying for a while — etc, etc. So, hope you can overlook my delay in writing & know I am busy — all the time. Only son still "at sea". Wired from "Halifax" 2 wks ago - Hope he will soon be close enough for us to see him.

Yes, I know your days are full, too. Want you to know I love & appreciate you & the great work you are doing.

Most Sincerely

Maurine B Mahaffey

(Mrs W F)

C
O
PY
Y

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

May 16, 1947

Mr. Gerald V. Price
Constable
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Dear Mr. Price:

Mr. Ed. Vairin, who worked with me for the past six months or so, has spoken rather highly of your work as constable. I am sorry that I have not had the pleasure of meeting you. I purchased a home here more than a year ago, moving here with my family to do some writing.

After reading your statement in today's Sea Coast Echo addressed to the "White Democratic Voters", announcing for re-election, I am curious to know why you specified only white voters.

Please understand that I am a native of Mississippi and have lived in the state practically all of my life. I am well acquainted with customs, etc.

But it is true, I believe, that some Negroes do vote, and no doubt all of them are entitled to the same protection of the law as are white people.

It is not reasonable to believe that Negro votes would be unwelcome to you, nor that you would refuse to give Negroes the same impartial service as a public officer, as you would give to whites.

After reading your statement I felt the urge to ask you why you addressed "whites" only. Your reply would be sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

Police, Negro

December 15, 1947

Mrs. Frances A. Ewell
Assistant Executive Secretary
Council of Social Agencies
314 Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Ewell:

Thank you for your letter of December 12 regarding Negro police in Florida cities. Dr. Mitchell asked me to answer it since I conducted our original poll.

We included in our list only those cities from which we had official information, by which I mean cities whose chief of police replied to our questionnaire. Since neither Lakeland nor St. Augustine (also included in Mrs. White's letters) replied, we omitted them from the list. We are still trying to get official confirmation from the chiefs in these cities, and when we do we will include Lakeland and St. Augustine in a supplementary list.

Melbourne will also be included in the supplementary list. I understand, also, that St. Petersburg has voted to hire Negro police but has not actually done so to date.

We appreciate your writing to us about this matter. I should have explained the situation when I sent you copies of Mrs. White's letters.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

CHESTER BEDELL
PRESIDENT

FRANK H. ELMORE, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. WALTER S. JONES
VICE-PRESIDENT

SHERWOOD H. SMITH
SECRETARY

JOSEPH F. MARRON
TREASURER

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

314 MARKET STREET
TELEPHONE 5-5358
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

MARY E. JUDY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE
VOLUNTEER OFFICE

VOLUNTEER OFFICE BRANCH
1203 DAVIS ST.

December 12, 1947

DEC 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We wish to acknowledge with thanks the copies of the NEW SOUTH October Issue forwarded to this office and to advise you that a committee from the Y.W.C.A. is working with other local agencies and groups to urge the employment of Negro police in Jacksonville.

It is noted that the list of Florida cities employing Negro police on the cover page of the October NEW SOUTH does not include Lakeland. According to a letter addressed to Mrs. William C. White, State Chairman, Christian Social Relations, St. Petersburg, Florida, by Charles Larsen, City Manager at Lakeland, under date of April 5, 1947, Lakeland had "12 auxiliary Negro policemen who are used entirely in the colored section of town. These men have been carefully chosen, are of good character and do a very good job."

I am wondering if this addition should not be made to your listing of Southern cities. Also, Mrs. Havens informed this office that Melbourne, Florida, was putting on one or more Negro policemen as of December 1st.

With best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Frances A. Ewell

Frances A. Ewell,
Assistant Executive Secretary.

FAE:dd

August 27, 1948

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Here is the material on Negro policemen. Two copies of the October, 1947, New South are enclosed, and also two copies of a mimeographed sheet bringing the figures up to date.

As you will see, since our list was compiled in October, 1947, eight cities have newly employed Negro policemen. These are:

Melbourne, Fla. — 1
Atlanta, Ga. — 8
Macon, Ga. — 2
Gastonia, N.C. — 3
Conway, S.C. — 2
Nashville, Tenn.— 7
Cape Charles, Va.- 1
Portsmouth, Va. — 1

Chattanooga, Houston, and Newport News have added to their Negro police forces in the last year. Only two Southern States are now without Negro policemen, but in Alabama and South Carolina no major cities as yet use Negro policemen. We believe that four Southern cities not listed now employ Negro policemen, but we have not been able as yet to obtain official confirmation. These cities are in Arkansas, Florida, and Texas.

I hope this will be helpful in getting favorable action in Memphis. We are all much encouraged by Mrs. Havens' account of the fine work that the Tennessee Division is setting about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ENCL

Only two Southern States are now without Negro Policemen,

(Louisiana and Mississippi), but in Alabama and South Carolina no major cities as yet use Negro policemen.

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	Nashville, Tenn	7
	Cape Charles, Va.	1
	Portsmouth, Va.	1.

Chattanooga, Houston, and Newport News have added in the last year to their Negro police forces.

Only

COPY

MEMPHIS URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
546 Beale Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

October 13, 1948

Mr. Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Nelson:

I am sure you will be pleased to know that 13 young, Negro men have commenced their training for Police duty in the City of Memphis. I want to thank you for the information you sent me some time ago, which I think we used to a good advantage. We made additional copies in our office and sent out several hundreds to key people in our community. We feel that this information, which we shared with the daily papers here, answered a lot of questions in favor of Negro Police.

With best wishes to you and your staff, I am

Sincerely yours,

/s/ J. W. McDaniel

J. A. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

JAM:lem

COPY

October 18, 1948

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Secretary
Memphis Urban League, Inc.
546 Beale Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mack:

I certainly am pleased to know that Negroes have begun their training for police duty in the City of Memphis.

I am sending a copy of this letter of yours to Dr. George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, whose material you used; and I am sure the Southern Regional Council will be quite happy with regard to the circumstances which have come about.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I am sending to Mrs. Venson, which is self-explanatory.

Sincerely yours,

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

NCJ:MW
enc.

DINSMORE DAIRY FARMS
QUALITY DAIRY PRODUCTS
DINSMORE, FLORIDA

January 13, 1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A group of citizens, including the writer, are very much interested in the possibility of getting some negro policemen on the police force in Jacksonville in the colored sections of the city. We feel that it will be a forward step and will make for good will and better law enforcement in these areas.

Though we have presented a good many facts in regard to the successful use of negroes on the police force in many other Southern cities, we have been unable to make any definite progress. The chief obstacles seem to be in the City Commission and our Chief of Police. I think the plan is in general, acceptable to any portion of the public who are acquainted with the facts and our Chamber of Commerce has made some effort toward securing the appointment of negro policemen.

Will you send me any information, which might be helpful to us, as we are working with the Urban League in Jacksonville and also an issue and subscription rates of the "New South".

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated by the writer and friends of this movement.

Yours truly,
DINSMORE FARMS

/s/ V. C. Johnson

/t/ V. C. Johnson
President

VCJ:ORB

J A C K S O N N E G R O C H A M B E R

O F C O M M E R C E

P. O. Box 2302

WEST JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

July 11, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Jackson Negro Chamber of Commerce is attempting to put forth efforts to get the city administration to place Negro policemen on the Jackson Police Force. We have attempted to gather information on the subject from the cities where Negroes have already been placed on the police force. We wanted to know what the reaction had been.

We were told that you were in position to supply us with such information. If so, we would greatly appreciate the favor.

Yours truly,
JACKSON NEGRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

/s/ O. B. Cobbins,

/t/ O. B. Cobbins, Secretary

OBC/vh

26- Police Negro

July 14, 1949

Mr. O. H. Gobbins
Jackson Negro Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 2302
Jackson, Miss

Dear Mr. Gobbins:

I send you with pleasure five copies of our 1947 and 1948 summary on Negro Police in Southern States. You will see that nearly the whole issue for October 1947 relates to that subject.

I send additionally a copy of New South for December-January, 1947-48 which describes a public hearing held in Atlanta for the Police Committee of the City Council, on why the Negro Police should be employed in Atlanta. Not withstanding the ferocity of the opposition in that hearing, Negro Police were employed. A year later, the editor of the Atlanta Journal commented in that paper on April 12, 1949. I enclose a copy of his comments.

We know of a few cities which have put on Negro Police since the Sept. issue of New South. A list of these are also enclosed.

I do not doubt that my good friend, Mr. Harry Wright of Jackson, now making his home in New York, would have known various members of your group. He often spoke to me of the fine work being done by Negro Chambers of Commerce.

If the Council can be of any help to you, let me know. We have a Mississippi Division, as you may know, of which the Reverend Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer, 1525 Robinson Street, Jackson is the chairman. I am sure he would be glad to help you in any way possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

VOTING SLOW AS VICKSBURG GOES TO POLLS TODAY

Only Fraction Of Registered Voters Mark Ballots This Morning

Political apathy apparently had the spotlight in today's voting here, and at noon, the number of ballots cast was extremely small.

With approximately 6,500 qualified to vote in Warren county, most of them in Vicksburg, less than one thousand had visited the polls prior to noon, and only thirty of the number were negroes.

All five precincts in the city showed a slow vote, and at no time during the morning was there evidence of congestion. The few negroes who voted, mostly older residents who have been qualified for years, did so without incident. There was apparently no effort to discourage them from participation in this primary election.

The weather favored a heavier vote than was recorded, for fair skies prevailed all morning.

The vote was in direct contrast with the bulging registration books, which showed the greatest number of voters ever registered in Warren County. Particularly heavy has ben the registration of vterans.

The much-ballyhooed issue of negroes voting also fell flat during the day, and election officials said a majority of those voting had participated in elections here for years. There were no incidents or threats last night, as had been insinuated and no incident developed today.

Polls in city and county close at 6 p. m.

The count is expected to be finished quickly after the polls close, and returns from all over the state should be reported to a large extent by early tonight. By midnight, the public should have a good idea of the outcome of both senatorial and congressional races.

MRS. N. N. MAXEY
SECRETARY ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION
SENATOBIA, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. D. H. HALL
TREASURER
NEW ALBANY, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. C. R. CAVINESS
RECORDING SECRETARY
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

Woman's Society of Christian Service

North Mississippi Conference

The Methodist Church

MRS. W. R. McCORMACK
PRESIDENT
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. DAN G. COMFORT
VICE-PRESIDENT
DURANT, MISSISSIPPI

Observations at Voting Precinct

I obtained a copy of the voting regulations in Mississippi and observed my own voting place in regard to these. There was no flagrant disregard, that I could detect, in either the place of voting or the set up in general. We voted in a large room at the Court House. We did come and go from the same door but since the room was not crowded this didn't seem to matter. The voting booths were folding affairs, stalls, with three sides enclosed. The open side was to the centre of the room. There was general good-natured conversation but no one seemed "bent" on telling any one how to vote. The day, generally speaking, was quiet and uneventful.

CITY OF _____

	Uniform	Plain Clothes
Number of Negro policemen.....	_____	_____
Number of Negro policewomen.....	_____	_____

This city has used Negro policemen since.... _____
(Date)

or

This city will hire Negro policemen on..... _____
(Date)

Comments _____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signed _____

Position _____

President
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
Sherard, Miss

Vice President
Mrs. E. U. Robinson
216 N. Washington St.
Cookeville, Tenn.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. J. Roy Jones
5618 Colonial Drive
Columbia 40, S. C.

Treasurer
Mrs. C. O. Hinton
1120 Main St.
Paris, Ky.

SECRETARIES

Home Work
Mrs. C. C. Sapp
Box 117
Albany, Ga.

Foreign Work
Mrs. J. M. Johnston
337 Rosalind Ave., S.
Roanoke 14, Va.

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Organization and Promotion
Mrs. R. M. Howell
Box 426
Albertville, Ala.

Missionary Education and Service
Mrs. D. R. Little
302 Lawrence St.
Marietta, Ga.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. K. W. Warden
2284 Evelyn St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Student Work
Mrs. David J. Cathcart
1330 La Salle St.
Jacksonville 7, Fla.

Youth Work
Mrs. Dwight L. Fouts
Weldon, N. C.

Children's Work
Mrs. H. R. Cogburn
2505 Springhill Ave.
Mobile 17, Ala.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. Stanley Wilson
2212 15th St.
Meridian, Miss.

Supplies
Mrs. Glenn C. James
4744 N. E. 1st Court
Miami 37, Fla.

Spiritual Life and Message
Mrs. W. L. Mullikin
109 West Cambridge St.
Greenwood, S. C.

Status of Women
Mrs. Marvin D. Eblen
425 S. Elm St.
Henderson, Ky.

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. B. R. Stout
1621 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tenn.

CHAIRMAN

Research Committee
Mrs. J. W. Payne
Cherryville, N. C.

Southeastern Jurisdiction

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

Friday.

Dear Dorothy:

Your telegram came late Monday afternoon.

I am sorry that I could not take the day off and visit all of the polls, but Tuesday was the one day my husband could be off after working 12 months without a break. So, I can only tell you of the things which I have heard and of the reactions and attitudes I have observed.

From two sources I have heard that while the Negroes voted, their votes were challenged and placed in envelopes instead of in the ballot boxes.

One man said a Negro whom he had known for years, voted at the same time he did. One of the managers told the Negro his vote was challenged and placed it in a envelope. This man asked on what grounds the Negro's vote was challenged, and was told that the manager did not know, he was simply following the instructions of the Secretary of the Democratic Executive Committee of the county.

At another poll, a Negro voted and a white man asked the manager why the vote was challenged and she said "We are not going to let any Negroes vote".

The general opinion, expressed by these two white men, is that this procedure was illegal. Now, I do not know by what authority it was done, nor whether any action will be taken.

The thing which has surprised and pleased me is that the intelligent, substantial citizens are saying that the Negro should vote, that he is going to vote and that we should meet the situation in that manner. One of the men with whom I talked is a wealthy man, one who has been president of our Chamber of Commerce, and who is interested in people.

I am sure more Negroes would have voted had Bilbo not made such a tirade about it. I feel that since this election went off so orderly, another time the Negroes will not be afraid to go to the polls.

Mrs Stanley Wilson

Poll Tax
(SRC - Executive Mailing)

November 21, 1945

Honorable Alben W. Barkley
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Barkley:

At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, which was held in Atlanta on November 14, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

> WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, and
>
> WHEREAS, A majority of the Senators have committed themselves in writing to vote for this bill, when it comes before the Senate, and
>
> WHEREAS, There is now no question about the desire of Congress to pass the bill, but merely one of whether democracy in this country will be frustrated by a filibuster, we are therefore
>
> RESOLVED To urge upon President Truman, Senator Barkley and all of our elected representatives in Congress to prove to the people of this country and to the world that democracy can work in this country, by holding H.R. 7 before the Senate until the Senate has had a chance to vote upon it.

The Council also unanimously passed a further resolution stating that: "It is the sense of this body that the United States Employment Service should remain in the control of the Federal Government."

The Southern Regional Council is a voluntary organization with members living in thirteen Southern States. It represents the efforts of liberal Southerners of both races to give democracy a better chance to function in the South. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic and educational conditions for the good of all people. A leaflet containing a brief description of the origin, functions and structure of the Council is enclosed for your information.

I am pleased to communicate this message to you in behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

With highest esteem and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Poll tax

November 27, 1945

Mrs. Katherine Shryver
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
127 B Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Shryver:

Thank you for your letter of November 24. We feel that the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council was indeed very successful.

A copy of the poll tax resolution which was adopted at the meeting is enclosed. It was given to the Press in the story about the meeting and it has been communicated to President Truman and Senator Barkley.

We shall look forward to receiving the material which you are sending soon. We have been receiving the Poll Tax Repealer and we follow it with much interest.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, and

WHEREAS, A majority of the Senators have committed themselves in writing to vote for this bill, when it comes before the Senate, and

WHEREAS, There is now no question about the desire of Congress to pass the bill, but merely one of whether democracy in this country will be frustrated by a filibuster, we are therefore

RESOLVED To urge upon President Truman, Senator Barkley and all of our elected representatives in Congress to prove to the people of this country and to the world that democracy can work in this country, by holding H. R. 7 before the Senate until the Senate has had a chance to vote upon it.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

127 B ST. S. E. • WASHINGTON 3, D. C. • LINCOLN 4820 - 4821

November 24, 1945

JENNINGS PERRY
Chairman

DR. WILL ALEXANDER
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
VIRGINIA FOSTER DURR
Vice Chairmen

DINA BLOCH
Treasurer

KATHERINE SHRYVER
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Congratulations on the successful meeting in Atlanta recently of the Southern Regional Council.

We are delighted that the Board passed a resolution urging the President and the Congress to keep the anti-poll tax bill before the Senate until the Senators have a chance to vote on it.

This strikes to the heart of the struggle to pass the anti-poll tax bill. It is triply important when Southern organizations make such an appeal.

In order that you may know the material we issue, we are sending you separetely a collection of our publications.

Will yoube good enough to send us a copy of the resolution regarding poll tax passed by the Board? We enclose a self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

Best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Shryver

Mrs. Katherine Shryver

uopwa 27

THIRTY-SEVEN widely representative national organizations officially sponsor and support the work of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Scores of nationally known individuals also endorse and support it. Their names will be found on the reverse of this sheet.

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority • Alpha Phi Alpha • American Civil Liberties Union • American Federation of Labor • American Federation of Labor, Women's Auxiliaries • American Unitarian Youth • Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen • Church League for Industrial Democracy • Colored Voters League of America • Congress of Industrial Organizations • Congress of Women's Auxiliaries • Council Against Intolerance in America • Delta Sigma Theta • Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union • Fraternal Council of Negro Churches • Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World • Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions • International Labor Defense • League of Women Shoppers • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People • National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc. • National Conference of Social Work • National Council of Negro Women • National Federation for Constitutional Liberties • National Federation of Settlements • National Intercollegiate Christian Council • National Lawyers Guild • National Negro Business League • National Negro Congress • National Urban League • National Women's Trade Union League • Railway Labor Executives Association • Southern Conference for Human Welfare • Townsend Plan • United Christian Council for Democracy • Women's Christian Service Division of the Methodist Church • Young Women's Christian Association

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ABOLISH THE POLL TAX WEEK - March 24 to 31

It's the time to send delegations to Washington, hold meetings, write letters, send wires, raise money for our work. (No funds - no Repealer).

HR 7 must come up in the Senate immediately. The delay is alarming. Demand that Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley schedule it now. Ask Senator Claude Pepper to insist on this. Give him Southern backing for his leadership on the bill.

The poll tax slows progress in your own state. The poll-taxers are wrecking legislation essential to all. They must be stopped. HR 7 can stop them. You can get HR 7 scheduled. Write those letters!

uopwa 27

May 15, 1946

Mr. Gould Beech, Editor
Southern Farmer
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Beech:

It is good to have a letter from you. I am sorry that there has been some delay in my reply.

Under separate cover we have mailed copies of Southern Frontier and New South containing a series of articles on voting in the South, together with a pamphlet which you have probably already seen, Voting Restrictions in Thirteen Southern States. I am afraid that these publications do not give you quite all the details you would like to have, but they are the best we can do at present.

You are doing a swell job with the Southern Farmer. I particularly like your idea of carrying on contests which will get your readers to thinking about current problems.

With pleasant recollections of the old days at Chapel Hill, and with very highest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Southern Farmer
Published Monthly 107th Year

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Publisher

GOULD BEECH
Editor

MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

May 6, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy Johnson, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a copy of our latest issue of the Southern Farmer. On page 2 you will see the announcement of a contest on the poll tax. Early returns indicate that we will have as many as 250 to 400 entries.

We need immediately any compilation on the current laws on poll tax by states. That is, the accumulative feature, the amount and whether veterans are exempted. We would also like to know, if possible, what use the tax is put to.

This seems to be a real educational opportunity and I would appreciate any information you have that would help us to take advantage of it. I assume that you already have this mimeographed or in some other form.

M.S.
5/15/46

Sincerely,

Gould Beech
m.T.

Gould Beech
Editor

Oct. Nov. N.S.
Voting Restrictions

GB/mt

Enc.

The Poll Tax REPEALER

A Publication of

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

Katherine Shryver, Executive Secretary

127 B Street S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

AUGUST, 1946

82

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, EXEC. DIR.
63 AUBURN AVE. N.E.
ATLANTA, GA.

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AUG 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

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Deal Kills Anti-Poll Tax Bill In Senate

Bill Called Up In 'Silent Filibuster' After 10-Month Stall

The Senate of the United States briefly wrestled with the federal bill to abolish the poll tax on July 29 and 31 and decided against voting on it. After ten months of delay and under the most adverse circumstances, Senator Alben Barkley, majority leader, brought it to the floor. Adjournment was at hand; senators were sprinting for home; there was no other important legislation to keep them in town and to induce them to vote to limit debate; there was a "deal."

This was the deal: The Southerners would allow the bill to be brought up (instead of filibustering the motion to bring up). There was to be no debate. Nevertheless, in surrender to the silent filibusterers, a cloture vote was to be taken. If on the first vote, two-thirds of those present did not vote for cloture (a weapon against the filibuster), the bill was to be shelved so the senators could rush home.

No Debate—1 Speech By Mead

Supporters of the bill had insisted that if the first cloture vote failed of the necessary two-thirds, another and another cloture vote should be taken at intervals until the two-thirds was obtained and the anti-poll tax bill itself would be voted on. It would have passed. It had already passed the House of Representatives in June of 1945.

The deal was carried out. A cloture petition, the aim of which is presumably to limit debate, was introduced immediately. Signatures of the leaders of both parties were on the petition—Barkley and Wallace White, minority leader. There was no debate on the merits of the bill. Senator James M. Mead (D., N. Y.), made one speech.

Can't Dodge Issue Longer

"With the world in such dire need of responsible and enlightened leadership we cannot continue to deprive ten million citizens of their right to become part of the body politic," Sen. Mead said. By abolishing the poll tax, he pointed out, we would give these voteless citizens an opportunity to improve their own standards of health, housing, and education. He warned the Senate that it could no longer dodge this basic issue of citizenship. "America cannot morally urge the spread of democratic institutions throughout the world while ten millions of its own citizens are deprived of the right to vote."

On "the next day but one," in the language of Senate rules, Sen. Mead made a short, intense appeal to the Senate to vote for cloture, saying that a vote against cloture was a vote against the federal anti-poll tax bill.

First Majority Vote For Cloture

In a vote that carried several surprises, the Senate then voted 39-33 to limit debate. This was a majority but not large enough. It marked the first time in the seven-year battle that the yeas outnumbered the nays on cloture on this bill. It was a distinct victory, one of the milestones on the road to passage of the bill.

Advocates of the bill also count it as a great victory that the bill was brought up at all. Every force was at work to prevent just that. The poll-taxers are in deadly opposition to the bill. They make bargains and use pressures based on their committee power, to prevent proponents from acting. This poll tax issue divides the Democrats by cold, hard facts. The Southern Democrats are in power thanks only to the poll tax; the

Democracy Fights . . . And Fights Again

A Message From
JENNINGS PERRY, Chairman,
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax

Democracy, like other decencies, fights and fights again. It fights to be born, and fights to continue. This is not a matter of duty, but simply an imperative of unquenchable human aspiration.

For the past two centuries, democracy has wrestled for the soul of the United States of America. Obviously its battle is not won.

Neither was it lost by this little triumph of cowardice in the United States Senate. This was another incident—though, if stone were sinewed, Thomas Jefferson's statue would have turned its face to the wall at this latest failure of the Senate to rescue its own power of legislation.

Actually, democracy has many friends in Congress, as the three overwhelming House votes for free manhood suffrage have attested. Democracy has many friends even in the United States Senate, as the majority vote on the anti-poll tax bill showed.

What democracy must have is more friends in the Senate—more fighting friends, as determined to instrument our nation's political purpose as the scared Bourbons of the non-democratic states are to keep their special privilege of running before minority electorates.

Democracy will continue to fight for that, of course. It will keep on fighting for as long as it takes. Presently, it will not fail.

NCAPT Re-Affiliates With Southern Conference

Northern liberal Democrats find their interests inimical to those of the Southern wing of the party. This embarrassing dilemma is better avoided, according to the Democratic Party heads, by avoidance of the anti-poll tax issue.

Republicans Stick By Polltaxers

It might seem logical that the Republicans would take up the issue eagerly. In the filibuster against a permanent FEPC, Senator Overton (D., La.), said the Democratic Party did not want the Negro votes; he said Negroes should turn to the Republican party. However, the poll-tax Democrats have happily cooperated with reactionary Republicans against practically every bill in the people's interests. These Republicans dare not give up the "unholy alliance" which has succeeded so well in its wrecking job in the 79th Congress. This program hardly attracts the Negro vote.

Senate friends of the anti-poll tax bill have been held back by dread of one more knock-down-drag-out fight over a bill that is no longer controversial, but is fought bitterly by a small group who recognize and oppose the changes which its passage would make in the political life of the country.

New Congress Will Face Fight

This bill, so cleverly smothered in the Senate, had come with the highest recommendation from the Senate Judiciary Committee. It had passed the House of Representatives in June, 1945, after being introduced by Cong. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.), in January, the very first day of the new session.

Such a basic fight cannot end here. The issue will confront the new Congress when it convenes in January. Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, has promised to introduce a Senate bill immediately. Sen. Pepper was chairman of the Senate steering committee on the anti-poll tax bill. He spoke generously on the issue over the air and to "live" audiences. With Sens. Mead and Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), he spent hours working out details of a militant fight against the filibuster, even though such plans were unusable under the deal. As a Southerner, he understands the significance of a free vote in the South.

Filibuster Takes New Shape: Silence Wins

A filibuster is endless talk to prevent action in the U. S. Senate.

It is obstruction on the part of a minority that would not get its way if the Senate acted by voting. However, the threat of filibuster is used more often—and just as effectively. Threat of filibuster keeps much legislation off the Senate floor. It kept the anti-poll tax bill off the floor for ten months in this Congress. When it could no longer prevent Senate consideration (due to pressure from the people), the filibustering senators made a deal with the majority leader, Barkley, not to filibuster on the floor, but to permit the anti-poll tax bill to come up and a single cloture vote to be taken. Thus a cloture petition was taken against a silent filibuster.

Silence cannot rouse public opinion. Silent filibuster does not make news. The anti-poll tax fight in the Senate, three days long, was blanketed in silence. The daily press carried only the most brief and slighting reference to the unique arrangement. There was no debate, no filibuster to report. Nothing to inform the people of the situation, let alone rouse them to action in defense of an issue that is very popular with them.

The filibuster in this new form becomes more dangerous than ever.

Passage of the federal anti-poll tax bill must be forced by the people upon a reluctant Congress. The people of the South can then retire the permanent politicians who are now in Congress by grace of a tiny handful of controlled votes back home, and who cling to the filibuster as a weapon worthy of their unworthy aims.

Perry and Foreman Announce Affiliation of Two Groups

Jennings Perry and Dr. Clark Foreman have announced that the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax is reaffiliating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The two men are chairman and president, respectively, of the two organizations. Both groups will now be at 127 B St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax will continue to operate as a separate entity, keeping its present executive board and sponsors. This is in recognition of its thoroughly national character. Educational work toward repeal of the poll tax has been carried on in every state in the Union, and will continue until victory. Indication of the merger will be made in the name: NCAPT of the Southern Conference.

The National Committee began as a civil liberties committee of the SCHW when that organization was founded in 1938 in Birmingham. Rep. Lee Geyer (D., Calif.), recognizing the poll tax as a national issue, developed the independent NCAPT after he had introduced the first anti-poll tax bill.

The Southern Conference, according to Dr. Foreman, has become a strong South-wide organization which has attracted national support for its program of improving conditions in the South which vitally affect the rest of the country. Its program is carried on through legislative and community activities in the Southern states and through national legislative work on issues that affect the South. "When the poll tax is swept away, the South can enter the community of voting states and America can enter the community of voting democracies."

Fight on Poll Tax Begins Again; Read the War Plan

DEMOCRACY fights, and fights again.

What is the battle ahead? Pass the anti-poll tax bill in the next Congress, of course.

(1) Ask candidates to promise in advance to support the anti-poll tax bill; and any procedure necessary to get it to a vote. Support of the bill means little without this second action.

(2) After elections see that Senators promise to vote for the bill and for cloture *before* they came to Washington Don't forget the Senators who are not up for re-election this year. Write to them, visit with them. Get their pledge in writing.

See that House members promise to vote for the bill and sign a discharge petition on it if necessary. Get it in writing.

(3) Keep the issue alive everywhere until Congress meets again. Explain over and over again how the poll taxers hold and extend their power in Congress; how they make and defeat laws for all of us in every state. Explain cloture, the filibuster, seniority in Congressional committees. Remember the bills killed or crippled by the poll taxers, along with their reactionary Republican allies: the full employment bill, the minimum wage bill, the Wagner-Taft-Ellender housing bill, an effective OPA, unemployment compensation, the FEPC.

(4) Agitate for change of rules in House and Senate. Several Senators and Representatives have started the ball rolling. Majority rule should prevail. Both houses should have the right to vote on any bill. Cloture should take only a simple majority to invoke, not a 2/3 majority. Committees should not have the power to veto bills completely. Committee chairmen should qualify for the job; seniority is not a sufficient qualification in itself. Congress tied itself up in knots during this past session. Tricksters like Rankin can cause the House to defeat its own will, through use of outmoded, contradictory rules. Change the rules!

HOW YOUR SENATORS VOTED ON CLOTURE

FINAL VOTE: FOR Cloture 39; AGAINST Cloture 33

An analysis of the vote on cloture (or closure) which is the record vote on the anti-poll tax issue, shows that most senators who had committed themselves ahead of time for cloture stood firm. Sen. Scott Lucas (D., Ill.) left town just before the vote. Sen. Briggs (D., Mo.) had left town several days earlier. Otherwise every Democratic commitment "came through."

Sen. Young (R., S. D.) reversed himself and voted against cloture. Sen. Willis, present on the floor, killed his vote for cloture by pairing with two absent fellow-Republicans.* Four Republicans whose votes were promised left town just before the vote. Sen. White, minority leader, voted against cloture after signing the cloture petition, thus standing firmly on both sides of the fence. Sens. Saltonstall (R., Mass.) and Butler (R., Nebr.) both committed to the bill and cloture, were abroad.

*A pair simply records a congressman's opinion. It does not count in the vote.

Voted FOR Cloture—39

23 Democrats

Barkley (Ky.)
Chavez (N. M.)
Downey (Calif.)
Green (R. I.)
Guffey (Pa.)
Huffman (Ohio)
Johnson (Colo.)
Kilgore (W. Va.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
McMahon (Conn.)
Mead (N. Y.)
Mitchell (Wash.)
Murdock (Utah)
Murray (Mont.)
Myers (Pa.)
O'Mahoney (Wyo.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Taylor (Idaho)
Thomas (Okla.)
Thomas (Utah)
Tunnell (Dela.)
Wagner (N. Y.)
Walsh (Mass.)

16 Republicans

Austin (Vt.)
Ball (Minn.)
Capper (Kansas)
Cordon (Ore.)
Donnell (Mo.)
Ferguson (Mich.)
Knowland (Calif.)
Langer (N. D.)
Morse (Ore.)
Reed (Kansas)
Smith (N. J.)
Taft (Ohio)
Vandenberg (Mich.)
Wherry (Neb.)
Wiley (Wisc.)
LaFollette (Wisc.-P.)

Voted AGAINST Cloture—33

26 Democrats

Andrews (Fla.)
Bilbo (Miss.)
Burch (Va.)
Byrd (Va.)
Connally (Texas)
Eastland (Miss.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
George (Ga.)
Gerry (R. I.)
Gossett (Idaho)
Hayden (Ariz)
Hill (Ala.)
Hoey (N. C.)
Johnston (S. C.)
Maybank (S. C.)
McCarran (Nev.)
McClellan (Ark.)
McFarland (Ariz.)
McKellar (Tenn.)
O'Daniel (Texas)
Overton (La.)
Radcliffe (Md.)
Russell (Ga.)
Stewart (Tenn.)
Swift (Ala.)
Wheeler (Mont.)

7 Republicans

Bridges (N. H.)
Gurney (S. D.)
Hart (Conn.)
Millikin (Colo.)
Moore (Okla.)
White (Me.)
Young (N. D.)

Senators NOT Voting—24

Aiken (R, Vt.) Paired for
Bailey (D, N.C.) Paired against
Brewster (R, Me.)
Briggs (D, Mo.) Paired for
Brooks (R, Ill.) Paired for
Buck (R, Dela.)
Bushfield (R, S.D.) Paired against
Capehart (R, Ind.)
Butler (R, Neb.) Abroad
Carville (D, Nev.) Paired against
Ellender (D, La.) Abroad-against
Hatch (D, N.M.) Abroad
Hawkes (R, N.J.)
Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) Abroad-for
Lucas (D, Ill.) Paired for
Revercomb (R, W.Va.) Paired for
Robertson (R, Wyo.) Paired against
Saltonstall (R, Mass.) Abroad
Shipstead (R, Minn.)
Stanfill (R, Ky.)
Tobey (R, N.H.) Paired for
Tydings (D, Md.) Abroad
Willis (R, Ind.) Paired for
Wilson (R, Iowa) Paired for

Let your senators know how you feel about all this. Thank those senators who voted for cloture. Express your disappointment to those who voted against. They will watch the reaction carefully and feel safe in repeating if they do not hear from you.

Thank You For Your Help . . . . . The Credit Is Yours

We have no count of the number of letters and appeals we sent you over the past year and a half. You probably didn't count them either.

Some of you thought there were **too many**. We thought so, too.

We think the anti-poll tax bill should have been passed last November. Senate leaders promised that it would come up then. It could have passed at that time.

Every letter we wrote you, every telegram, every copy of the Poll Tax Repealer asking for your help and cooperation, **was written out of the particular need at that particular moment.**

Enough of you responded to each appeal so that Congress could not forget. You were its conscience. Your response to our appeals was the reason the Senate finally had to take up the anti-poll tax bill at all. Some of you wrote or wired half a dozen times during the campaign. Some organizations were even busier on the issue. Some of you wrote only once.

To all who responded to our appeals for action—and for money—our heartfelt thanks.

The world moves forward because one here and one there out of the millions lifts his hand and pushes.

Poll Tax Gets Air-ing: Radio Goes for Debate In Big-Name Records

Poll Tax has been given an air-ing.

Thanks to Mrs. Janet Neuman, who has painstakingly developed radio contacts and arranged programs, the anti-poll tax committee discovered that radio time is easier to obtain for discussion of this basic citizenship issue than is newspaper space in the daily press.

For instance, in poll-tax Virginia, Station WPIK carried a series of nine 15-minute programs on Sunday afternoons. Congressmen and poets, veterans and lawyers looked at the poll tax and its attendant evils.

Copies of eight recordings by Senators Claude Pepper and James M. Mead, Congresswomen Helen Gahagan Douglas and Helen Taft Douglas, and Assistant Counsel Henry Kaiser of the American Federation of Labor, have traveled over the country, have been played in many states.

Eight national hook-ups and twenty-five local programs (Washington, D. C.) aired the poll tax problem. Orson Welles and Harold Ickes, Henry Wallace, Lisa Sergio, Raymond Gram Swing, Marquis Childs and Raymond Walsh, have all taken swings at the poll tax evil.

Several university programs have used material from this office. Many round-table groups, from teen-agers to labor organizations, have discussed the poll tax. Local anti-poll tax groups have produced their own programs; some have used the transcriptions.

Do not overlook the radio possibilities in your own community. Interest your local newscaster in the subject. Show him how poll tax ties in with the issues of the day as they hit the headlines. Put on your own programs—skits or songs or dialog, speeches or spots. Take to the air.

WE'RE IN THE RED... SEND US SOME GREEN!

This issue of the POLL TAX REPEALER is smaller; but the cause is just as big. Frankly, we're broke. We could not afford a paper big enough to tell you all the news. We could not afford a paper at all. But it was vital that you know the story, and we went into debt for this issue of the REPEALER.

It has taken seven years of continuing work to achieve the partial victory reported in this REPEALER: It will take continuing educational work, legislative work . . . continuing money.

This is your fight . . . America's fight! Won't you help? Use the coupon . . . send a check . . . money order . . . or a dollar bill! IT'S URGENT!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX
127 B Street S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

I'm with you in this fight. Here's my ammunition—
$.....

Name.....

Address.....

City, Zone, State.....

Southern Elections Prove Need of Federal Law To Prevent Poll Tax Return

TALMADGE WINS. The nation shudders. BIG JIM FOLSOM WINS WITH RURAL VOTE. The nation rejoices. BILBO AND RANKIN REELECTED ON TINY VOTE. The nation is shocked. SPARKMAN IN RUN-OFF FOR SENATE SEAT. MRS. MANKIN TO RUN ON DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN FALL. McKELLAR (CRUMP) WINS AGAIN. HOMER RAINEY IN RUN-OFF FOR GOVERNOR OF TEXAS.

The temperature of citizens in every state has kept high as Southerners—those few who vote under the poll-tax system—have swung all the way from progressive to fascist as the South feels its way toward a new day.

Talmadge Needs Poll Tax

The old order is being challenged at many points. Gov. Ellis Arnall got rid of Georgia's poll tax as fast as he could find a loophole to slip it out through. Thanks to a trick vote-counting system, gallus-slapping Gene Talmadge has been "elected" to succeed Arnall, although he did not receive the biggest popular vote. He has announced that he will immediately put the poll tax back on in Georgia. He needs it to protect reaction and the status quo. (Here is an answer to those who belittle importance of the poll tax. He values it.)

So Georgia may suffer the same fate as Tennessee—temporarily. She may again become a poll-tax state, against her wishes. Tennessee repealed her poll tax after years of effort, only to have the State Supreme Court slap it back on.

Federal legislation is needed to break up the poll tax system. The poll-tax system is an encrustation across the entire South. State action cannot remove it, states righters to the contrary notwithstanding. The United States Congress is bound by the Constitution to pass the bill to abolish the poll tax in order to protect the federal right to vote. The South is asking for federal legislation. Southern citizens are citizens of our federal government as well as of their state governments. They have the rights of national citizenship. "The Tree of Liberty was planted in the South. But the democratic form of government conceived in the minds of Southerners, Jefferson, Jackson, Madison, has never been realized in the South. Never in its history has the great body of the Southern people voted. They have been governed but not by their consent. Give us the ballot," says Mrs. Virginia Durr of Alabama and Virginia, vice-chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

The Boss Crumps Are Nation's Business

Dr. Frank Graham says: "The struggle for political democracy has in its historic stages centered in the battles for the right to vote. In our time the battle is against the poll tax which today tends to keep some six million white citizens and four million Negro citizens from taking their proper part in democracy."

There is no reason why the people of the South should have to throw off their Boss Crumps without our help. Their Boss Crumps tell us, through their McKellars in the U. S. Senate, what laws we shall live under. The Boss Crumps are the nation's business.

Tidelands Oil Bill Floats Votes

It was in July. The Senate was giving rich oil deposits to certain states, even though the legitimacy of such a move was even then being decided by the U. S. Supreme Court. Three amendments were proposed and rejected. A fourth amendment turned out to be H. R. 7, the anti-poll tax bill! Senator Wayne Morse (R., Ore.), had attached it to the business of the day.

The Senate went into a dither. Friends of the bill were seen smiling broadly. Enemies of the bill reacted as if to an electric volt. Sen. Russell (D., Ga.), quickly gained the floor and started filibustering. Two hours . . . and it was tabled.

November 8, 1946

Mr. David D. Frank
16 Little Hall
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Frank:

We have just received your letter of November 5. I wish that we had some literature which would help you in preparing a report in defense of the poll tax but we do not have any material of this sort available except a few clippings, which we do not lend out.

I believe that if you would consult the Congressional Record for the period during which the poll tax was being argued in Congress you will find some very interesting statements in defense of the tax.

I might summarize the chief arguments for a poll tax as follows:

1. If a person is too poor or too ornery to pay one or two dollars for a poll tax each year, then he probably does not deserve the franchise.

2. Most people are indifferent about voting anyway, so why raise so much fuss over the poll tax, when they wouldn't vote if they had a chance?

3. The poll tax brings in some much-needed revenue which is usually spent on education. (However, I have always felt that this argument was very weak because the amount of revenue involved is really quite small.)

It occurs to me that you would be interested in some studies of the poll tax in Virginia, published by Prof. Luther Jackson of Virginia State College, Lynchburg. I am sure he would be glad to send you copies on request.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

16 Little Hall
Princeton, N. J.
Nov. 5, 1946.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Sirs:

I am participating in a conference on the negro political question in the south here at Princeton University. In the interests of academic discussion, it has fallen my lot to defend the poll tax.

I realize that, since your organization is concerned mainly with the attack on the poll tax, you may not be able to give me any assistance. However, you may know various sources to which I might refer to for a defense of the tax.

I will appreciate any information you may give me in regard to this question.

Sincerely yours,

David D. Frank

David D. Frank

DDF/nbl

September 23, 1947

Dr. A. R. Mead
225 College Court
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Dr. Mead:

Thank you very much for calling our attention to Bishop Moore's open letter in the Christian Century, in which he extols the virtures of the poll tax.

We were glad to send him copies of pamphlets and other materials supporting the opposite view, writing him as per copy of letter attached.

Again we are most appreciative of your calling this to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

Enclosure 1

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
GAINESVILLE

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 1st, 1947.

The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:-

In the Christian Century of August 27, page 1023, is a letter from a churchman extolling the good of the poll tax. The gentleman is: John M. Moore, Bishop, ethodist Church, Dallas, Texas. 4311 – Rawlins

Will you please send him a copy of your circular showing how the poll tax and other restrictions serves to disfranchise voters in the southeran states. Evidently he has never become aware of the idea that the right to vote was not won by the masses with a tax or a property qualification.

If there is any charge for this, send me the bill, please.

Very truly yours,
A.R. Mead
A.R.Mead,
225 College Court,
gainesville, Florida.

July 17, 1961

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina

Dear Dan:

When I first got the reprint of your article, I flipped through the pages on the assumption that it would be merely a printing of your memorandum to us. I learned better quickly and have read the whole thing. It is a first rate job and ought to become a standard reference.

Can you tell me how to buy some reprints, or should I write to the Review for information? I think we would like to send a copy to each of the persons who commented on your memorandum last fall. This would take about 40 copies. In addition, I am sure we could use a few more for filling information requests. Altogether, perhaps 75 - 100 copies.

What's this I hear about you and NLRB?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

September 15, 1961

Mr. Daniel H. Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

I have seen Sally Fields a couple of times and hope to see her again before she leaves. She is a very bright and attractive girl.

We were not able to get reprints of your article. They offerred us copies of The Journal at some exhorbitant price and we reluctantly had to settle for ordering just two copies; but we tried.

I am going to be in Washington this Tuesday for a quick and short stay. I hope that when I next get up we may have a chance to get together. Not only do I want to see you but there are a couple of things I would like to talk over with you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

(7)

~~THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA~~
~~CHAPEL HILL~~

~~SCHOOL OF LAW~~

NLRB
1717 Penn. Ave. N.W.
Wash. D.C.

August 28, 1961

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Just a short note to bring Sally Fields to you attention. Herfather, Ogden Fields, is Executive Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board, and a very good guy. Sally is a junior at Antioch, and is about to spend three weeks in your office working with Mrs. Pauley. I suggest you might want to look her over for future potential while she is there, and I know she would appreciate the opportunity for a chat (of a lunch) with you and time to talk over the situation.

I have my fingers crossed for Wednesday. I can't see how anything can go wrong with all the preeperation. I noticed that Savannah integrated the lunch counters, so Atlanta should be able to integrate (10 kids) the schools without more than passing incident. Chapel Hill, incidentally, opened the movies to Negro "students", and has a modified Nashville plan now in operation. Progress comes slowly, but surely.

Were you able to get reprints of my article? I never hear the outcome of such things, and my author's pride makes me curious.

Sincerely yours,

Don

Daniel H. Pollitt

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Washington 25, D. C.

November 17, 1961

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Sure appreci te the two reprints. UP here there is a natural tendency to get all involved in the details of labor law, and I enjoy the opportunity to keep abreast of the best thinging on the subject which is of primary concern.

I enjoyed the "Annealing" article: the title is certainly captivating, and the reference to the long-bows at Crecy hit home to an old reader of G.H. Henty. Down with the Black Belt.

The Reflections are very intriguing. I enjoyed the comment that the urbanization in the South may not be like urbaniztion elsewhere; and it is time that someone said that the South and Southerns are still different. They are, you know.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Don

Daniel H. Pollitt

25th ANNIVERSARY 1935 1960

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Washington 25, D.C.

January 8, 1962

Dear Les:

Your testimony and accompanying note arrived yesterday (Wednesday) afternoon, despite its postmark of last Friday.

I have read the testimony and have nothing to say except lauditory comments (I think your device of isolating and identifying the issues was excellent); but I am very sorry that I did not get it on time as I would like very much to have you spend an evening with us over a drink or two. Maybe next time.

Sincerely,

Daniel H. Pollitt

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

Che oth

FULL
LETTER
SHIP RAD

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 15, 1962

MR. DANIEL H. POLLITT
ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
1717 PENN AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FOSTER WILL ARRIVE SATURDAY MORNING. PLEASE LET ME KNOW QUICKLY IF YOU AND BERL WILL COME. PLAN, IF POSSIBLE, TO STAY STAURDAY NIGHT. WHETHER OR NOT WE GO AHEAD WITH NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE THIS SPRING, THERE ARE FAIR POSSIBILITIES OF A CONTINUING STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY. HOPE VERY MUCH YOU CAN COME.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

359P EST JAN 16 62 AA629
A A WA108 PD
WASHINGTON DC 16 339P EST
LESLIE W DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
ARRIVE SATURDAY 101 EASTERN AIR LINE FLIGHT 305 FOR THE EVENING
BERL CANT COME
DAN POLLITT.

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Mr Lawrence Lee
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A- 69964

Read 3/28

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Washington 25, D.C.

copy to Jerry S. 4/10/62

March 26, 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks very much for the copy of the report on Executive Support of Civil Rights. I think Mina has done an excellent job, and I would appreciate your passing this on to her. Naturally, I read the report with a great deal of interest and a critical eye; and I'm not altogether sure I agree with the over-all tone. It sounds a little bit too much like something the Democratic National Committee might put out. But that is a matter of tactics where I am not particularly well informed.

Let me know when you are coming to town again. I am still disipointed that I did not ~~did~~ know you were here last time until you had already left.

Back to the report: during a riot in Atlanta Teedy Roosevelt invited Booker T. to dinner at the White House (I am indebted to Marion Wright for this information); and although Marion Anderson has been invited to perform, I am not aware of any invitations to dine addressed to Martin Luther King or Paul Zuber. I want the moon.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

Make Folder

April 10, 1962

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

What do you want us to do? I know little about tactics either, except that I am completely disenchanted with the doctrine that you influence people and events by constantly and sorely raising demands. I leave that to my ill-advised friend Martin. How much influence do you think his recent article in The Nation has had in Washington?

Honestly, I think we put out a pretty balanced report and I groaned when I read the Washington Post's handling of it, groaned twice when I saw Doris Fleeson's column. None of the other coverage, incidentally, has been like this.

The only things we suppressed were some remarks which had been planned about the Administration's appointment of Southern moss backs to judiciary and administrative posts. We left this out because in the first place it proved hard to fit in and because, secondly, I am enough of a realist to know that some of this has to be done. On the whole, I think the Administration has done less than one might have reasonably feared.

I expect to be in Washington May 3 for the Commission on Civil Rights meeting. Let's get together then. I will probably come up May 2 on a dinner flight and leave late on the 3rd or early in the morning on the 4th.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 9, 1962

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

I am sure you have not forgotten the great idea which you, Bill Foster, and I produced one happy Saturday last January at my house. What has happened since is that (a) Bill got Lou Pollack of Yale to join with him as sponsor; (b) they were successively turned down for funds by the New World and Field Foundations; (c) Bill and I then turned again to Dean O'Meara who -- bless his fine soul -- is probably going to put the conference on, though he will have to raise some money yet.

As you may recall, we contemplated three (3) memoranda in advance of the conference to serve as discussion papers. Bill probably will do the one on schools, we don't yet know whom to ask to do the one on voting, and with Dean O'Meara's concurrence will you do the one on employment?

In case you have forgotten, the memorandum would (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to the appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights (d) present your recommendations.

There will be an as yet undertermined fee for this. The idea now is for the confesence to be held

next February . You would not have to get the memorandum done until late fall or early winter which means that you would have all the time in the world after returning to Chapel Hill.

Yes?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Bruce Foster

CLEAR FOR AMENDED

January 29, 1963

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

Could you bring with you to New York some of the material which you have put together with Joe Rauh on the legal defense matter?

Enclosed is something toward travel expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #1163 for $75.00)

February 25, 1963

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

Can you pull out from your expenses the cost of the trip to New York for our meeting with ACLU? We would like to square up with you.

Hard at work?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Expense Account Form)

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1963

February 26, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Bill Foster sent me a copy of the preliminary report of the Notre Dame conference, and in it I detect your fine hand. I think you did an excellent job; and I am proud to have my name attached.

Sincerely,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

February 28, 1963

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
The Law School
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

I mailed the attached letter to you at the National Labor Relations Board not knowing that you had returned to the University. In case it was not forwarded to you, I'm sending another expense account form for your use.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

June 17, 1963

Professor Daniel Pollitt
c/o Rauh & Silard
1625 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Dan:

I am sending one copy to Trebach, and here are two for you. Did you ask me to send some others? I cannot remember. I haven't yet had a chance to read this myself, but I shall soon, and shall also get a copy off to Mel Wulf.

This is important. As I told you over the telephone I shall, by next weekend, be finished the draft on the Notre Dame report. Once I get a draft done, I think I'll let other people decide what to do with it, and how. When I was in Washington a couple of weeks ago, I talked with Harold Fleming, Bill Taylor, and John Silard, and suggested that, if they were interested and willing, I would mail the draft to all the Washington group early next week and would come up to Washington and meet with all of them or as many of them as could, to the end that we could come up with a draft which would have the approval and support of a half dozen or so of us. (The Washington group, as you probably remember, consists of Harold, Bill, John S., and John Feild, and now you.) A convenient date for me to come would be Friday, June 28, though I could (wouldn't want to) come on Thursday, June 27. Otherwise, I cannot come before July 16 or 17 because, come hell or high water, I am going on vacation.

It was my thought that were we to do this, the draft could be quickly re-stenciled and mailed to the other conferees with a request for imediate review. I believe it would be possible to get Dean O'Meara's concurrence in some kind of distribution of the report during this Congressional debate.

Whether the report will have any influence nobody, least of all I, can know. I feel an obligation to the conference to get something out. But I also am mindful that there usually comes a point in legislative controversy, such as we are going to have, where new or at least differently phrased ideas are looked around for. And I think there would be every reason for us to have the Notre Dame thing ready at hand.

I wonder if you and John Silard could give some thought to this, and perhaps talk to the others, and let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: John DeJ. Pemberton
Encl: Pollitt, "The Right to Counsel for the Unpopular Client"

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND SILARD
1625 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
JOHN SILARD
DANIEL H. POLLITT
HARRIETT R. TAYLOR

737-7795

Reid
8/2/63

July 31, 1963

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

As you know, I lectured for 10 hours on Labor Law at the institute for union officials held last winter in Chapel Hill. I was scheduled for the first week, and enjoyed the discussions so much that I became an active student in the remaining three or so weeks of the course.

I got to know the other lecturers, and brought my colleagues on the law faculty, to some of them; and invited some of the lecturers to speak to my class in labor law. I also got to know the "students" on an informal basis. They came to my house on several evenings, and I got in the habit of droping by the Carolina Inn for the "Happy Hour" and meeting them when special guests were present.

It was one of the best educational and by far one of the most pleasant experiences I have enjoyed. Being isolated and away from day to day pressures, the "students" worked pretty hard, and each of them had something to contribute to the general discussion. If there is ever another one like it, I shall endeavor to wangle an invitation.

Sincerely,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

copy to
Vernon Eagle
8/2/63

July 31, 1963

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
Rauh & Silard Law Offices
1625 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

We sent to you yesterday 25 copies of the Notre Dame report for you and John Silard to mail out to civil rights agencies, etc. My suggestions would include Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, Whitney Young, M. L. King, Jr., James Farmer, Marvin Rich (CORE), James Forman (SNCC), Dorothy Height (National Council of Negro Women), Arnold Aronson, Morris Abram (c/o Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, 575 Madison Avenue, New York), Jack Greenberg, Oscar Cohen (Anti-Defamation League, New York), Edwin Lukas (American Jewish Committee, New York), Shad Polier (American Jewish Congress, New York). You and John may have other ideas, and Harold Fleming may have some.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dean Joseph O'Meara and Mr. Harold C. Fleming

September 17, 1963

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

Here are some notes on southern problems put together by Mrs. Barbara Patterson of our staff. Let me or her know if you need anything else.

I suppose Alan Reitman is keeping you informed about his negotiations for placing the article.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

October 7, 1963

Dan, (Pollitt)

Thought you might like to see these.

Enclosures - 2 (Legal Briefs: State of Ala, Plaintiff v. Boaz Sanders, Defendant; United States of America, ex rel John Gassaway, Relator v. Peyton A. Norville as U. S. Marshal, Respondent

via air mail special

October 8, 1963

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I had your piece gone over by Pat Watters, a top man on the Atlanta Journal, and Pat has prepared the enclosed editorial suggestions for you. I think they are sound, and I believe they can be helpful to you.

If you feel like talking about the re-write of the article to anyone, I wish you would call Pat at the Journal, and give us the bill for your call.

I urged Mel Wulf last week to get any material to you that he might have, and I trust he will do so.

Best wishes, and how is it going?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
cc: Mr. Pat Watters
Mr. Alan Reitman

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Rec'd 10/11/63
file

October 9, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Pollitt:

Mel Wulf has asked me to write concerning your revisions of the proposed article for Harper's Magazine. Apart from the general ACLU pressures, Mel's wife just gave birth so he is understandably detained on family affairs for a few days. He does have a copy of your original piece and plans to review it within the next week.

In the meanwhile we thought we would pass along two new instances of harassment of southern lawyers active in civil rights cases. Mel will send you full particulars but the basic facts are these. Tobias Simon of Miami, one of the Florida Civil Liberties Union's general counsel, who has been handling a number of civil rights cases primarily in the Tallahassee area (where no local lawyers will take on such cases), has been charged with contempt by a local Tallahassee judge for allegedly not appearing in court last summer to defend a civil rights demonstrator. Simon had informed the judge that he couldn't make the date that was set, but was available for another date. The judge evidently refused to accept this normal legal procedure and cited him for contempt.

In New Orleans over the weekend, as you may have read, Ben Smith, head of the legal panel of the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union, and his partner, Bruce Walzer, were arrested along with other persons for allegedly violating the state's Communist Control Act because of their association with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Significantly, the arrest was made during a week-end civil rights lawyers' meeting; the police entered the meeting itself to make the arrest.

Mel will be sending further information but we wanted to inform you promptly of these developments so you might work them into your editorial revisions.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:rcb

Les: Many Thanks for the statistics on arrests of Negroes.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

October 10, 1963

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you very much for the comments of Pat Watters about the "Harpers" article. I am enthused again for the first time and will get to it shortly. The ACLU has also been very helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

DHP/am

cc: Mr. Allen Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

PW
MJ file

October 23, 1963

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
University of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Pollitt:

I wrote you recently concerning the Simon, Smith and Waltzer cases which I thought might be cited in your Harper's revision. I don't know if Mel Wulf has had the chance to write you further about your article, but I think that you might get some help from the enclosed press release.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:mr
enclosure

ccs: Mel Wulf
Leslie Dunbar

Pw
Leslie → Pollitt, Dan

Mr. Dunbar

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

18 17

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-1900

November 8, 1963

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

Just a reminder that we are eagerly awaiting the revised version of your article. Can you give me some idea of when we may expect it?

Yours very sincerely,

Joyce Bermel
Editor

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

CC: Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

JB:cc

PWL

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

November 12, 1963

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

The letter from Joyce Bermel of Harper's prompts me to ask if there is anything more we might do to help in the preparation of the article.

Let us know, will you?

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:rcb

Leo: Is there anything you can do to prompt Dan. Harper's called me about the article.

Alan

PWL
MJ-file

December 26, 1963

Dr. Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I received a carbon copy of Harper's letter of December 24 to you. This is, I think, a very rude letter, though you may not feel that way about it.

This is just to let you know that if you are not satisfied with what Happer's does with your article, we stand ready to bring it out and to pay you for it.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

cc: Mr. Alan Reitman

COPY Mr. Dunbar

December 24, 1963

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

Thank you for sending me your attempted revision. I'd have gotten back to you sooner, except that I have been trying to figure out in my own mind just why this new version doesn't read so well as the first, although you have obviously put a good deal of work into it. I've finally concluded that what you have done, in the main, is to reverse the order of your material, listing the civil rights examples up front and relegating your forceful arguments to the later pages. It's perhaps even harder now for the non-lawyer to get into the article, and this, of course, is just the opposite of what we hoped would be the effect of our suggestions.

Therefore, I propose to rearrange your material into what seems to us a more readable sequence, taking care not to change the content or bent of your main arguments. I'll send you this revision shortly, and you can see what you think of it.

It would help greatly if I could include in the revision a paragraph about your own connection with this problem. If you have played any part in the organizations or cases mentioned in your final recommendations, I would be glad to know. Could you provide me with a paragraph or two along these lines? Also a few sentences about the actions of the Dallas Bar with regard to Oswald?

I have confidence that this will work out to be an excellent article for Harper's, and I hope that you will feel the same when you read the revision. I will be in touch with you very soon.

Yours very sincerely,

Joyce Bermel
Editor

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

JB:cc

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

PWL

December 26, 1963

Joyce Bermel, Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33d St.
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Bermel:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 24 about my manuscript. Frankly, I had been waiting to hear from you with a growing trepidation, as it means a great deal to have an article in Harper's. It is difficult for a professional to know what is understandable to a layman, and I bow to your judgment on whether the revision is a help or a hinderance. In any event, I look forward to your rearrangement of the material.

My information about the actions of the Dallas Bar with regard to Oswald stems from the ACLU relase of December 6. There it is said that "The President of the Dallas Bar association reported over television, just after a conference with Oswald, that he had offered the prisoner the services of the Association in arranging for counsel. He said that Oswald had declined for the time being" as Oswald preferred to retain his own counsel. The ACLU release continues: "Because of the crime with which Oswald was charged was of such ugly proportions, he might have had difficulty in obtaining counsel. That problem seems not to have been present, however, because the Dallas Bar Association, consistent with the highest standards of professional responsibility, offered its services in supplying counsel to Oswald". I think this information might well be used in the concluding paragraphs of the article where I mention a few examples of where the Bar Association has done the right thing.

My own connections with the problem are of long standing. During the early 1950s I practiced law in Washington, D. C. with Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. (of Americans

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

for Democratic Action fame) and we represented a number of persons in the various loyalty-secrity programs and before Congressional committees largely because most lawyers would not take such cases and we wouldn't turn them down. Also, through representation of various unions, we sometimes had to retain local counsel to represent the union involved, and this was often a difficult tabk when the case was to be tried in a smaller community where unionism is not yet respectable. Since I went into teaching (in 1955) I have written about 25 articles in the professional journals (mostly on civil rights and civil liberties subjects) and because of this and through friendly contacts with organizations such as the AFL-CIO, the ACLU, the American Friends Service Committee, the Association on American Indian Affairs, the NAACP, etc., I am quite often asked to help locate a southern lawyer for an unpopular client. This is not easy, even when the fee is more then commensurate with the legal complexities involved. Finally, in answer to your questions, I regularly volunteer my services in the various aspects of representing the unpopular client, and I find that relating these current experiences is a useful crutch to arouse student interest when I teach my courses in constitutional law.

Again let me thank you for your letter and I hope you are right when you feel that all this will work out to be an excellent article for Harper's.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

cc Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

May 26, 1964

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

You exaggerate unconscionably, but I like it.

I don't much like your going way off to Oregon, but I suppose we can trust you to come back. I see that you are one of Eric Goldman's brains. Does this mean that if I have an idea I can send it to you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

file
of Journal of Politics article

May 1, 1964

Dear Les:

I saved your "drills away" piece for May Day reading; and it is profound, moving, and right on point. I would add you to the classification of Dabbs, Cash & Lillian Smith. Thanks ~~ap~~ very much for the reprint: it is now being circulated to a select group of my colleagues.

News here is that I have a one year appointment to the University of Oregon next year to stand in for a fellow on his sabbatical. A good chance to see the West.

Sincerely,

Don Pollitt

Lawson ✓

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

July 1, 1964

Professor Daniel Pollitt
University of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I have talked with Mrs. Bermel of Harper's today and she told me that your long-delayed article on the need for legal representation in controversial cases will definitely appear in the August issue. The title is to be "Timid Lawyers and Neglected Clients."

Many months have passed since we began to work on Harper's and we are gratified to see that all the hard labors have not been in vain. In view of the expected pressures in the South this summer and the rising need for adequate legal defense, publication of the article in August is especially important. Undoubtedly we will order reprints in the fall; Harpers has a policy that reprints cannot be obtained until one month after the article appears.

Again our thanks for your patience in seeing the article through the editorial maze.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:rcb

FW Rec'd 7/7/64 File: Pollitt, Daniel

July 1, 1964

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

We have now scheduled your article for the August issue of Harper's under the new title of TIMID LAWYERS AND NEGLECTED CLIENTS. Our publicity department will, as a matter of course, inform various bar associations, law schools, etc. of it publication, but if there are any specific people who you feel should be notified in addition, I'll be glad to have their names.

Now that our publication date is final, we can grant you the permission that you requested to reprint the longer version of your article in the November or December issue of the North Carolina Law Review. May I remind you that it should carry our copyright line:

Copyright © 1964, by Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated

plus a note to the effect that the article appears by permission of Harper's Magazine, where portions were published at an earlier date.

This seems to us a particularly important and timely article right now. It will be interesting to see what kind of reactions it brings forth.

Yours very sincerely,

Joyce Bermel
editor

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
Rauh & Silard
1625 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

JB/ejl

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Alan Reitman

WB
LD

Dan. Pollitt

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
SCHOOL OF LAW
EUGENE, OREGON

September 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Thanks very much for sending me the Arkansas Gazette clipping about Wiley Brandon's great victory down in Clarendon. Wiley did a very great job, and perhaps that will ease the way for future vindications in the court.

As you can see from my letterhead, I am on leave and will be away for a year. This should not deter you from scraping up the airplane fare for my invaluable advice at future meetings in Atlanta, and this is an urging for you to extend the work of the Council to the great Douglas fir area of the Northwest.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt
Visiting Professor of Law

DHP:mm

March 17, 1965

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Dear Dan:

I am so glad that you printed the Pollitt version of your article on lawyer's and the unpopular client. It's good.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

File: Pallitt, Don

Right To Counsel For The Unpopular Client #1

"I do solemnly swear: I will support the Constitution of the United States....I will never reject from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed". 1/

~~Right To Counsel For The Unpopular Client.~~

In 1650, John Lilbourne was put to trial for treason for publishing three pamphlets critical of the Cromwell Parliament and immediately asked that counsel be assigned him. He explained that because of the serious nature of the charge: "no eminent experienced lawyer dare well meddle with my business, no, nor so much as ~~pety~~ bestow a visit upon me, but he runs a hazard of being undone". 2/ ~~"Therefore,~~ ~~continued Lilbourne, "that I may be freely and allowedly able, without danger of ruing to any man that shall advise me, I shall humbly crawe as my right by law that I may have counsel and solicitors also assigned me". ((fn. John Lilbourne: Democracy's Pillar Of Fire, 3 Syracuse Law Review 213, 236 (1952). The Chief Judge denied~~ with the request for counsel with the comment that "the court are of your counsel... and do not you doubt but the court will be as careful of you, as you can be of yourself". A ~~lawyer friend of the accused~~ spectator was ~~present in court and~~ apparently dissatisfied with the ~~representation~~ quality of the Court's representation, he spoke up to support Lilbourn's deman for a copy of the indictment. ~~He~~ but was immediatly reprimanded: "Judge Jermin. What impudent fellow is that, that dare be so bold as to speak in the court ~~without being called". Id. at p. 239.))~~

Some three hundred years later, the ~~experience~~ lawyer still "~~[illegible]~~ sees a "hazard of being undone" if he volunteers the defense of an unpopular client.

During the ~~[illegible]~~ early ~~[illegible]~~ 1950 years of McCarthyism, Mr. Justice William O. Douglas spoke of the fear that strikes the lawyer contemplating the defense of a person accused of illegal communist activity:

> "Lawyers have talked to me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed 'subversive' by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy." 3/ ~~((fn. Black Silence of Fear. New York Times Magazine, 7, 37-8 (Jan. 13, 1953).))~~

A prominent Washington, D. C. attorney, candidly supported Mr. Justice Douglas' observation in a newspaper interview:

"I've had a number of people who've been fired from the Government [on loyalty grounds] come in to me and ask me to take their cases. They always say the accusations are lies.

"I had one woman come in and cry, 'I can't get a lawyer'.

"I didn't take her case. I've turned down several very large fees on accused communists. Well, I don't know if they were communists, but there were refused readmittance under the McCarran Act. Some of them were terrible hardship cases.

"But I couldn't take them. They asked me to recommend other lawyers, but I would't be caught dead sending them on to another lawyer--for fear he would think I think he's a communist, or something. I know that's bad, but most lawyers feel the same way". 4

~~(fn. Washington Daily News, Jan. 14, 1954, p. , col. 3))~~

A true story, typical of many, unknown, is told of the highly publicized figure who was seeking an attorney to represent him in public hearings before the Senate Committee on Internal Security. An intermediary approached a large New York law firm and was told a junior member of the firm would take the case--for a $5,000 fee. "But that's outrageous" said the intermediary. "Not when you consider the dirt that might rub off on us" was the reply. The individual in question eventually found a lawyer whose "dirt compensation" was a little lower, but still at a figure beyond the reach of most persons subpeoned to testify before Congressional Committees.

~~investigating in the area of communist activities.~~

The "dirt" does rub off. John Adams, who with Josiah Quincy, undertook the defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre, wrote that "it is impossible to realize the abuse heaped upon Mr. Quincy and myself...we heard our names execrated in the most opprobrious terms whenever we appeared in the streets of Boston". 5/ ~~(Ernst and Schwartz, The Right To Counsel and the "Unpopular Cause", 20 U. of Pitt. L. Rev. 727, 728 (1959).)~~ The two lawyers who represented John Peter Zenger in New York City were disbarred in connection with the motions they made in court as a prelude to Zenger's now famous trial over the issue of freedom of the press. 6/ ~~((See Isserman, 345 U.S. 286, 292 (1953)(Mr. Justice Jackson dissenting.))~~ Nor have matters changed much for the better since colonial days, despite a revolution and the adoption of a constitution which guarantees to all the right to counsel.

~~investigating in the area of communist activities~~.

~~The "dirt" does rub off~~. When James B. Donovan accepted the court appointment to represent Soviet spy Col. Rudolf Abel, "It wasn't long before vindictive personal attacks upon the lawyer and his family began. There was a steady stream of crank letters and threatening calls. Finally, Donovan ordered the phone cut off". Attacks came from within the legal profession. He was greated by ~~a~~ one lawyer with the comment: "Here comes the million-dollar Commie lawyer"; and at a bar meet, a fellow Catholic asked if his sense of guilt wasn't "overwhelming". His reward came when ~~the~~ Chief Justice Warrent told him from the Bench: "I think I can say that in my time on this court no man has undertaken a more arduous, more self-sacrificing task". 7/ ~~((Lindemann, He Defended A Soviet Spy, 48 Coronet No. 6, 46 (Oct. 1960))~~

Illustrations can be multiplied. Judge John Bigelow, after his retirement from the bench, agreed at the request of the Essex County Bar Association to represent a school teacher fired from her job for invoking the privilege of self-incrimination before a Congressional Committee. For this his appointemnt as trustee to Rutgers University was first rejected by the New Jersey Senate, and then confirmed only after a storm of public protest. 8/ ~~((Defending the Sacks, Defending the Unpopular Client, p. 7 (National Council on Legal Clinics (1961), p. 7))~~ A Kentucky lawyer, acting on

behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union and without fee, undertook the defense of a case which had overtones of both communism and integration. He won the case--but lost a good part of his practice: "I don't mean to suggest that people here think I am disloyal. Their attitude is, rather, that I am rather peculiar and that it may be better to put their affairs in the hands of a more normal sort of person". 9

~~(Id. at p. 20.)) Finally,~~ It is reported that when Frank Costello, turned down by a score of lawyers who feared association with his reputation, was advised to seek the assistance ~~of Edward Bennett Williams~~ of the noted Washington attorney Edward Bennett Williams, Costello was reluctant because, as he put it, "Didn't Williams represent Senator McCarthy?". 10 ~~((Ernst and Schwartz, The Right To Counsel and the 'Unpopular Case', 20 U. of Pitt. L. Rev. 727, 729 (1959)))~~ These isolated case studies take on added significance from a survey of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania lawyers. Fifty percent ~~[illegible]~~ of those who had represented unpopular clients reported community pressure (religious, press, other members of the bar, etc.) for taking such cases, ~~((Alexander, The Right to Counsel for the Politically Unpopular, 32 Law In Transition, 19, 32 (1962))~~ and twenty percent reported that their practices had suffered. 11

or other unpopular case. How many Northern liberal attorneys, especially those with an eye on political rewards, would represent a Southern state seeking to maintain a segregated school system? ~~The "dirt" does rub off.~~

Adverse community reaction is understandable when a lawyer defends a Communist, a Fifth Amendment pleader, a nudest, an athiest, a homosexual, an alleged obscene book. An attorney can well represent one charged with murder without defending the institution of murder. But how can one represent a defendant charged with contempt of congress without attacking the power of Congressional inquisitions; a defendant charged with sale of Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer without challenging society's right to impose a literary censorship; a defendant charged with violation of the Smith Act without challenging society's right to impose a political censorship; a defendant "sit-iner" charged with trespass without attacking the institution of segregation? In short, the attorney must defend the client's cause as well as the client, and against the most respectable and revered institutions.

James B. Donovan pointed out that when he defended Russian spy Col. Abel, and raised serious questions concerning the law of "search and seasure", he was "working against the Justice Department and the F.B.I."[12] ~~(note supra.)~~

When the attorney defends his client's cause, it is difficult for the uninformed lay public to distinguish between a lawyer's personal conviction and his professional obligation. It reasons that a lawyer who attacks the power of censorship must enjoy reading "smut"; that the lawyer who defends the right of free speech by Communists must himself be a Marxist; that the lawyer who takes on these cases is somehow "unstable" or "not quite right".

The attorney who undertakes the defense of an unpopular client may seek to insulate himself from his client's unpopular cause. He may call his client's doctrine "alien" or "rubbish" and "abhorrent to all of us", and then seek to defend the client's right to proselytize. He may dissociate himself from the alleged "obscene" book, say that he won't permit it in his own home; but then attack the institution of censorship as a historical fallacy. There is some question whether this lawyer gives representation that is "adequate". Judge Medina, who subsequently presided at the first Smith Act trial of the top echelon Communist Party leaders, told the story of his reaction when a judge heaped praise upon him at the conclusion of a trail in which he had represented a German sympathizer charged with treason during World War 11. The praise was occasioned by the fact that Medina had been appointed by the Court and had received no compensation in other, more tangible, form.

> "This was all very fine; said Judge Medina, but I had made up my mind that I would not say a word to the jury about being assigned counsel, feeling that my client, although poor and destitute, was entitled to the advantage of everything

that went with the fact that I was his lawyer. I felt that it would be a stab in the back if I even mentioned the circumstances of my assignment and I am sure that I was right. A d yet here I was standing up there and receiving all this praise, while I could not help thinking that this was prejudicial to my client. And so I told Judge Goddard that I did not wish to seem ungracious but that I must respectfully except to his statement, adding that I thought he had no right to mention this fact to the jury.... Both in the Supreme Court and in the Circuit Court of Appeals I urged as a basis for reversal the exception to which I have referred....". 13/ ~~((Medina, Courage and Independence At The Bar, 25 Ohio Bar 381 (1952), reprinted in Sacks, note - infra at p. 23.))~~

Attorneys sometimes attempt to disassociate themselves from the unpopular clients they represent by refusing a fee. They reason that refusal to accept "tainted" money will focus public attention on the real reason for undertaking the defense: a desire to effectuate the Constitutional right to "counsel". Not many lawyers can afford this position, however, and all too often it backfires. A Kentucky lawyer who refused a fee from a client accussed of subversion ~~found out~~ wrote that the community belief seems to be that "a lawyer who takes an unpopular case without demanding a fee from his client must be motivated by sympathy with his client's substantive position....But when a lawyer takes an unpopular case from money, this inference is less likely to be drawn". 14/ ~~((Defending The Unpopular Client, p. 20.))~~

the consequence of representing the unpopular client,

The lawyer, whose only fortune is his good name, knows ~~these facts full well~~ and listens to the enemy within. This enemy speaks in a thousand voices, now whispering caution and then whining fear, now pleading in reasonable accents for practicality and self-interest, and then shouting direful predictions of disaster. But above all the voice says wait: wait ~~for~~ until your prestiege is secure, your voice more powerful; wait ~~for the right time~~ for the right time, for the right case. But the right case at the right time seldom comes. ~~But the right case~~ And while the attorney ~~hesitates to dare~~ waits, the right to counsel goes by default.

A Pennsylvania lawyer, charged with Communist Party membership, had his "disbarment" case postponed for eight months while he sought, without avail, to secure counsel from among his brethern at the bar. 15/ ~~((In re Schlesinger, ___ Pa ___, 172 A. 2d, 835 (1961).))~~ A Maryland lawyer, indicted under the Smith Act, went to the president of his Bar Association to secure counsel, but ended up defending himself. 16/ ~~((The Independence Of The Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 164 (1953).))~~ Two New York attorneys entered an appearance in a Smith Act case there for the limited purpose of securing a reduction in bail for two of the defendants. Suddently, against their wishes, they were appointed by the court to carry on in the case. Their affidavit in support of a motion to be relieved of the court's assignment reads in part as follows:

> "We have approached the officers of the New York County Lawyers Association and of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for assistance in finding counsel but to no avail. We have discussed the problem with the chairmen of the Criminal Courts Committee, the Civil Liberties Committee and the Constitutional Liberties Committees of the bar association, likewise to no avail". 17/ ~~((Ibid.))~~

The problem of counsel, or lack thereof, is now particularly accute in the South, especially in cases involving race. ~~racial discrimination.~~ The Supreme Court of the United States recently adverted to the fact that "the militant Negro civil rights

movement has engendered the intense resentment and opposition of the politically dominant white community" and that the problem in lawsuits attacking racial discrimination is "an apparent dearth of lawyers who are willing to undertake such litigation". 18/ ~~((National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Button, __ U.S. __, 31 U.S.L. Week 4063, 4068, 4071 (Jan. 15, 1963))~~

The Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union reported that:

> "We have devoted a large part of our time to seeking commitments from Southern attorneys to represent persons in the South who are involved in civil liberties matters, regardless of whether or not a racial issue is presented. While there are some such courageous lawyers, the over-all effort has been notably unsuccessful". 19/ ~~(N. Y. Times, Nov. 26, 1961, p. 8, col. 5)~~

The General Counsel of another civil liberties group reports in like vein:

> "During the Jackson, Miss. sit-in litigation, CORE was unable to get any local white lawyers to represent the defendants and there were not enough local Negro attorneys available to handle the cases". 20/ ~~(letter from Carl Rachlin, dated March 26, 1962.)~~

~~Similarly, the New York Times reports that Mississippi has only a handful of Negro attorneys and that white lawyers in the area will not pre represent Negroes involved in racial controversy. ((N.Y. Times, Oct. 11, 1961, p. 44, col. 5.))~~

~~"Meanwhile, Deep South states are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars every~~

Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council comments that "The accused in a murder trial is often better able than a sit-in demonstrator to obtain qualified local counsel". [21] ~~(N. Y. Times, Oct. 30, 1961, p. 1, col. 8))~~

The New York Times, in a survey article, reports that Mississippi has only a handful of Negro attorneys and that white lawyers in the area will not represent Negroes involved in racial controversy. ~~(N. Y. Times, Oct. 11, 1961, p. 44, col. 5.))~~ "Meanwhile", continues the article, "Deep South states are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars every

Why is it that the American Bar takes second place to the Bar of Ipoh in the heart of Malaya's Communist infested jungle in regard to assuring the right to counsel to those accused of crime?

year to employ skilled lawyers to defend segregation[21]. Officials of the J stice Department in Washington recently expressed concern that such a situation existed... from a belief that the problem may discourage Negroes from pressing for their rights in voting, education and transportation".[22] ~~(N. Y. Times, Oct. 30, 1961, p. 1, col. 8.)~~

The small band of Southern attorneys who undertake "racial" litigation find the common courtesies of bench and bar denied them. One such Negro attorney reports that whenever a Judge calls him "Mister", he knows he is about the lose his case. But these courageous attorneys face more than discourtesies. A white Georgia attorney was arrested in Monroe, Louisiana for car theft when he arrived to defend a member of the extremist Black Muslin organization. Charges were dropped when he agreed to leave town.[23] ~~((Louisiana v. Benable, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 91 (1961))~~ Clyde Kennard, the first Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi, was subsequently convicted of stealing five sacks of chicken feed on the basis of rather tenuous evidence. His attorney was charged with contempt of court for exclaiming to the press that the sentence of seven years hard labor was a "mockery of justice".[24] ~~((Mississippi v. Evers, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 53 (1961))~~

A North Carolina attorney was charged with assault when he shook his finger at a voting registrar during an argument concerning the way in which the literacy test was being given to the attorney's client.[25] ~~((The North Carolina Supreme Court reversed the conviction. State v. Walker, 249 N.C. 35, 105 S.E. 2d 101 (1958).)~~

A leading Virginia NAACP attorney faced disbarment charges: attempting to assist in the prosecution of a white defendant charged with raping a Negro woman.[26] ~~((A non suit was entered in this case by the County Circuit Court. 6 Civil Liberties Docket 66 (1961).~~ ~~A brother, Otto Tucker, a~~ another Virginia NAACP lawyer also received disbarment charges: unethical solication of employment. The court found mitigating circumstances; that the solicitaton "was not so much (motivated) by personal gain, of which there was little hope, as a desire to serve his other clients (co-defendants) efficiently" and held that "the ends of justice will be met by an official reprimand".[27] ~~Tucker v. Seventh Dist. Com. of Virginia State Bar, ___ Va. ___, 120 S.E. 2d 366 (1961))~~

A Mississippi attorney who agreed to handle the appeal of a Negro rape defendant received disbarment charges (acceptance of a retainer from a "subversive organization") when the Civil Rights Congress provided funds to pay the cost of appeal. The charges were dropped when the attorney withdrew from the case. [28] ((~~The Independence Of The~~ Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953)).

These and other similar episodes do not encourage the attorney to undertake the defense of an unpopular defendant. One consequence is that Mack Lee Parker, accused of rape and lynched from a Mississippi jail, had been refused counsel by local attorneys. [29] ~~((Tuttle, Our Special Responsibility, 32 Wis. B. Bull. 46, 50 (1959)).~~

~~that the Virginia champerty and barrety laws aimed at the school-integration suits unconstitutionally infringe on the right of political expression through judicial redress, a First Amendment freedom which "needs breathing space to survive". end of fn. 11~~ Moreover, White attorneys who represent Negro defendants in ordinary criminal matters, rarely raise the issue ~~controversial issues affecting social mores, or "sometimes" and do so at the risk of personal sacrifice which may extend to loss of practice and social ostracism"~~ when the constitutional rights of their clients run counter to the social mores of the region. An important federal tribunal recently announced that: "As Judges of a Circuit comprising six states of the deep South, we think it is our duty to take judicial notice that lawyers residing in many southern jurisdictions rarely, almost to the point of never, raise the issue of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries". 30 ~~(fn. United States ex. rel. Goldsby v. Harpole, 263 F. 2d 71, 82 (5th Cir. 1959), cert. den. 361 U.S. 850 (1959), holding that a Negro murder defendant whose white attorney did not object to the at the state trial to the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury did not thereby preclude himself from raising the issue subsequently in a habeas corpus proceeding in the federal courts.~~

A large majority of Southern state judges and lawyers polled by the Yale Law Journal agreed with the ~~correctness~~ validity of this observation

although many practical reasons were advanced, e.g. "If I accepted a Negro for jury duty and put him on with 11 white men I would prejudice the white men against me and my client". [31] ~~(Note, Negro Defendants and Southern Lawyers, 72 Yale L. J. 559, 565 (1963))~~

However, all apart from the trial strategy required on behalf of a particular client in a particular situation, the fact remains that the lawyer in the South, like the lawyer in the North, stands mute when legal order is under attack. Attorney General Robert Kennedy publically deplored the failure of the bar to support the Governments action to enforce the court order ~~that~~ admitting James Merideth ~~be admitted~~ to the University of Mississippi. [32] Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, commented in like vein:

> "To this day, insofar as I can determine, not a single southern state bar association has gone on record with a resolution or declaration of court support which would have provided the people with an alternative to the peddlers of defiance.
>
> "Only one city bar association in the South (Atlanta's) has made a public statement affirming the validity of court orders as they apply to schools....
>
> "While the bar associations in the South were silent, individual attorneys described glowingly by the segregationist press as "constitutional authorities', were publicly and slanderously denouncing the federal

judiciary, assuring a troubled and indecisive public that the U.S. Supreme Court's school decision was not legal, did not have the force of law, and was Communist inspired....

"Had the people been told by bar associations that court orders require compliance, we would, I believe, have escaped some of the trouble caused by the deliberate deceit of the people by political leaders...." 33/

(Atlanta Constitution, p. 1, col, 6, Jun. 15, 1961)

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision ending compulsory segregated public education 34/ ~~(Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954))~~ there has been a far-ranging public debate which goes to the very fundamentals of Judicial Supremacy and Judicial Review. This debate has been one-sided--through default by the organized bar. The ministerial alliances, PTA groups, even organization labor unions have sought to defend the Supreme Court from its critics: but the organized bar has largely been silent. And there has been misfeasance as well as nonfeasance.

Mr. Justice Black reminds us that "It is important, both to society and the bar itself that lawyers be unintimidated--free to think, speak, and act as members of an Independent Bar", 35/ ~~(Konigsberg v. State Bar, 353 U.S. 252, 273 (1957))~~

~~There is evidence, however, that the organized bar in certain areas is seeking, as Mr. Justice Douglas put it, "to put professional people into goose-stepping brigades" (Lathrop v. Donohue, 367 U.S. 820, 884). Mr. Justice Black sees~~ but he fears a tendency "to

force the Bar to become a group of thoroughly orthodox, time-serving, government-fearing individuals". 36/ ~~(In Re Anastaplo, ___ U.S.))), ___ (19))~~ These fears stem from the Bar activities in connection with admission ~~and expulsion~~ to the practice of law and expulsion therefrom.

Recent innovations in admission procedures require the bar applicant to abjure or explain membership or association with "suspect" organizations. Illustrations are legion. Hawaii has this question on its bar application form:

> "If you were to be listed as a 'Communist' in the records of any federal investigative agency, what past actions or organizational affiliations of yours not already listed by you might be used by such investigative agency to support its conclusion?" 37/ ~~(Brown and Fassett, Loyalty Tests For Admission To The Bar, 20 U. Chi. L. Rev. 480, 491 (1952))~~

¶ The District of Columbia Bar Association, by a recent three vote margin, adopted a resolution that all bar applicants be required to disclose any ties with Communist, Fascist, or other subversive groups. A substitute proposal--that applicants be asked only about Communist ties within the past five years--was rejected. 38/ ~~((The Washington Post, p. B14, col. 1., Oct. 11, 1961.))~~

Although the formal resolutions and prohibitions generally speek against Communist Party membership or against organizations "listed" by governmental agencies as "subversive",

the inquiry as a practical matter extends much further. Bar applicants are sometimes asked whether they think Communists should be eligible to practice law, about the "pinkish" character of the Americans For Democratic Action, and about labor unions activities. 39/ ~~((Brown and Fassett, note supra, at 494, 497.))~~

~~The~~ A local bar association in Texas, without success, opposed the admission of one applicant because of association with a lawyer "generally considered to be a member of the Communist Party"; 40/ ~~(In Re Levy, 348 U.S. 978 (1955))~~ and the New Mexico Bar was told by the Supreme Court that it could not deny admission to an otherwise qualified applicant because of long past membership in the Communist Party: "Mere unorthodoxy does not as a matter of fair and logical inference, negative 'good moral character'". 41/ ~~(Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners, 353 U.S. 232, 244 (1957))~~

Though infrequent, the Bar continues to oppose, with success, the admission of bar applicants whose religious beliefs and training prevents them from bearing arms; 42/ ~~((In Re Summers, 325 U.S. 561 (1945); Application of Brooks, ___ Wash. ___, 355 P. 2d 840 (1960), cert. den., 365 U.S. 813 (1961))~~ and those whose moral conscience prevents them from answering questions (asked without any apparent reason) concerning membership in suspect organizations. 43/ ~~((Konigsberg v. State Bar of California, 366 U.S. 36 (1961); In Re Anastaplo, 366 U.S. 82 (1961)).~~

In recent years in the Southern states, the nature of the inquiry has shifted

from membership in the Communist Party to membership in the NAACP. Formal questioneers call for the disclosure of membership in the NAACP, and bar applicants have been asked about activities in inter-racial groups and activities. The consequence too often has been that Negro (and some few white) law students refrain from all such activities until their admission to the Bar is complete.

Once admitted to the Bar, the inquisitions and intimidations do not end. In 1950 the American Bar Association proposed that all lawyers take a test-oath disclaiming ~~in~~ membership in the Communist Party.[44] ~~((Proceedings of the House of Delegates, 36 American Bar Assoc. Journal 948, 972))~~ and in 1951 this was extended to disclaiming a belief in "Marxism-Leninism".[45] ~~((Brown and Fassett, note supra, at 499.))~~ By ~~In~~ 1953 the ABA House of Delegates sought an investigation of attorneys who invoke the Fifth Amendment when asked questions relating to Communism.[46] ~~((Report and Recommendations of the Special Committee to Study Communist Tactics, Strategy, adopted August, 1953.))~~ With this impetus, the various state and local bar associations took up the cudgels.

New Jersey enacted a statute requiring all lawyers to pledge that:

> "I am not bound by any allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whatever, So Help me God".[47] ~~((Brown and Fassett, p. 483))~~

~~¶ The Michigan State Bar Association recommended a law authorizing the State Police to assist in disciplinary action against lawyers ((Id) and filed charges against two attorneys for distributing letters "critical of the Court's conduct in the recent trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg". (The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev., 158, 161 (1953).~~

The New Jersey and similar non-communist oath requirements for lawyers raise the issue of whether membership in the Communist Party is grounds for expulsion from the bar. Almost 100 years ago the Supreme Court held that Congress could not deny lawyers the right to practice in the federal courts because they had borne arms against the United States during the Civil War, reasoning that this had nothing to do with "moral or professional delinquency". 48/ ~~((Ex Parte Garland, 71 U.S. 333, 380 (1866)).~~ More recently, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that the Bar could not expell an attorney because of membership in the Communist Party unless it also found that the attorney also advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. 49/ ~~((In Re Schlessinger, ___ Pa. ___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961))~~ However, a Baltimore lawyer was disbarred following his conviction under the Smith Act, 50/ ~~((Braverman v. Bar Association, ___ Md. ___, 121 A. 2d 473 (1956)),~~ and a Portland, Oregon attorney was disbarred when the Bar Association found that he had testified falsely under oath when he denied that the Communist Party, during his period of membership, had not been a subversive organization. 51/ ~~((Patterson v. Oregon State Bar of Board Examiners, ___ Ore. ___, 318 P. 2d 907 (1957), cert. den. 356 U.S. 947 (1958).)~~ The Supreme Court has yet to make a square ruling on the subject.

~~Just as in the "exclusion" situation, the "expulsion" of attorneys began with Communist Party situations and then branched into other areas of conduct.~~

Just as in the "exclusion" situation, the "expulsion" of attorneys began with Communist Party situations and then branched into other areas of conduct. For example, the Michigan Bar filed charges against two attorneys for distributing letters "critical of the Court's conduct in the recent trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg"[52] ~~(The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953))~~ and ~~recom~~mended a law authorizing the State Police to assist in disciplinary action against lawyers.[53] ~~((Brown and Passett, p. 483.))~~

The Bars in New York, New Jersey and in Hawaii sought disciplinary measures against the lawyers in connection with their representation of Communists in Smith Act proceedings, but without ultimate success.[54] ~~(Sacher v. Association Of The Bar Of the City Of New York, 347 U.S. 388 (1954); In Re Isserman, 348 U.S. 1 (1954); In Re Sawyer, 360 U.S. 622 (1959). Sacher and Isserman were sought to be disbarred because they had been found guilty of contempt of court during the long drawn out trial of the top Communist leaders. Mr. Justice Jackson commented that this was apparently the first time a lawyer had been disbarred "merely because he had been convicted of a contempt" since the 1735 trial of Peter Zenger, 345 U.S. at 292-3.)~~

The Bars in Florida and in Pennsylvania, without success, sought to disbar attorneys who had invoked the privilege against self-incrimination when asked questions concerning Communist activities;[55] ~~(Sheiner v. State, __ Fla. __, 82 So. 2d 657 (1955), In re Schlesinger, __ Pa. __, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961). Subsequently the Florida Supreme Court rejected a petition by the Bar Association to permit disbarment of attorneys who claim the Fifth Amendment. In Re The Integration Rule Of The Florida Bar, __ Fla. __, 102 So. 2d 873 (1956).)~~ although the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the right of New York to disbar an attorney who had invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked questions

The Bar Association efforts to stifle the Southern lawyer who undertakes the defense of a "racial" case have already been mentioned. 59/

during a Brooklyn Court inquiry into "ambulance-chasing". 56/ ~~((Cohen v. Hurley, 366 U.S. 117 (1961).)~~

The Bars in Arizona and in New York, without success, attempted to disbar, or prevent the admission to the practice of law, on the basis of reasons they refused to disclose to the adversary parties or to the courts. 57/ ~~((Application of Burke, 87 Ariz. 336, 351 P. 2d 169 (1960); Willner v. Committee on Character and Fitness, __ U.S. __, 31 U.S. L. Week 4439 (1963)).~~ This seems to be the ultimate result whenever, as Mr. Justice Douglas terms it, bar associations seek "to put professional people into goose-stepping brigades". 58/ ~~((Lathrop v. Donohue, 367 U.S. 820, 884 (1961)).~~

Equally, if not more troublesome than the efforts of the Bar to ensure conformity within its own ranks, have been the efforts of the Bar to ensure conformity throughout the nation. When in 1950 President Truman courageously vetoed the Internal Security Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights, the American Bar Association immediately demanded an overriding of the veto. The pattern has continued. One issue after issue requiring the delicate balance of individual rights against national security, the amicus brief and prestiege of the Bar Association is inevitably found allied ~~against the individual~~ with the state against the individual. Pennsylvania Law Dean Jefferson Fordham commented that:

"In the post-war years attention has been drawn so strongly to security matters that an exaggerated imbalance has been observable. During this time the national organization has, on occasion, ranged itself with the Philistines....What the organized Bar needs is not its own witch-hunting department but units dedicated to the guardianship of human rights. A ceremonial interest in the Bill of Rights will not supply the need". 60/ ~~((The Legal Profession and American CKonstitutionalism, The Sixteenth Annual Benjamin N. Cardozo Lecture delivered before the Association Of The Bar of the City of New York, Oct. 24, 1957.))~~

~~The/ failure of the Bar to oppose the practices and procedures which brought on the near hysteria in the post World War II years created a climate in which the individual lawyer who t//p//k/ volunteered the representation of the unpopular client could do little~~

The failure of the organized Bar to provide a moderating leadership against the 1950 excesses of McCarthyism, against the 1960 excesses of States-Rightism, coupled with an internal program weeding out the unorthodox, results in a situation where the individual practitioner fears to go it alone, and makes it virtually impossible for him to be effective when he undertakes the representation of the unpopular client. The consequence--a silent repeal of the Constitutional guarantee that the accused shall have the Assistance of Counsel.

~~although many practical reasons were advanced, e.g. "If I accepted a Negro for jury duty and put him on with 11 white men I would prejudice the white men against me and my client". [Note, Negro Defendants and Southern Lawyers, 72 Yale L. J. 559, 565 (1963).]~~

The refusal of the American Bar to take up the cudgels for the unpopular minority is ~~an American~~ a phenomon without parallel in the English speaking world. ~~In England~~ Elsewhere, a barrister is like a cabman on the rank: it is duty to place himself at the disposal of the first person who hails him. ~~and he has no right to~~ This lets a citizen ~~him~~ have his case presented in court however unpopular or unworthy he may be; it also protects the advocate, for the court and public knows the case he is arguing is not of his own choosing.

The general principle in England, and its origin, were discussed by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hartley Shawcross, Chairman of the General Council of the Bar, in a 1953 speech:

> "I have recently heard it said, that certain members of the Bar in one of her Majesty's Colonies refused to accept a brief to defend an African, accused of offences of a quasi-political nature against public order. The suggestion is that these barristers made excuses and declined to act, their true reason being that they thought that their popularity

or reputation might be detrimentally affected by appearing for the defense in such a case. For the prosecution they might appear, but not for the defence.

"If this report were true it would disclose a wholly deplorable departure from the great traditions of our law and one which, if substantiated, both the Attorney-General and the Bar Council, would have to deal with in the severest possible way.

"Among laymen on both sides of politics there are some foolish and short-sighted enough to think that a barrister may and should pick and choose the cases in which he is prepared to appear.

"It would be well if those people remembered how the present rule --that a barrister must accept a brief on behalf of any client who wishes to retain him--was finally established. It arose in 1792 over the prosecution of Tome Paine for publishing the second part of his Rights of Man. The great advocate, Erskine, who accepted the retainer to defend Paine, and was deprived of his Office as Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales for doing so, said--and said truly--in a famous speech: 'From the moment that any advocate can be permitted to say that he will or will not stand between the Crown and the subject arraigned in the Court where he daily sits to practise, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end". G1 ~~((Defending the Unpopular Client, note supra, p. 38.))~~

Not only in England, but in the former English Colonies as well, no one lacks counsel because his cause is unpopular. Listen to the first hand report of Mr. Justice William O. Douglas:

"Last year I visited Burma, torn by civil war for the last five years. I visited courts and talked with lawyers and judges....

"I saw Malaya under siege. Up in central Malaya at Ipoh, the capital of Perak, I saw criminal trials. The accused were desperate guerillas dedicated to the Communist cause. Yet the court assigned each one a layer for his defense. The Bar of Ipoh--some 30 in number--were doing valiant work. Lawyers were assigned in rotation; and their defenses did credit to the highest tradition of the Bar....This was in the heart of jungle land where armed Communists worked night and day in guerilla warfare to destroy the government. But there was no hysteria, no atmosphere of passion, no photographers, no pressure of the press demanding convictions....

"These experiences brought, of course, a swelling pride in my heart at the glories of due process transplanted by the British in Asia. But what I saw has greater significance. Burma is winning her battle for Burmese hearts and minds, and Malaya is turning the tide against Communism by the use of more than military tactics. Due process, as well as bullets, helps win those wars against Communism". 62 ~~((Address Before The American Law Institute, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 20, 1953.))~~

~~Why is it that the American Bar takes second place to the Bar of Ipoh in the heart of Malaya's Communist infested jungle in regard to Douglas' Bar of Ipoh in the matter of assuring the right to counsel to those accused of crime?~~

What can be done to make the right to counsel an everyday reality for those beset by serious legal problems resulting from the espousal of an unpopular cause? 63/ A series of actions, for the most part already initiated, can in combination do much to achieve this goal.

First, the Bar should use the bait of public service and personal satisfaction to lure the adventurous, the courageous, the idealistic young men and women into the profession, those who want to take a position on public questions and to play a part in the affairs of the community in which they live. They should be told the stories of the profession's great--men like Malsherbes, who came from retirement to represent Louis XVl against the Revolutionary government of France and paid for it with his life; men like Andrew Hamilton, who defended the radical newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger and thereby did much to establish freedom of the press; men like John Adams, who defended the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre; like Charles Evans Hughes, who stood up for the constitutional right of Socialist ~~to~~ when the New York legislature sought to expell six elected officials because of their party affiliation; like Whitney North Seymour, Wendell Wilkie, John W. Davis, Thurman Arnold, Telford Taylor, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., James B. Donovan, Edward Bennett Williams and other contemporaries too numerous to mention who can be counted on to

step forward to make sure that everyone, no matter his station or crime, has a "day in court". Consistency requires that the "test oaths" and loyalty purges must come to end; and that the political iconoclast, the racial demonstrator, the religious dissent, the bearded beatnik on the peace vigil, all be welcomed to the Bar--if not with open arms at least with a mature appreciation that youth is the time to dare, and sometimes to err.

Second, the Bar should participate in the dialogue on national, state and local issues. The lay person looks to the lawyer for advice, and when his voice is stilled, the vacuum is filled by the clamerous (and uninformed) bias of the demogogue. The recent action by the American Bar Association Board of Governors condemning two of the three states-rights amendments to the Constitution currently pushed by conservative groups is precept and, hopefully, prologue.[64] The establishment of standing committees to report on current issues within the special competence of the Bar would do much to effectuate this objective.

~~(NY Times, May 22, 1963, p. 1, col. 1.)~~

~~currently pushed by conservative groups is precept and, hopefully, prologue.~~

Third, the Bar should organize groups and panels of lawyers for the defense of the unpopular or indigent client: as it did in Washington, D. C. when government employees were unable to secure council in connection with charges under the Loyalty-Security program; as it did in St. Louis when witnesses subpoened by the House Committee on Un-American Activities were unable to secure counsel; as it did in Denver, in Cleveland, in Philadelphia, and in Connecticut when Communists indicted under the Smith Act were unable to secure council; as it did in Pittsburgh when lawyers faced with disbarment because of Communist charges were unable to secure council; and as, in the 1930s, a National Lawyers Committee was formed to offer counsel to anyone who felt that President Roosevelt's New Deal legislation was violating his constitutional rights; ~~((NAACP vs. Button, ___ U.S. ___, 31 L.W. 4063, 4070, fn. 19.) and as, in Atlanta, the bar association offered to represent persons victimized by usurers.((Gunnels v. Atlanta Bar Assn., 191 Ga. 366, 12 S.E. 2d 602 (1940)))~~

Operating behind the shield of a Bar Association committee, the individual lawyer is relatively immunized from public opproprium; and the establishment of such a panel gives opportunity to ~~publicize the obligation of the attorney to represent all~~ educate the profession and the public on the rights and duties of a lawyer in representing any client, regardless of the unpopularity of either the client or

his cause.

Fourth, the Bar should rally to the defense of any lawyer attacked because of his representation of the unpopular client. In 1953 the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security issued a report which included the ;following:

> "Counsel of outstanding reputations...in several recent cases involving Communists or persons accused of being Communists, which they took out of a sense of public duty, have been subjected to severe personal vilification and abuse....Those episodes could be multiplied, but to do so would serve no useful purpose. Their existence is a serious cloud on the proper discharge of the lawyer's duty; the Bar must throw its weight against such things". 65/ ~~((fn. Report of July 30, 1953, p. 4. In the same years the American Bar Association House of Delegates unanimously adopted a resolution that it "will support any lawyer against criticism or attack in connection with such representation when, in its judgment, he has behaved in accordance with the standards of the legal profession". Reprinted in Sacks, p. 16.))~~

~~his~~ cause.

~~Fourth, the Bar should rally to the defense of any lawyer attacked editorially because of his representation of the unpopular client. In 1953 the American Bar Association House of Delegates unanimously adopted a resultion that it "will support any lawyer against criticism or attack in connection with such ~~representation~~ representation (of the most unpopular defendants) when, in its judgment, he has behaved in accordance with the standards of the legal profession". ((Reprinted in Sacks, p. 16.))~~ There are at least two notable instances when this was done. ~~When~~ The Cleveland Bar Association undertook to provide representation for Communist Party officials standing trial, and a senior official of the Department of Justice attacked the Association in a public address on the ground that it had been "duped". With in a week the President of the Bar Association had called on the Attorney General, and the Asst. Attorney General in question denied having made the statement. A somewhat similar incident occurred during a California hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, when a witness was repeatedly asked if his attorney was a Communist. The Board of Governors of the State Bar of California immediately issued a statement condemning the proceedings of the Committee; [66] ~~"conduct on the part of any tribunal before whom a lawyer is entitled or permitted to appear, which attacks~~

~~a lawyer's reputation or otherwise subjects him to obnoxious personal consequences, inevitably deters lawyers from accepting employment to appear before such tribunals. Thus the right to independent counsel of the client's own choice is seriously impaired~~". ~~quoted in Sacks, p. 26.))~~ Prompt and automatic ~~action and~~ reaction of this type to all slanderous attacks will impress upon the public that the "right to counsel" requires acceptance of the correlative right of a lawyer to represent any client without having imputed to him his client's reputation, views or character.

Fifth, the Bar should encourage the individual lawyer to undertake the defense of the unpopular client by a John Adams or other suitable awards ~~at the local and state levels on Law Day~~ to the attorney in each appropriate unit of the Bar who within the past year has demonstrated a fearless respect for the spirit reflected by John Adams' ~~representation of~~ defense of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. A national award, upon nomination of the state bars, could be given at the annual American Bar Association meeting; ~~and~~ the publicity attendant upon such presentations would be ~~token~~ give credit where credit is due, and further educate the public

Sixth, the Law Schools should assist the Bar Association in this effort by strengthening the curriculum in regard to criminal law, ~~or~~ professional ethics, and legal history; ~~but~~ by establishing legal aid and ~~[illegible]~~ legal research

bureaus where the student could ~~be guided in his "practical" work with a practicing attorney be exposed from the col~~ enjoy the experience of the "practical" case in a setting which induces further public action; but most of all by precept and example, e.g. by having the faculty as does the faculty at the University of Virginia, take an occasional trial or appeal ~~of the unpopular~~ ~~client~~ on behalf of the unpopular client.

Seventh, and finally, when all is said and done, the fact remains that it is up to the individual lawyer to effectuate the Constitutional right to counsel. If he fails, the Constitution is a dead letter; if he undertakes the defense of all--"without consideration personal to himself"--the Constitution becomes a vital, living document. Every professional undertaking on behalf of the unpopular client is a leap into the dark. No one can foretell what new evidence may turn up, what vagaries of chance may occur, what unlooked for traits of character this or that major participant may exhibit under pressure. But if the lawyer stays close by the campfire and never venturs forth, the circle of safety and freedom will dminish and contract. And ultimately one dark night the fire will go out. The highest wisdom is to dare, and the beacon when venturing forth is the comforting comment of the late Mr. Justice ~~Bran~~ Cardozo that "There is more to membership in the Bar than a license to sign a brief or intone a prosy argument".[67]

Footnotes

1. Oath of admission to the bar recommended by the American Bar Association and adopted by a number of states.

2. Wolfram, John Lilburne: Democracy's Pillar Of Fire, 3 Syracuse L. Rev. 213, 236 (1952). The Chief Justice denied the request for counsel with the comment that "the court are of your counsel, and do not you doubt but the court will be as careful of you, as you can be of yourself". Thereafter Lilburne was denied the right to see the indictment, and a lawyer-friend in court spoke up for him. He was immediately reprimanded: "Judge Jermin. What impudent fellow is that, that dare be so bold as to speak in the court without being called". Id. at p. 239.

3. "Black Silence Of Fear," New York Times Magazine, Jan. 13, 1953, pp. 7, 37-8.

4. Washington Daily News, Jan. 14, 1954, p. 17, col. 2.

5. Quoted in Ernst and Schwartz, The Right To Counsel and the Unpopular Cause, 20 U. Pitt. L. Rev. 727, 728 (1959).

6. Mr. Justice Jackson dissenting, In re Isserman, 345 U.S. 296, 292 (1953).

7. Lindemann, He Defended A Soviet Spy, 48 Coronet No. 6, 46 (Oct. 1960).

8. Sacks, Defending The Unpopular Client, 7 (1961)

9. Id. at 20.

10. Ernst and Schwartz, op. cit. supra note 5, at 729.

11. Alexander, The Right To Counsel For The Politically Unpopular, 22 Law In Transition 19, 32 (1962).

12. Lindemann, op. cit. supra note 7

13. Medina, Courage And Independence At The Bar, 25 Ohio Bar 381 (1952), quoted in Sacks, op. cit supra note 8, at 23.

14. Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 20.

15. In re Schlesinger, ___Pa. ___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961).

16. The Independence Of The Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 164 (1953).

17. Ibid.

18. NAACP v. Button, ___U.S.___, 31 U.S.L. Week 4063, 4068, 4071 (Jan. 15, 1963).

19. N.Y. Times, Nov. 26, 1961, p. 8, col. 5.

20. Letter from Carl Rachlin, dated March 26, 1962, on file at the University of North Carolina Law School library.

21. N. Y. Times, Oct. 30, 1961, p. 1, col. 8.

22. Ibid.

(footnote 22 continued on next page)

Fn. 22 cont

of March 31, 1963

The legal problems involved in asserting these rights in voting, education, and transportation are illustrated by eight out of 64 similar acts of violence and intimidation set forth in a release by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council:

1 September 13, 1961, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers were arrested for asking to be served at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal and charged with inviting a breach of the peace.

2 March 15, 1962, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker, despite an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. When he later stated that the prosecutor and the police chief had conspired to frame him, he was sued for defamation. A jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief $15,000.

3 May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press, while investigating a rumor that a Negro had been killed by a white man, was apprehended by the police, jailed, denied permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges, and fined $151.00.

4 July 5, 1962, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20 and Lauvaghn Brown, 17, were sentenced to a 30 day jail sentence for contempt of court when they refused to move from the "white" side of the court room.

Am 27, con't.

5. August 21, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, had his camera snatched away while taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. When he complained to the police, he was told to leave town.

6. August 30, 1962, Sunflower County: Several voter registration workers were arrested on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community.

7. September 3, Sunflower County: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services". The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

8. December 26, 1962, Coahoma County: Two students from Detroit were arrested as they drove a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for the Delta families cut off from federal surplus commodities. The medicines had been donated by a Louisville physician and consigned to a licensed pharmacist. The police searched the truck, discovered what they described as "a drug to ease the pain of middle-aged women", and charged the students with possession of marcotics. Bond was set at $15,000.

23. Louisiana v. Venable, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 91 (1961).

24. Mississippi v. Evers, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 53 (1961).

25. The North Carolina Supreme Court reversed the conviction. State v. Walker, 249 N.C. 35, 105 S. E. 2d 101 (1958).

26. A non-suit was entered in this case by the County Circuit Court. Virginia v. Tucker, 6 Civil Liberties Docket 66 (1961).

27. Tucker v. Seventh Dist. Com. of Virginia State Bar, ___Va.___, 120 S. E. 2d 366 (1961).

28. The Independence Of The Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953).

29. Tuttle, Our Special Responsibility, 32 Wis. B. Bull. 46, 50 (1959).

30. United States ex rel. Goldsby v. Harpole, 263 F. 2d 71, 82 (5th Cir. 1959), cert. den. 361 U.S. 850 (1959).

31. Note, Negro Defendants and Southern Lawyers, 72 Yale L. J. 559, 565 (1963).

32. N. Y. Times, Sept. 30, 1962, p. 69, col. 3.

33. Address prepared for the annual meeting of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association and the Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research, noted in the Atlanta Constitution, ~~11/16/1961~~ June 15, 1961, p. 1, col. 5.

34. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

35. Konigsberg v. State Bar, 353 U.S. 252, 273 (1957).

36. In re Anastaplo, 366 U.S. 82, 116 (1961).

37. Brown and Fassett, Loyalty Tests for Admission to the Bar, 20 U. Chi. L. Rev. 480, 491 (1952).

38. Washington Post, Oct. 11, 1961, p. B14, col. 1.

39. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra, note 37, at 494, 497.

40. In re Levy, 348 U.S. 978 (1955).

41. Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners, 353 U.S. 232, 244 (1957).

42. In re Summers, 325 U.S. 561 (1945); Application of Brooks, ___Wash.___, 355 P. 2d 840 (1960), cert. den. 365 U.S. 813 (1961).

43. Konigsberg v. State Bar of California, 366 U.S. 36 (1961); In re Anastaplo, 366 U.S. 82 (1961).

44. 36 A.B.A.J. 948, 972

45. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra. note 37, at 499.

46. Report and Recommendations of the Special Committee to Study Communist Tactics and Strategy, adopted August, 1953.

47. Brown and Fasbett, op. cit. supra note 37, at 483.

48. Ex parte Garland, 71 U.S. 333, 380 (1866).

49. In re Schlessinger, ___Pa. ___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961).

50. Braverman v. Bar Association, ___Md.____, 121 A. 2d 473 (1956).

51. Patterson v. Oregon State Bar of Board Examiners, ___Ore.___, 318 P. 2d 907 (1957), cert. den. 356 U.S. 947 (1958).

52. The Independence of the Bar, 13 Law. Guild Rev. 158, 161 (1953).

53. Brown and Fassett, op. cit. supra note 37, at 483.

54. Sacher v. Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 347 U.S. 388 (1954); In re Isserman, 348 U.S. 1 (1954); In re Sawyer, 360 U.S. 622 (1959). Disbarment proceedings were initiated against Sawyer because of a speech during the trial recess in which she castigated in general terms the conduct of the trial. Iserman and Sacher were sought to be disbarred because of contempt of court convictions, ~~the first such disbarment proceedings, according to Mr. Justice Jackson, since~~ Mr. Justice Jackson commented that this was apparently the first time a lawyer had been disbarred "merely because he had been convicted of a contempt" since the trial of Peter Zenger in 1735. 345 U.S. at 292-3.

55. Sheiner v. State, ___Fla.___, 82 So. 2d 657 (1955); In re Schlessinger, ___Pa.___, 172 A. 2d 835 (1961). Subsequently the Florida Supreme Court rejected a petition by the Bar Association to permit disbarment of attorneys who claim the Fifth Amendment. In Re The Integration Rule Of The Florida Bar, ___Fla.___, 102 So. 2d 873 (1956).

56. Cohen v. Hurley, 366 U.S. 117 (1961).

57. Application of Burke, 87 Ariz. 336, 351 P. 2d 169 (1960); Willner v. Committee on Character and Fitness, ___U.S.___, 31 U.S.L. Week 4439 (1963).

58. Lathrop v. Donohue, 367 U.S. 820, 884 (1961).

59. See text at notes 23 through 28.

60. The Legal Profession and American Constitutionalism, The Sixteenth Annual Benjamin N. Cardozo Lecture delivered before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Oct. 24, 1957.

61. Quoted in Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 38.

62. Address before The American Law Institute, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 20, 1953.

~~63.~~

~~What can be done to make the right to counsel an everyday reality for those beset by serious legal problems resulting from the espousal of an unpopular cause?~~

63. ~~(1)~~ The Supreme Court recently ~~ended the decline recently~~ held that the states must provide counsel for indigent defendants charged with crime because "any person haled into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him". Gideon v. Wainwright, ___U.S.___, 31 L. W. 4291, 4294 (1963). This decision, though far-reaching, does not answer all the problems as many persons ~~seeking a lawyer are~~ who have trouble in getting legal representation are not indigent, and ~~they~~ their problems are not "criminal". They may be subpoened before a Congressional Committee (with ample funds to pay a normal fee), or they may wish to take the offensive in a civil proceedings, e.g., initiate a suit to desegregate a school system; initiate a suit to make a public forum available for ~~an unpopular~~ a meeting where unpopular or minority views are to be expressed; initiate a suit to compel the restoration of a license, or a teaching position, etc., revoked because of racial or political or religious activities deemed bad by the local authorities; or they may need a lawyer to draft a document, such as a Public Accomodations law, for presentation to a City Council.

64. N. Y. Times, May 22, 1963, p. 1, col. 1.

65. Report of July 30, 1953, p. 4. ~~Id~~ (emphasis added). In the same year the American Bar Association House of Delegates unanimously adopted a resolution that it will "support any lawyer against criticism or attack in connection with such representation when, in its judgment, he has behaved in accordance with the standards of the legal profession". Reprinted in Sacks, op. cit. supra note 8, at 16.

66. "Conduct on the part of any tribunal before whom a lawyer is entitled or permitted to appear, which attacks a lawyer's reputation or otherwise subjects him to obnoxious personal consequences, inevitably deters lawyers from accepting employment to appear before such tribunals. Thus the right to independent counsel of the client's own choice is seriously impaired". Quoted in Sacks, ~~op. cit. supra~~ Id. at 26.

67. Address at the dedication of the New York County Lawyers Building on May, 1930; quoted in Judge Irving R. Kaufman, Representation by Counsel: A Threatened Right, 40 ABAJ 299, 301 (1954).

POOR PEOPLE'S CORPORATION

P. O. Box 977, Jackson, Mississippi (601) 352-9791
5 Beekman St., New York 10038 (212) RE 2-3996

Make free file
~~Poor People's~~ Poor People's Corporation

28 September 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SPONSORS

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A. Philip Randolph
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(incomplete - final list in preparation)

Dear Mr. Anthony:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your interest and willingness to receive the funds being granted to Poor People's Corporation by the Aaron Norman Fund? One of the nicer things about crises, except for resolving them, is the genuine interest of our friends during them.

In our particular situation, we had a printer's deadline to meet in order that we might make our Fall mailings with a new mail order catalog of PPC products... a most vital mailing, as you can appreciate, since this is the main manner in which the coops market their goods. What could have been a disaster has turned out to be a victory, of sorts, since we are now able to pay our printer and expedite the mailings.

Incidentally, as a stopgap measure, I was forced to beg, borrow-but-not-steal $600 as an advance to the printer - this meagre sum included all our petty cash and next month's rent to boot! This would then make our present printer's bill approximately $1300. Therefore, if SRC could issue the $1900 grant in the following manner, it might be more convenient all the way around: either forward the entire $1900 to Poor People's Technical Assistance Corporation here at 5 Beekman Street, leaving the disbursement to this office; or, you could

forward the $1300 directly to our printer:

Mr. Ben Miller
Ormont Printing Co.
150 West 26th Street
New York, New York

and the remaining $600 on to us at PPC, 5 Beekman Street, NYC. Either way would be entirely satisfactory, as lone as payment is in at the earliest possible date in order to expedite printing.

I had beenlooking forward to our meeting with John Heyman in Atlanta, but I understand we will be crossing paths at that time. I guess I'll have to put my suggestions and/or questions in a file for next time - but then I understand we will be meeting with Mr. Ulmer in your stead, so perhaps I'll learn something after all!

Again Mr. Anthony, our thanks for your cooperation -- it's a pleasure to experience the team effort.

Sincerely,

Linda M Henry

Linda M. Henry
New York Coordinator

October 3, 1966

Miss Linda Henry
Poor People's Corporation
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Make folder -
Cr. ref.
Aaron E. Norman
fund
Re: Contribution
of $1,900
for PPC

Dear Miss Henry:

Enclosed is our check for $1,900 representing a contribution to the Poor People's Corporation in support of special printing.

At your convenience please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $1,900.00)

INVESTOR SERVICE
1250 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • 223-4770

Post Office Company
Wash. D.C. Office

June 5, 1968

$250
1st of July

Miss Marian E. Wright
1823 Jefferson Place N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Wright:

Your request of May 29, 1968 to sublease your office space at 1823 Jefferson Place N.W. has been approved. We will, therefore, expect to receive all future rents from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Avenue N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

You will however, remain liable for lease payments if not made by the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

S J Gorlitz

Samuel J. Gorlitz
INVESTOR SERVICE

also, I called re air conditioning. They say a couple of days. MB

BLACK COMMUNITY BULLETIN..... Wdenesday, April 29, 1970

FIVE BLACKS CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY HAVE FILED A COMPLAINT CHARGING COUNTY AND LOCAL OFFICIALS WITH CONSPIRACY AND INTIMIDATION.

Twenty-four hours before the scheduled second session of the preliminary hearing for the five Black men charged with conspiracy, their lawyers filed a complaint indicting Sherriff Middleton, Harvey Buck, District Attorney, Euland Andrews, Justice of the Peace and Andrew Naugle, County Prosecuting Attorney with harrasment, intimidation and frightening of their witness, a Black man, and also conspiring to stop the direct action of Black people struggling for their rights.

The five Black Men charged with conspiring to blow up the Clay County Courthouse said the charges "were designed to punish us for working for the welfare of Black people."

The complaint filed by the lawyers states that Naugle and the others based their charges on evidence which they Knew to be false and evidence which they "frightened" out of a Black man to scare other Black men from fighting for the rights of Black people.

The witness which Naugle and the others hoped to frame Buffington, Free, Thomas, Williams and Brown, has had to seek safety from the police and other law officials in West Point in order that he might now stand back and tell the truth.

All of these racist tactics are in line with the fraudulent and slimy way in which white justice works to KEEP BLACK PEOPLE DOWN.

NOW IS THE TIME.... SEIZE IT! ..... ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE AT THE CLAY COUNTY COURTHOUSE THURSDAY MORNING. IF THERE ARE NO SEATS AVAILABLE THEN THEY SHOULD BE OUTSIDE TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR THE FIVE BLACK MEN CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY AND THE BLACK VICTIM OF THE BRUTALITY, CRUELTY, HATRED AND FRIGHT TACTICS OF THE WHITE RACIST POLICE OFFICIALS.

Conspiracy Hearing for Five Continues Thursday

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

On Thursday at 9 a.m. the preliminary hearing for the five men charged with conspiracy in connection with the January 26 bombing on the Clay County Court House will be continued.

The five charged men, all Negroes, are John Buffington, Frankie Free, John D. Brown, Charles Williams and Johnny Thomas Jr. Conspiracy charges against a sixth man, Clifton Sykes, were dismissed on the grounds that his name was not mentioned in testimony presented when the hearing began last Monday.

The hearing for the men began on Monday, April 20, but was continued until this Thursday at the request of the defense attorneys when it was learned that Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon was not available for testimony last Monday.

District Attorney Harvey Buck stated this morning that Harmon will take the stand Thursday morning. Buck also said that Howard Bowen, special investigator with the Mississippi Highway Patrol, might be called on to testify Thursday.

Presiding over the hearing at the Clay County Court House will be Judge Euland Andrews.

Asked if he has heard from chief prosecution witness Andrew Young, Buck reports that he has not, and that Young's exact whereabouts has not been revealed to him.

Young, who testified last Monday that on January 26 he had heard the five defendants conspiring to bomb the court house, was taken to Jackson by defense attorneys shortly following the ajournment of the hearing. The district attorney and Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III have not been contacted by Young since that time.

However, an unidentified source told Buck last week that Young had signed a statement which said that he gave false testimony in court Monday and that he had been harassed and intimidated during police questioning when he was arrested on April 6.

On that date, Young was arrested by officers of the West Point Police Department and was charged with malicious mischief in connection with the bombing of the court house. Young was questioned by police and sheriff's officers and was released on bond on the evening of April 6. Later that night law enforcement officers arrested Buffington, Free, Thomas, Brown, Williams and Sykes on charges of malicious mischief.

County Prosecutor Naugle later changed the affadavits to read that the men were charged with "conspiracy to commit a crime."

Buck, after hearing that Young had signed a statement indicating that he gave false testimony during the hearing last week, reported that there exists a possibility that the 21-year-old West Point Negro could be charged with perjury.

Buck also stated this morning that the malicious mischief charge against Young has not been dropped.

Because the prosecution rested their case last Monday, they will not call any witnesses to the stand this Thursday.

Wednesday Afternoon, April 29, 1970
Daily Times Leader — West Point, Miss.

4 Sued For 'Spurious Prosecution'

By LEWIS NOLAN

From The Commercial Appeal
Columbus, Miss., Bureau

WEST POINT, Miss., April 29. — Four Clay County law enforcement officials were charged with "spurious prosecution" in a suit filed Wednesday that is aimed at halting further prosecution of five civil rights workers charged with plotting to bomb the county courthouse here.

Named defendants in the civil suit are Andrew K. Naugle III, prosecuting attorney; Virgil Middleton, sheriff; Harvey Buck, district attorney, and Euland Andrews, a justice of the peace.

The suit was filed in United States District Court at Aberdeen by the five men's chief counsel, Armand Derfner of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee.

The five filing the suit are scheduled to appear in court here at 9 a.m. Thursday for a continuation of their preliminary hearing on the bombing charges.

In the first stage of the preliminary hearing last Thursday, Mr. Derfner was assisted by five North Mississippi Rural Legal Services attorneys. But that organization has withdrawn from the case.

The suit filed Wednesday charges that prosecution of John Buffington, Frankie Free, Johnnie Thomas Jr., John D. Brown and Charles Williams is "groundless" and is designed "solely to punish the plaintiffs for engaging in First Amendment-protected activities designed to secure racial equality for themselves and others."

The suit also charges that these prosecutions are "without hope of success because they are based on evidence which is known to defendant Naugle and others to be false and to have been fraudulently induced and manufactured."

The five Negro men were arrested April 6 along with Clifton Sykes, whose charges subsequently were dismissed on a motion by Dist. Atty. Buck.

All the men were initially charged with the actual Jan. 26 bombing. But charges were later amended to conspiracy.

During the first portion of last week's preliminary hearing the state's star witness, 21-year-old Andrew Young testified he overheard the defendants "talking about bombing the courthouse" on [illegible] separate occasions.

During his testimony he said that before he told local authorities about overhearing the bombing plot they had arrested and charged him with the crime.

He said he was questioned the night he was arrested by West Point Police Chief Billy Busby, Police Sgt. James Fowler, Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon, Judge Andrews, Mr. Naugle and Mr. Buck.

After that interrogation, Mr. Naugle signed affidavits charging the six men with the crime based on "information and belief."

This "information and belief" is attacked in Wednesday's lawsuit, which describes it as "false evidence knowingly manufactured by certain law enforcement officials."

CLAY COUNTY COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
328 Cottrell Street - Phone 494-2166
WEST POINT, MISS. 39773

file

APR 15 1970

HOT LINE Special

BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN

On Friday morning, April 3, at about 7:00 am, Mrs. Alice Wright of the Griffith Community was walking from a road in front of her house toward her house. Three shots were fired at her from a passing car. After the first shot Mrs. Wright dropped to the ground. She was not hurt. She was able to return one shot.

About an hour later she received a threatening phone call. The caller said:

STOP WORKING ON THE DAY CARE CENTER

STOP THE DAMN COLORED WOMEN FROM WORKING ON THE DAY CARE CENTER

WE DON'T WANT THE DAMN COLORED WOMEN TO WORK IN THE DAY CARE CENTER

NEXT TIME WE WON'T MISS - REMEMBER THE HOLES IN YOUR WALL

This kind of action did not scare Mrs. Wright. It does not scare black Mississippians. It makes them work all the harder for their rights, freedom and justice. The Day Care Center will be completed because it is needed by black people in the Griffith Community.

There will be a meeting to discuss means of preventing this kind of incident from happening again. ATTEND THIS MEETING.

Date: Tuesday April 7, 1970

Place: GRIFFITH COMMUNITY DAY CARE CENTER

Time: 7:30 p.m.

BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN

Clay County Community
Development Program
328 Cottrell St.
West Point, Miss. 39773

PR

APR 14 1970

PRESS RELEASE April 12, 1970

THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR THE SIX BLACKS ACCUSED OF "CONSPIRACY"

A defense committee comprised of 12 prominent state and national attorneys and many more local and national private citizens, has been formed for the defense of the six Black men c harged with "conspiracy" in Clay County, Mississippi.

The so-called "conspiracy" charges are alledgedly connected with the January 26, 1970 bombing which caused damage to windows in the Clay County Courthouse and local downtown shops and businesses in West Point.

The bombing followed closely on the heels of a viscious arson fire which destroyed the offices of the Clay County Community Development Program in the early morning hours of that day.

Five of the six defendents work for the Clay County Development Program. The remaining victim of whitejustice for Black people is a former Mississippi Valley State College student who lives in West Point.

The reason for such a strong defense mechanism, accordin to Jesse Pennington, chairman of the defense committee, and local citizen connected with a Mary Holmes College extension program,

is, "because of the historical attitude of the white courts toward those Black people who struggle for self-determination for Black people."

Pennington said that, "the injustice of these charges and the switches and tricks local authorities have pulled in the case of these six men has brought national attention to their plight."

The original charge against all six was "malicious mischief" in connection with the bombing. The next day the affidavits were "altered" and the charge was then changed to "conspiracy."

The original charge carried a maximum penalty of one year in prison or fine "not more than twice the amount of damage done" or a combination of both. Lawyers of the defense committee call this statute the "pro Klu Klux Klan dynamite act." "At the time when Black churches and people were bombed, the white power structure to insure thay would have to do no more than "rap their brothers on the knuckles" made it a misdemeanor to handle explosives and blow up people and property," said Pennington.

The day after the first alteration, district attorney, Harvey Buck, announced that further change would be forthcoming.

Sentiment in the Black community is that it is an attempt to harass and intimidate the entire community in light of an upcoming federal court hearing on the local school desegregation plan.

"By arresting the key people who work for the Clay County Development Program they have arrested the self-determined effort of an entire community of Black people. In essence they have arrested the progress of Black people in Clay County toward their own destiny." said Pennington.

"They fake a charge and arrest us in an attempt to deactivate the program which has always been the central coordinating office for direct action on the Black community," said John Buffington, director of CCCDP and one of the six arrested. Others charged are Johnnie Thomas, Jr., Frankie Free, Clifton Sykes, Charles Williams, and John Brown.

"The criminal fire which destroyed our offices and the heart soul of the Black community will go as unsolved as the burning of three Black churches, and many beatings, cross burnings and shootings of which Black people have been only the victims and whites the criminals here in Clay County. These arrests are no different than in 1964 when they arrested us for walking in the street and you know how many sidewalks there are in the Black community." said Buffington.

"When this is straightened out the courts and the district attorney at least here in West Point will know that they can no longer use this country's judicial systems to oppress Black people," Buffington said.

One of the first actions of the defense committee is to file for a preliminary hearing to be held some time this week. This hearing will be prior to the scheduled April 20 hearing. The main reason for this is that although a defendant's lawyer has a right to view the actual affidavit containing his client's charges the West Point authority has seen fit to duck and dodge efforts by the lawyers to obtain the affidavits. The committee and the accused are operating on the assumption that charges stand as "conspiracy".

Looking at a chronology of the events leading up to the arrests it appears to be a definite pattern of Black action followed by some reaction, most definitely white and racist. Three days before the burning of the CCCDP offices the Black community had massed and drawn up demands and were circulating petitions to present to the West Point School Board the same Monday of the fire and bombing. Workers for the program believe that the fire was an attempt to destroy the petitions gathered for delivery that morning.

The scheduled court hearing for the "six" is April 20. This is one day away from the April 21 federal court hearing of the West Point school desegregation plan.

Meeting Called By Clay Negroes

By LEWIS NOLAN

From The Commercial Appeal
Columbus, Miss., Bureau

WEST POINT, Miss., April 12.—Clay County Negroes will meet Monday night to hear six men accused of conspiracy in connection with the Jan. 26 bombing of the county courthouse here.

The meeting is scheduled for 7:30 in the Mary Holmes College gymnasium.

In another development connected with racial strife in West Point, the Clay County Community Development Program (CCCDP) has posted a $5,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the persons responsible for the Jan. 26 fire which destroyed the CCCPD headquarters.

Later that night the black community held a meeting. Shortly after the meeting adjourned, West Point was shaken by a blast of an undetermined explosive on the courthouse lawn. The sheriff's department and several anonymous business firms and individuals posted a $1,500 reward.

No arrest in either incident had been made until April 6, when six Negro men, five connected with the federally funded CCCDP anti-poverty program, were arrested on charges of malicious mischief.

The charges were later amended by Dist. Atty. Harvey Buck to read "conspiracy to commit a crime," a felony which carries a heavier penalty.

Charged and released on bond of $3,000 each are John Buffington, director of CCCDP, his assistants, Frankie Free, Charles Williams, John D. Brown and Johnny Thomas, and a former Mississippi Valley State College student, Clifton Sykes.

If convicted, each man could receive a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a $5,000 fine.

A preliminary hearing was originally set for April 20, but defense attorneys are expected to request it be moved up to Wednesday. The original defense attorney, Jon Thames of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services, has been replaced by Armand Derfner of Jackson.

Jesse Pennington, another Legal Services worker, is establishing a defense committee which he says is "comprised of 12 prominent state and national attorneys."

Six Social Workers Charged In Bombing

By LEWIS NOLAN

From The Commercial Appeal Columbus, Miss., Bureau

WEST POINT, Miss., April 7. — Six Negro men, all with connections with the federally funded Clay County Community Development Program (CCCDP), have been charged with "placing and detonating explosives" which scarred the Clay County courthouse here after officers reportedly received tips from two informants concerning the January incident.

Dist. Atty. Harvey Buck said Tuesday he and Clay County Atty. Andrew K. Naugle III signed the affidavits charging the six, including John Buffington, 29-year-old Negro activist and director of the CCCDP, with malicious mischief after the information was received Monday.

The arrests, by the West Point Police Department, were completed by Monday night and all six had been released on bond by 10 p.m. Monday.

Charged, in addition to Buffington, were Frankie Free, Buffington's assistant and manager of a credit union; John D. Brown, co-operative workshop director with CCCDP; Clarence Sikes, former student at Mississippi Valley State College; and John Thomas and Charles Williams, also closely affiliated with CCCDP.

Members of the Negro community raised the $3,000 bond required to free each of the six, pledging CCCDP property and some homes and farmlands as surety.

Under state law a malicious mischief conviction carries a maximum penalty of 12 months in jail or a payment of twice the value of property destroyed.

On the night of Jan. 26 a mass meeting of the Negro community was attended by about 800 persons in the recently completed gymnasium at Mary Holmes College. Most of the civil rights leaders in Clay County were present to hear Buffington tell of the previous night's burning of his CCCDP headquarters.

He and others, such as Clarence Simmons, a dean at Mary Holmes, and Mrs. Dora Adams, head of the local chapter of the National Welfare Rights Organization, called for an intensified economic boycott of white merchants in protest of school integration plans.

After the meeting, Buffington and about 12 other leaders held an impromtu press conference.

He was with members of the press and others when an explosion of still undertermined origin rocked West Point, breaking windows in buildings and leaving a small hole surrounded by scorch marks in the courthouse. Minutes after the 11 p.m. bombing, a white grocer was shot in the thigh by two still unidentified Negro men.

Samples of soil and debris from the bomb site were sent to the Federal Bureau of Investigation crime laboratory, but investigators were unable to determine the type of explosive used or the method of detonation, according to a report received by the sheriff.

Although the sheriff's department and a few anonymous individuals posted a $1,500 reward for information leading to the conviction of the bombers, nobody had stepped forward until Monday.

Mr. Buck said in light of information he had received Tuesday about Buffington being elsewhere at the time of the explosion, the affidavits would be amended. Although he declined comment on specifics, observers are saying that charges of conspiracy probably will be on the new affidavits expected this week.

West Point Police Chief Billy Busby declined comment to all questions, saying the matter was in Sheriff Virgil Middleton's jurisdiction.

Sheriff Middleton, who was present when bond was made, also declined comment, saying further information would not be released until the affidavits are amended.

John Buffington

Jon Thames, staff attorney for North Mississippi Rural Legal Services, who is representing the six, also advised his clients to withhold comment.

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If convicted, each man could receive a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a $5,000 fine.

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Jesse Pennington, another Legal Services worker, is establishing a defense committee which he says is "comprised of 12 prominent state and national attorneys."

Conspiracy Charges Filed Against 6 in Bombing Case

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

In an official announcement issued this morning by Clay County Sheriff Virgil Middleton the county officer reported that six West Point Negro men have been charged with "conspiracy to commit a crime, to wit, unlawful use of explosives" in connection with the bombing of the Clay County Court House, an event of January 26 of this year. The six Monday night arrests marked the first major breakthrough in the incident since the investigation began in January.

Arrested and charged are John Buffington, John D. Brown, Clifton Sykes, John Thomas Jr., Charles Williams, and Frankie Free. Buffington is director of the Mary Holmes College—sponsored Clay County Community Development Program, and the remaining five men are connected with the federally-funded CC-CDP. It is reported also that Sykes was a former student at Mississippi Valley State College.

Law enforcement officials involved in making the arrests and conducting initial questioning Monday included several members of the West Point Police Department, officers from the Clay County Sheriff's Department and a special investigator from the Mississippi Highway Patrol.

The first announcement of the arrests came late Tuesday afternoon from District Attorney Harvey Buck, who released the names of the six men and revealed that they had already been released on bond.

The arrests were prompted by "reliable information given to law enforcement officials Monday by informants" stated Sheriff Middleton. The sheriff went on to say that he had received sufficient evidence to warrant the arrests of the six men.

Monday evening Judge Euland Andrews set bond for each of the Negroes at $3,000. Property bonds for the release of the men were signed Monday night by the following persons: John Buffington, who signed four of the bond papers; Gerdine Chandler, who signed two bonds; John W. Jackson, who signed two bonds; Freddie Davis, who signed two of the bonds; and Clifton B. Whitney and Elvie Brown,

(Turn to Page FOURTEEN)

Charges

(Continued From Page One)

who signed one bond each.

A North Mississippi Rural Legal Services staff attorney, Jon Thames, is representing the six men.

The six men are now scheduled to appear April 20 before Judge Andrews for a justice hearing. Should they waive this justice hearing, they will be bound over to the July Grand Jury Term of Circuit Court.

The affidavits, signed by Clay County Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III, originally charged the six with malicious mischief, but those affidavits were later changed to the present "conspiracy to commit a crime" charge. District Attorney Buck reports that such a charge was formerly classified as a misdemeanor, but is now termed as a felony in this state.

When asked what this "conspiracy" charge could carry in case of a conviction, Buck quoted the statutes which say that the fine in the event of conviction will be not less than $500 and not more than $5,000, prison sentence will be not less than one year and not more than five years, or some combination of the specified fine and prison term.

Sheriff Middleton made clear the fact that the "conspiracy to commit a crime" charge does not mean that the six arrested men are charged with being responsible for placing and detonating the explosive which rocked the vicinity of the Clay County Court House in January, but that the men allegedly had some part in the planning of that crime.

Middleton also pointed out that these six men have not been charged in connection with the shooting incident which occurred at Billy's Pac'A-Sac, a West Point grocery store located on Highway 50 West, only minutes following the 10 p.m. blast at the north end of the Clay County Court House.

Billy Wilson, owner of the local grocery, reported to law enforcement officials that on the night of January 26 a blue 1965 Chevrolet drove in to the store parking lot, and two unidentified Negro men began firing shots into the grocery. Wilson was shot in the right hip during the shooting, but his injuries were not termed serious. As of this time, no arrests have been made in connection with this crime.

Three events of January 26 have prompted investigations conducted by city, county, state, and federal agencies. The first of these incidents was the fire which broke out in the Clay County Community Development Center in the early morning hours of that day. The interior of that building, located at 328 Cottrell Street, was destroyed by flames, but the West Point Fire Department managed to keep the blaze from destroying the exterior of the Center. The West Point Police Department, the Mississippi Highway Patrol, and an official from the State Fire Marshall's Office began immediately to investigate the possibility of arson in the case. No reports have been released and no charges have been placed in connection with the fire.

At approximately 9:55 p.m. on the night of January 26, downtown West Point shook with the explosion which shattered windows and glass doors of the Clay County Court House and several business firms in the vicinity of the Court Street and Jordan Avenue intersection.

Milling through the glass and debris in the streets that night, members of the Clay County Sheriff's Office, the West Point Police Department and the Mississippi Highway Patrol began full investigation of the bombing event. The next morning, January 27, an official from the Federal Bureau of Investigation office in Columbus gathered soil samples and other materials found around the bomb site which were sent to the FBI Laboratories in Washington, D. C. Several weeks later, Sheriff Middleton received the official FBI lab report which stated that their laboratories were unable to determine the type of explosive which was used in the bombing of the Court House.

The third incident of January 26 was the 10 p.m. shooting at Billy's Pac'A'Sac. It is still not known if the bombing and shooting were in any way connected. The time interval between the two acts of violence was not more than five minutes, according to a statement issued by the West Point Police Department on the morning of January 27.

Sheriff Middleton still urges anyone who can offer his department any information which might be pertinent to the investigation of the bombing to contact his office.

HOT LINE SPECIAL

POLICE INVADE HOMES AND ARREST SIX BLACKS

Monday night, six Black people were roused from their homes by West Point Police, arrested and charged with "maliscious mischief". Police claim the charges are associated with the January 26, bombing of the Clay County Courthouse.

Targets of Police arrest were five men, including director, John Buffington, who work for the Clay County Community Development Program, and a former Mississippi Valley State College student.

Although "maliscious mischief" is a misdemeanor, bail for the six totalled $18,000. Thanks to the committment and efforts of the Black Community, the outrageous bail of $3,000 each was raised and the victims of white racist law were released.

Those arrested are: Johnnie Thomas, Jr., John Brown, Clifton Sykes, Frankie Free, John Buffington and Charles Williams.

Trial date for the charges is set for April 20, 1970. One day away from the April 21 Federal Court hearings on the West Point School Board's desegregation plan.

By attempting to tie the hands of those most active in the struggle of Black people for their rights, racists hope to keep "their thing" going on Black people.

By frightening the Black Community with "midnight arrests" and high bail, they hope to keep Black people from realizing their power as a community of Black people and keep us down!

The white power structure of West Point is "flusterated" because they have not been able to find anyone to connect with the bombing. They want revenge on Black people for struggling for their rights. They are making a grand-stand play this time.

If they had proof then arrests would have been made earlier in the year. But they wait until this time, when Black people are about to enter into a court struggle for the minds and future of Black children, to raise questions, suspicious and confusion, among the Black Community and between Black and white.

The agitators are, and always have been "inside agitators". And they will continue their racist ractics as long as Black people struggle. Once Black people have won, they will be no more.

If attention can be drawn from the struggle of an entire community of Black people with the school desegregation crisis by the more dramatic trial of individuals; then the white controllers of this town will have a better opportunity to work their racist plans and exclude, and oppress the Black people of West Point.

A reward of $1,500 measely dollars was posted last week and no doubt, some rat smelled the cheese and ran to the white folks trying to get some of that money.

The school situation must be settled now. And all Black people should support the six victims of "white justice" and protest their arrest and harassment throughout their ordeal.

CLAY COUNTY COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
328 Cottrell Street - Phone 494-2169
WEST POINT, MISS. 39773

Five Are Bound Over to Action of Grand Jury

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

This morning Judge Euland Andrews ordered that the five Negro men charged with conspiracy in connection with the January 26 bombing of the Clay County Court House be bound over to the July term of the Clay County Grand Jury. The order was issued by Andrews at the close of the preliminary hearing for John Buffington, Frankie Free, John D. Brown, Charles Williams and Johnny Thomas Jr.

The first wintess called by the defense today was Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon, who was unavailable for testimony last Monday when the hearing began. The hearing was continued until today because of Harmon's absence at that time.

Harmon testified today that he was present when Andrew Young, who was a chief prosecution witness last Monday, was questioned on the night of April 6 by several law enforcement officers. Young was taken to the Clay County Jail on that date after he had been arrested here on charges of malicious mischief in connection with the Court House bombing.

Harmon stated today that during questioning, Young gave officers information which led to the arrest of six Negroes, five of whom are the defendants in the conspiracy case. The sixth man, Clifton Sykes, was released last Monday when his name was not mentioned in testimony given by Young.

Harmon said that when officers, led by West Point Police Chief Billy Busby, asked Young if he had any information concerning the bombing, Young asked, "If I tell, what's in it for me?" Busby then told Young that charges could result if he did not reveal information he had concerning the case. At the present time, Young is still charged with malicious mischief.

Today in court, Harmon stated that he had received information from "several other" unidentified sources which indicated that the five defendants were involved in planning the January bombing.

When defense attorney Armand Derfner asked Harmon if he had taken statements from theseother sources, Harmon refused to answer. And when asked if he had any memos or notes on such information, Harmon said he did not. However, Harmon testified that Sheriff Virgil Middleton knows about all of the other information supplied by the sources.

After a brief recess requested by the defense attorneys, Derfner asked that Andrew Young take the stand as an adverse witness. Judge Andrews said that because Young had testified as a State's witness last Monday and had been dismissed as a witness at that time, he did not feel that any further testimony from Young would sway the court's feelings in the cass.

When the court asked reasons for Young's being recalled to the stand, Derfner stated, "His testimony was untrue last Monday." Derfner went on to say that Young was prepared to present different testimony today which would indicate that the five defendants were in no way connected with the bombing incident.

Although District Attorney Harvey Buck and Clay County Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III had no objections to Young's taking the stand this morning, Judge Andrews over-

(Turn to Page TEN)

● Five

(Continued From Page One)

ruled the motion of the defense.

Following the hearing, Buck stated that the prosecution had no objections to hearing Young's revised testimony, because if his first statements were false, the prosecution wants to know.

Called to the stand next was Lawrence Ross, a Jackson attorney who has recently come to represent Young. He answered questions posed by the defense, and stated that he is familiar with the testimony given by Young last Monday. Ross testified that he (Ross) was with Young when the 21-year-old West Point Negro told FBI officials in Jackson last week that he gave false testimony during the preliminary hearing and that he had been harassed and intimidated by law enforcement officers in West Point.

Before resting its case, the defense asked that all affadiavits and warrants for the five defendants be submitted as evidence in the case. Judge Andrews granted the request.

When Derfner asked that the affadavit and warrant for Young be submitted, Andrews refused on the grounds that Young was not involved as a defendant in the case.

After hearing brief concluding statements from the prosecution and defense, Judge Andrews left the court room and returned in a few minutes with his decision that the men be bound over the Grand Jury. The Clay County Grand Jury term will convene on the second Monday of July this year.

Judge Andrews also ruled that the continuation of the present $3,000 bond for each of the men would be sufficient, and the amount of the bond was not changed.

Before leaving the court room Derfner said that as soon as he could get to a telephone, he would seek a temporary restraining order from the Federal Court which would prevent further prosecution of the men.

A suit aimed at preventing further prosecution of the five defendants in the case was filed Wednesday in Federal District Court in Aberdeen. The suit, naming the five charged men as plaintiffs and Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews as defendants charges that evidence against the five civil rights workers were "manufactured for punishing the plaintiffs for first-amendment-protected activities."

In the suit, the five Negroes "ask that the court grant immediate and permanent relief (A) enjoinging defendants from proceeding any further with the prosecution initiated against the plaintiffs on charges of conspiring to blow up the court house, (B) enjoining defendant Naugle from swearing to any further groundless charges against any of the plaintiffs."

It was made known in the summons received by Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews Wednesday that "each defendant is sued in his individual and in his official capacity."

Following the hearing this morning, District Attorney Buck said that he felt Andrews was justified in binding the men over to the Grand Jury. As Buck pointed out, the preliminary hearing is not set up to determine the guilt or innocence of the defendants. The court only found that there was sufficient evidence to indicate probable cause in the case. It will now be up to the Grand Jury to take any further action in the case.

Buck told this reporter today that he feels that the suit filed by the defendants in the conspiracy case is "premature, because they have not yet been tried." Buck brought out the fact that if the Grand Jury should refuse to indict the men, such action would bring an end to the whole matter.

Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews must file an answer to the court action within 20 days.

Many of the questions asked Ross by the defense were overruled on the grounds that answers would be hearsay. But when asked if Young was willing to testify again, Ross answered affirmatively and said, "He (Young) wants to tell the truth."

During cross examination, Buck asked the Jackson lawyer how and when he came to know Young. Ross said that after the first day of the preliminary hearing, he was contacted by some of Young's friends. Asked who brought Young to him, Ross said that such information was priviledged and confidential.

After a second motion from the defense asking Young be permitted to take the stand, Judge Andrews again ruled that he could not do so.

Ross then stood beside his chair at the defense table in the court room and asked that if Young should again be picked up for questioning by local officers, he, as Young's attorney, be notified. Buck intervened and said that if such a situation occurs, Ross would be notified if Young so desires.

Ross then implied that Young was denied the presence of an atting. However, it was brought out by Buck that Young had told officers that he did not want an attorney during the questioning on April 6.

REWARD FOR ARSONS

$500

FOR ANY INFORMATION LEADING TO THE ARREST AND CONVICTION OF THE PERSON OR PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE JANUARY 26, 1970, ARSON FIRE WHICH DESTROYED THE OFFICES OF THE CLAY COUNTY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

****

This reward is offered by the Clay County Community Development Program because of the continuing history of "white justice" for Black people.

Ever since Black people began to struggle for equal justice unde the law and the freedom to govern our own destinies; destruction, bru lity and murders have been leveled upon Black people by white racist assailants. These acts of violence and terror have been the experier of Black people all over this country. Here in Clay County, Missisi it is no different. CRIMES AGANIST BLACK PEOPLE GO UNAVENGED AND UNPUNISHED WHEN TRIED BY "WHITE JUSTICE."

ALL OF THE INCIDENTS AND CRIMES LISTED BELOW HAVE BEEN COMMITTEL IN CLAY COUNTY AGANIST BLACK PEOPLE AND BLACK COMMUNITIES. THEY ARE SEVERE AND VIOLENT ACTS FOR WHICH NO ONE HAS BEEN ARRESTED, OR CONVIC IN ALL THESE YEARS.

1964-The Shady Grove Baptist Church was burned to the ground but later rebuilt by the community. WHITE JUSTICE-NO JUSTICE-NO ARRESTS

1965-The Freedom House in the Section community was burned. NO ARRESTS.

The Freedom House in the Pheba community was shot up three times and received more than 60 bullet holes. NO JUSTICE.

The 3rd Union Baptist Church was burned. WHITE JUSTICE-NO ARRESTS.

1968-A Black man was killed by a white constable. NO CHARGES-NO JUSTICE.

1969-A Black youth was shot by a carload of white men right i West Point. Arrests were made in this case but if there have been convictions no one knows about them.

1970-The Griffith Day Care Center was shot up. NO JUSTICE

The Clay County Community Development Program building w burned by arsons. NO ARRESTS-NO JUSTICE.

A carload of white men attempted to assasinate a woman w only crime is to work for a day care center for her and others Black children. NO ARRESTS.

THESE CRIMES AGAINST BLACKS GO UNPUNISHED AND UNACKNOWLEDGED BY THE VERY SYSTEM OF JUSTICE THAT DEFINES THESE ACTS AS CRIMES. BUT YOU ALLO ONE SINGLE BLACK MAN TO EVEN CONTEMPLATE THE LEAST OF THESE ACTS AGANI SOMEONE OR SOMETHING WHITE AND THERE IS A SURE GUARANTEE THAT THE FLIG OF WHITE JUSTICE WILL BE SWIFT AND SEVERE.

THE CLAY COUNTY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM HAS POSTED THIS REWARD AND WILL SURRENDER IN CONFIDENCE THE REWARD TO ANYONE SUPPLYING

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI
EASTERN DIVISION

JOHN BUFFINGTON, ET AL	PLAINTIFFS
VS.	NO. EC7028 K
ANDREW K. NAUGLE, III ET AL	DEFENDANTS

DEPOSITION OF ANDREW DALE YOUNG taken in the above styled cause pursuant to the Federal rules of Civil Procedure, on Wednesday, May 6, 1970, at or about eleven o'clock a.m; in the offices of The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, 603 North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi, before Mrs. W. T. West, Jr. , Notary Public, Jackson, Mississippi.

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APPEARANCES

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Representing all of the Defendants

Hon. Lawernce D. Ross
Attorney at Law
Jackson, Mississippi
Counsel for the Deponent

STIPULATION

BY MR. DERFNER:

This is a deposition pursuant to notice and order of Andrew Dale Young in the case of Buffington vs. Naugle. It is a deposition pursuant to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, and in accordance with those rules all objections save those as to the form of the question may be saved until the time of the trail. However, signature of the deponent is not waived.

ANDREW DALE YOUNG

having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. DERFNER:

Q What is your name, please?

A Andrew Dale Young.

Q Where do you live?

A Apartment B 12, Jim James Court.

Q In West Point?

A Yes.

Q How old are you?

A Twenty-one.

Q When was your birthday?

A November 29, 1948.

Q How far did you go in school?

A Went to the tenth.

Q Have you ever testified in a case involving an alleged bombing of a courthouse in West Point?

A Yes sir.

Q And would that have been two weeks ago on Monday?

A Yes sir.

Q In the courthouse in West Point?

A Yes.

Q. Do you remember roughtly the testimony you gave there at that time?

A Yes.

Q Did you testify that you had heard John Buffington and a number of other people plotting to bomb the courthouse?

A Yes.

Q And did you testify that you had heard them at least three times during the day the courthouse was bombed?

A Yes.

Q Was that testimony true or false?

A False.

Q Did you, in fact, ever hear John Buffington or anyone else talk about bombing the courthouse?

A No.

Q Now you testified there as I recall that you carried Charles Williams to a meeting along about six o'clock or a little bit before in the evening. Was that true?

A No.

Q You testified that when you carried him there you carried him to what is known as "the old record shop" and that you went around to a window and heard Buffington and some other people talking about bombing the courthouse. Was that true?

A No.

Q And you testified that you heard earlier that day Buffington and some of the other people in Church's Cafe talking about bombing the courthouse. Was that true?

A No.

Q You testified about dinner time while you were off working on Cottrell Street that you again heard Buffington and some of the other people talking about bombing the courthouse. Was that true?

A No.

Q Now I believe you also testified that you yourself had been arrested or picked up in connection with the bombing. Was that true?

A Yes.

Q Was that on April 6?

A Yes.

Q Who picked you up on that day?

A Collins and Owens and Otis.

Q Are those three black?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember who did most of the questioning?

A The Police Chief.

Q Chief Busby?

A Yes.

Q Who else was there?

A Mr. Busby and Mr. James Fowler.

Q James Fowler? The City Detective?

A Yes.

Q Who else?

A Br. Bowen.

Q Howard Bowen?

A Right?

Q The Highway Patrolman?

A Yes.

Q Who else was there?

A Mr. Harmon.

Q Jesse Harmon, the Deputy Sheriff?

A Yes.

Q Was anybody else there for a long time?

A Judge Andrews.

Q Was he there for a long time or was he in and out?

A He was there for a long time.

Q Did he go out at some points.

A Yes.

Q Who else was there?

A That was all.

Q Was Mr. Naugle, the County Attorney, there?

A No.

Q Do you see Mr. Naugle here today?

A Yes.

Q Is he the man sitting next to your lawyer, Mr. Ross?

A Yes.

Q Was he there that night at all?

A No.

Q What kinds of questions were you asked?

A They asked did I know anything about the bombing of the courthouse, and I told them no, I had a wreck that night?

Q A wreck.

A A wreck. And they said did I know something about the bombing, that I was the lookout man in the bombing, and I told them I wasn't, and they told me did I want to take the blame for somebody else and go to prison for five years, and I told them no, that I didn't know nothing about it, and then they told me that if I didn't testify you know, what I know - they said that I know who did it and and all and I told them I didn't, and they said I'd go to prison and then I got afraid and I told a false.

Q Now while you were there did you see any arrest warrants or affidavits?

A Yeah, they showed me the arrest for my arrest and they said that they had the arrest warrants for Frankie Free and John Thomas and Charles Williams.

Q Did they show you anyone else?

A John Buffington.

Q Anyone else?

A Clifton Sykes.

Q Anyone else?

A John Buffington, Frankie Free, Charles Williams, John Thomas, Clifton Sykes.

Q Did they mention John Brown?

A Yes.

Q And you saw warrants of affidavits already made out for those people?

A I told them someof them - you know,made a false on some of them, and some of them they said they already had.

Q Did they suggest those names to you?

A Yes.

Q In other words, they told you who you were to accuse?

A Yes.

Q You didn't think those names up out of your own head?

A Some of them I thought up and some of them they said they already had.

Q Had they mentioned all of these names that you mentioned to you first?

A Not all of them. Some of them.

Q How long did that questioning go on?

A I don't know. It was about, I imagine, about seven because me and my father we had got off work and I had taken him down to the Charity Club to pay some dues and get some gas. I imagine it was about ten o'clock.

Q Did you say that they had warrants of affidavits already prepared for all these people?

A Yes.

Q Now when did they let you go?

A I imagine around about ten.

Q And did you go home with your father?

A Yes.

Q Did they tell you anything as you left?

A No.

Q When was the next time that you saw or talked to any of those men? The men that were there that night?

A It was one day the Highway Patrolman came by and told me to come by the jailhouse that night.

Q Do you remember when that was? About how long after you were picked up did that happen?

A. About a week after or two weeks.

Q And when you say "the Highway Patrolman" would that be Howard Bowen?

A Yes.

Q What did he tell you?

A He said to come by the courthouse.

Q Who wanted to see you? Did he say?

A He didn't say. He just told me to come up there that night.

Q Told you to come up there that night? And did you go up there?

A No.

Q Why didn't you go?

A I jsut didn't go.

Q And when was the next time you saw or talked to any of these people?

A I think it was one night up at the Truck Stop.

Q Do you recall when this was?

A I think it was on a Friday night.

Q Was that before the hearing when you testified?

A Yes.

Q And who picked you up that night?

A I think it was Mr.-- The Deputy Sheriff - I can't think of his name.

Q Would that be Jesse Harm n?

A Yes.

Q Did he tell you anything?

A Told me to come back up there. He told me did I know what I was supposed to say in court.

Q In other words, he asked you if you knew what you were supposed to say?

A Yes.

Q And what did you answer?

A I told him yes.

Q And did he do anything or say anything else?

A No.

Q You say he picked you up at the Truck Stop?

A Yes.

Q Did he carry you anywhere?

A Yeah, I went down to the county jail.

Q And was anybody else there?

A No.

Q How long were you there with him?

A About fifteen minutes.

Q And then you left?

A Yes.

Q Did he carry you back or did you go on back yourself?

A He taken me back up to the Truck Stop.

Q And when was the next time you saw any of these people?

A I didn't see nobody else until court time.

Q The day of the hearing?

A Yes.

Q Did you see any of these people or talk to them before the hearing?

A After he picked me up off my job and taken me up to the City Hall.

Q Who Picked you up off your job?

A Charles Hammond and Collins and Owens.

Q Those are black policemen?

A Yes.

Q You say they picked you up off your job?

A Yeah, they came and got me, picked me up.

Q About what time?

A It was about eleven, something to it.

Q Where was this that they picked you up?

A I was out working at the golf course.

Q And did they say anything to you then?

A No, they just picked me up and locked me up until the trial started.

Q And while you were locked up did anybody come and talk to you?

A No. In a few minutes they came and taken me over to the Judge's Chambers.

Q And what happened there?

A We were setting down in there - ain't got time for you to go in the courtroom - and I told the man that I had told them that I didn't know nothing about it, and he told me that I had gone that far I might as well go ahead on.

Q Who was this you were talking to?

A I was talking to the Chief of Police and Harmon.

Q Cheif Busby and Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon?

A Yes.

Q Well, what did they say to you?

A They came in and said that it was time to go up there. I told them that I couldn't go up there, that I didn't know anything about it, and they said I had gone that far I might as well go the rest of the way.

Q Do you remember who told you that?

A That was Mr. Harmon and Chief Busby.

Q Did they touch you any way?

A I got ready to go upstairs and then I stopped and they pushed me upstairs.

Q Who pushed you?

A Both of them pushed me.

Q Did you want to go home?

A Yes.

Q Did you feel you would be allowed to go home, that you could go home?

A No.

Q Did they say anything about what would happen to you if you didn't go on?

A No, they didn't say anything.

Q Did you talk to anybody else before you went into court?

A I talked to him.

Q Which one is "him"? The man in the glasses?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Naugle, the County Attorney. When was that?

A That was during the time I was in the Judge's Chambers.

Q Back of the courtroom?

A Yes.

Q What was that conversation about?

A He told me that if I didn't go ahead and say, you know, go to the witness stand, that Charlie Williams and them would be killed by the Klu Klux Klan.

Q Did he say anything else?

A No sir.

Q Did he say how he knew that they would be killed by the Klan?

A No, he just said he knew.

Q Did he say you should go on and testify?

A Yes.

Q Had you ever been told by anyone that if you changed your story or said that they weren't involved you would go to prison yourself?

A They asked me did I want to take the blame for somebody else and go to prison for five years.

Q After you told the story that night when you were picked up did anyone ever tell you that if you changed your story you would go to prison for perjury, for lying?

A No sir.

Q The night you were picked up and brought down to the station do you remember Mr. Buck being there at all? Was he in and out or was he there at any time?

A My father went to sign the bond. He was over in the Judge's Chamber.

Q That was that night?

A Yes sir.

Q And was Mr.Buck there?

A Yes sir.

Q Was Mr. Naugle there?

A I didn't see him.

Q Did you see Mr. Naugle at all that night?

A No.

Q Now what you have told today id different from what you told at the hearing two weeks ago. Do you know that?

A Yes.

Q And which is true? Is the story you told today true or is the story you told two weeks ago true? Which is the truth?

A All of it true - what I told the FBI man and what I told here.

Q Was it true what you said in Judge's Andrews' Court two weeks ago?

A No.

Q Why are you telling the truth here today?

A Because I want to tell the truth.

BY MR. DERFNER:

I don't have any further questions.

CROSS EXAMINATION

BY MR. BUCK:

Q Mr. Andrews - Mr. Young, do you recall me talking to you briefly on a couple of occasions, possibly that night when your daddy came there and signed the bond and before you went on the witness stand in the Judge's Chambers? Do you recall talking to me on those occasions?

A Yes.

Q And didn't I tell you on both of those occasions that all I wanted you to do was to tell the truth?

A Yes.

Q And didn't I sit down with you and your father in his presence and tell you that I didn't want you to implicate anybody unless you were absolutely sure and we went over the list and you told me that you weren't sure about Clifton Sykes, and I said, "well, if you are not sure, don't implicate him and we will strike him off the list". Is that the very words I told you?

A Yes.

Q Now, the night you said you saw the affidavits and warrants did they show you every affidavit and warrant they had or did they just say, "We have got some other affidavits and warrants"?

A They said who they had and showed the affidavits.

Q Do you recall who they said?

A They said they already had the names what I had said - Charles Williams and John Buffington.

Q Well now, you said that you made up some of those?

A I did make up some of them.

Q Do you remember which ones you made up?

A It was John Thomas and Clifton Sykes and Frankie Free.

Q You gave the police those three names?

A Yes sir.

Q Andrew, did the police or any of them at any time mistreat you? I mean mishandle you or hit you? Or make any type of threat of physiacl violence to you?

A No sir, just pushed me, that's all, when I got ready to go upstairs to the courtroom.

Q Now when was it that Mr. Naugle came back and talked with you? Where were you then?

A I was in the Judges Chambers.

Q Was anybody else present?

A No sir.

Q Mr. Naugle came back there by himself?

A He was already in the room.

Q And what did he tell you know, if you can remember the exact words?

A He said that if I didn't go ahead on and testify that Charlie Williams and them would be killed by the Klu Klux Klan.

Q And this was shortly before you were going on the stand?

A Yes sir.

Q But you had already decided to go on the stand anyway, hadn't you?

A Yes sir.

Q Now after that night - you testified you were there from approximately seven until about ten - after that and before the trail Mr. Bowen told you to come down to the jail one time but you didn't go?

A No sir.

Q And then before the trail Mr. Harmon picked you up at the Truck Stop?

A Yes sir.

Q What Truck Stop was that?

A Red Top Truck Stop.

Q And you rode down to the jail with him and ya'll talked about fifteen minutes?

A Yes sir.

Q And then he carried you back to the Truck Stop?

A Yes sir.

Q And other than that no police officer or any official attempted to contact you or talk to you in any way from the date that you gave the original statement until the day of the trial?

A No sir.

Q Now when we were talking and couldn't remember about Clifton Sykes, Mr. Young, if you weren't telling the truth - I mean, if you were going to lie on five, what difference would it make about lying on the sixth person? Why didn't you just go ahead and leave Clifton Sykes in with the other five if you were lying on them anyway?

A No sir.

Q You don't know?

A No sir.

Q Nobody has ever threatened you at any time about going to the penitentiary about telling a lie or perjury?

A No sir.

Q Now isn't it a fact that what they said on that occasion was that if you had information and withheld that information that possibly you could go to the penitentiary for that?

A Yes sir.

Q That's what they told you?

A Yes.

Q All right. Did any of these colored officers - Hammond or Collins or Owens - any of them - ever mistreat you in any way?

A Just at the service station. They padded me down and I told them "let me go give my father the keys so I can move my car out from under the gas pumps" and they wouldn't let me do it. They pushed me.

Q Who was that now?

A Collins and Owens and Otis.

Q But they didn't hurt you?

A No sir.

Q Now isn't it a fact that you never told police officers anything about overhearing the breakfast conversation? You never did tell them that, did you?

A No sir.

Q When did you make that up? While you were on the stand?

A Yes sir.

Q Well, why did you tell that when you wouldn't have had to since you had never told the police officers that story?

A Because I was afraid I just went on and made it up.

Q Well, what about the afternoon meeting around noon? Had you told the police officers about that?

A No sir.

Q You just made that up on the stand, too, while you were on cross examination?

A Yes sir.

Q Actually all you told the police officers was that you carried Charlie Williams down to the meeting and tried to get in, they wouldn't let you in, and you went around to the side and listened through the door or supposed to be a door?

A Yes sir.

Q A door which had been boarded up or something and you overheard them at that time?

A Yes sir.

Q That's all you had told us prior to the trial?

A Yes sir.

Q And the rest of it you made up while you were on the witness stand, is that correct?

A Yes sir.

Q Now, Mr. Young, after the trial on that first day who contacted you about whether or not you were telling the truth or not, whether or not you wanted to change your story?

BY MR. DERFNER:

We object to that on the ground that it goes beyound the scope of the examination.

BY MR. BUCK:

Well, your objection will be noted in the record.

Q Who contacted you about changing your story after the hearing?

BY MR. ROSS:

I am going to instruct him not to answer.

BY MR. BUCK:

Let me clarify the question.

Q Mr. Young, did anybody contact you after that hearing we had that day?

A No.

Q Did you leave West Point and go to Jackson that day?

A Yes.

Q Did you contact somebody?

A No.

Q How did you go to Jackson?

A My mother contacted.

Q Who carried you to Jackson?

A I went with Mr. Derfner.

Q Anybody else go with you?

A I can't call his name.

Q Was it another attorney, if you know?

A I don't know.

Q Did anybody else go?

A No.

Q Did you want to go?

A Yes.

Q Had you told your mother to contact somebody?

A No, my mother came and talked to me and then she contacted.

Q Did your father know about this?

A Yes.

Q Did you tell your mother that you had gotten up on the witness stand and lied about these defendants?

A Yes.

Q Did your mother or your father accompany you to Jackson?

A No.

Q Were any types of threats made to you in order to get you to change your story?

A No.

Q Now, Mr. Young, I believe that when you first came to the courtroom you told me at that time that you didn't want to testify because you were scared, is that correct?

A Yes sir.

Q And I told you I would see what we could do.

A Yes.

Q And that we might dismiss it without perjudice which I talked to Mr. Derfner about at the time, and didn't you tell me you were scared because somebody had put sugar in your gas tank and somebody has shot at you? Now, was this true or false?

A True.

Q Somebody had put sugar in your gas tank and somebody had shot at you - that's truth?

A Yes sir.

Q And due to that you were afraid to get up ther and testify?

A Yes sir, I was afraid to get up ther and testify to that and I was afraid to get up there and testify to a false.

Q Now was any of this that you testified to the truth during that day?

A No sir.

Q You didn't carry Charlie Williams anywhere that night in your taxi?

A No sir.

Q I believe you did testify that you had a wreck and went to the hospital. Was that the truth?

A Yes sir.

BY MR. BUCK:

That's all.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. DERFNER:

Q Andrew, was one of the people who went with you in the car to Jackson Roger McFarland?

A Yes.

Q Is he an old friend of yours? An old friend of the family?

A Yes.

Q Did a lawyer named John Thames drive the car?

A Yes.

Q Did he do anything besides drive?

A No.

Q As far as you know, did he go right back to West Point?

A Yes.

Q Now whe you were being questioned that night you said James Fowler was there?

A Yes.

Q Was he taking notes?

A Yes.

Q Did he take a lot of notes?

A Yes.

Q Did he show you any of his notes or stick them in your face?

A No.

Q Could you tell how much notes he was taking? Do you have any idea? Did he take five or six pages or so?

A Three or four sheets I imagine he Had.

Q And you remember at the hearing when I first asked you about those notes and you said something like what you have just said and then you remember that there were some objections and you remember that there was some talk about how he had only taken down a couple of names and then did you then change your story in the courtroom and say he just took down some names?

A Yes.

Q When you changed your story, did you change it to a lie?

A Yes.

Q And did you do that because Fowler had said that he didn't have the pages of note?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Buck just asked a few minutes ago when you talked to Mr. Naugle about him saying that the Klan was going to kill Williams. Mr. Buck asked you if you had alread decided to go on the stand. Was this after Deputy Harmon and Chief Busby had pushed you up the stairs and said you might as well go forward?

A Yes sir.

Q Now you mentioned also that you gave the police some names that night. Was this before or after they mentioned those names to you? Did they mention those names to you first?

A I mentioned to them and then they showed me the warrants and said they already had the warrants?

Q But they mentioned some names to you before anything started?

A Yeah.

Q Now you also told Mr. Buck -- He asked you some questions about whether anybody had ever mistreated you or hit you or anything like that, and you said except for a couple of instances which you mentioned that nobody had mistreated you. Were you afraid, though,

of what would happen to you if you didn't tell their story?

A Yes.

Q What did you think might happen?

A Maybe I would get killed or something.

Q This is if you didn't tell the story the police wanted you to tell?

A Yes.

Q You say they said they already had information on these people?

A Yes sir.

Q Did they tell you what they had?

A No, they said they couldn't tell me?

Q Have they ever told you what information that they had?

A No, they just said that they already had who bombed it after I had already told them. Those were the names they said they already had.

Q And you said that Judge Andrews was there part of the time?

A Yes sir.

Q Did he ever say anything?

A No sir.

Q And you answered Mr. Buck that you remember his being there later on when you were bonded out. That was that same evening?

A Yes sir.

Q Do you remember if Naugle was there at any time that evening?

A No sir, he wasn't there.

Q Was he in the room with the Deputy Sheriff and Patrolman Bowen and Chief Busby?

A No sir.

Q Did you see him at all that day or night?

A No sir, I didn't see him.

Q Did you see him before that time?

A No sir.

Q Did you see him after that time?

A No, not during that time when I got picked up.

Q Did you see him at any time that time right before court?

A No, just in the Judges" Chambers.

Q That was on Monday morning?

A Yes.

Q You didn't see him at all the night you got picked up?

A No.

BY MR. DERFNER:

I have no further questions.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION

BY MR. BUCK:

Q Mr Young, Mr. Derfner has referred to your telling this story as "their" story. Now the police didn't make up this story about you picking Charlie Williams up and carrying him down there. You made that up, didn't you?

A Yeah, I made that up.

BY MR. BUCK:

That's all I have.

RE-RE DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. DERFNER:

Q Was it your idea to accuse these people in the first place or was that their idea, the police and the Sheriff?

A To accuse them.

Q Yes. In other words, the first idea of saying that these people were involved at all. I am not talking about the details or who made up the story about carrying him down there. Was it your idea or their idea to accuse these people?

A To say who did it.

Q Yeah.

A No.

Q It was their idea.

A Talking about what they made me say it?

Q Well, let me go back a minute. You say that you made up the story about carrying Charles Williams?

A Yes.

Q And you made up the story about listening in the cafe?

A Yes.

Q And about hearing at dinner time?

A Yes.

Q So you made up the details, but was it your original idea or was it the idea of the people who were questioning you to tell a story that involved these people?

A I just made all of it up.

Q Was it their idea to have you accuse these people in the first place?

A No, they never did say.

Q Did they say they already had warrants for these people?

A Yes.

Q And they wanted information about these people?

A Yes.

Q Did they say they wanted to know about these people being involved in the bombing?

A Yes.

Q Did you know what kind of story they were after?

A No.

Q Did you know that you were supposed to accuse these people?

A I just go afraid because they said I was going to prison if I didn't tell him.

BY MR. DERFNER:

I don't have any further questions.

BY MR. ROSS:

I would like to ask a couple of questions.

BY MR. ALLIAN:

I don't think it's appropriate for the counsel for the witness to ask questions.

BY MR. BUCK:

Let the record show that we object to any questions of this witness by his counsel.

BY MR. ROSS:

I would just make a statement that the sole reason I am asking any questions is because my client - there is a possibility that my client may be charged with perjury, and therefore I think it is necessary for me to clairfy a couple of points.

Q Mr. Young, on the day following the preliminary hearing when you testified, did you make a statement to the FBI?

A Yes.

Q And was the statement substantially the same as what you have testified to today?

A Yes.

Q And has what you told me been substantially the same as what you told the FBI and what you have said here today?

A Yes.

Q Now when you made your statement to the FBI were you afraid at all?

A When I made my statement?

Q When you were talking to the FBI were you afraid?

A No.

Q And were you giving that testimony freely and voluntarily?

A Yes.

Q Now you testified that you were picked up on three different occasions, once when you were arrested, once I believe you said on Friday night, and then the day of the first hearing?

A Yes.

Q On any of those occasions did you go voluntarily to the jail?

A Talking about the first time I got picked up.

Q Yes. You went voluntarily? Did you want to go or had you been arrested?

A No, I didn't want to go?

Q Now how about the second time when they came by the Truck Stop, did you want to go?

A No.

Q And the third time when they picked you up on the day of the preliminary hearing did you want to go?

A No.

Q And on each of those occasions is the reason that you said what you said because you were afraid?

A Yes.

BY MR. ROSS:

No further questions.

BY MR. DERFNER:

I have no further questions.

BY MR. BUCK:

I have no further questions. I would like the record to show that we further object to these questions because they are for the sole purpose of bolstering the witness' testimony.

THUS CONCLUDES THE DEPOSITION OF ANDREW DALE YOUNG

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF CLAY

I hereby certify that I have read the foregoing transcript of my testimony taken Wednesday, May 6, 1970, at Jackson, Mississippi, and find it to be true and correct, to the best of my knowledge and remembrance.

_____

Witnessed by:

_____

_____

C E R T I F I C A T E

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF HINDS

I, the undersigned Mrs. W. T. West, Jr., Notary Public in and for the County of Hinds, State of Mississippi, do hereby certify that the foregoing pages constitute a true and correct copy of the testimony taken by me and transcribed by me, same consisting of the deposition of Andrew Dale Young in Cause No. EC7028 K, said deposition having been taken at the time and place hereinbefore mentioned.

Witness my signature this the 7th day of May 1970.

_____

NOTARY PUBLIC

VISITED BY DEFENSE

Conspiracy Witness May Have Changed His Story

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

Andrew Young, the 21-year-old Negro who was the chief prosecution witness Monday during the preliminary hearing for the five Negro men charged with conspiracy in connection with the January 26 bombing of the Clay County Court House, is reported to be in Jackson where he has allegedly signed a statement which would indicate that he gave false testimony during the hearing.

According to information received by District Attorney Harvey Buck, Young was taken to Jackson sometime late Monday following the hearing. Buck stated this morning that it is not definately known at this time if Young has changed his account of the story he told the court under oath Monday.

Buck reported to the Times Leader early this afternoon that in a conversation this morning between himself and Jon Thames, of North Mississippi Rural Legal Services in West Point, Thames told Buck that he accompanied Young to Jackson on Monday.

When asked if Young's presence in Jackson is significant to the case, Buck said, "Yes, if Young has changed his story, and I understand that he has, this alters his effectiveness as a state's witness. But we do not yet know just what effect this will have on the case as a whole."

Buck also reported that if Young has changed his account of the events of January 26, he could be charged with purjery. Purjery, testifying falsely under oath, carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison.

Unidentified sources told the district attorney that attorneys for the defense, headed by Armand Derfner of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee in Jackson, visited Young's home following the Monday hearing. Young was then persuaded to go to Jackson.

Young did not consult with local law enforcement authorities or with either the district attorney or county prosecuting attorney before making the trip.

At the preliminary hearing, Judge Euland Andrews requested the police department place Young under protective custody. When members of the West Point Police Department made a check at Young's home following the hearing, they found that Young had already departed for Jack-

(Turn to Page SIXTEEN)

● Young

(Continued From Page One)

son.

Buck stated this morning that he considers the defense attorneys' visit to the Young home "highly irregular."

Buck was told by the unnamed sources that Young is now saying that he was harassed and intimated by local law enforcement officials during questioning on the night of April 6. On that date, Young was arrested on a charge of malicious mischief in connection with the January 26 Court House explosion. Following questioning conducted by officers from the West Point Police Department and the Clay County Sheriff's Office, Young was released.

Later in the evening of April 6, Buffington, Free, Brown, Williams, Thomas and Sykes were arrested on charges of malicious mischief in connection with the bombing. Each of the men was released on $3,000 bond.

Affidavits were later changed to read that the men were charged with conspiracy to commit a crime. Affidavits were signed by County Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III.

During Young's testimony on Monday he stated that on three occasions on the day of January 26 he had heard various numbers of the six men originally charged with conspiracy plotting to bomb the court house.

Young, who was on the stand for two hours, gave the names of John Buffington, Frankie Free, John D. Brown, Charles Williams and Johnny Thomas Jr. Charges against Clifton Sykes, one of the six originally charged, were dismissed at the request of Buck on the grounds that Sykes was not mentioned in Young's testimony.

Virtually all of Young's time on the witness stand Monday was spent answering the cross-examination questions posed to him by Derfner. At no time during the cross-examination period did Derfner ask Young if he had been harassed or intimidated, nor did Young relate any such incident.

District Attorney Buck raised only a few objections during the questioning, and he says that he approved of the long cross-examination "because if Young was not telling the truth, the prosecution wanted to know."

The hearing for the five men will be continued next Thursday in the Clay County Court House. The continuation was requested by defense attorneys when they found that Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon, whom they wanted to take the stand, was out of town and could not appear Monday afternoon.

Five Are Bound Over to Action of Grand Jury

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

This morning Judge Euland Andrews ordered that the five Negro men charged with conspiracy in connection with the January 26 bombing of the Clay County Court House be bound over to the July term of the Clay County Grand Jury. The order was issued by Andrews at the close of the preliminary hearing for John Buffington, Frankie Free, John D. Brown, Charles Williams and Johnny Thomas Jr.

The first wintess called by the defense today was Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon, who was unavailable for testimony last Monday when the hearing began. The hearing was continued until today because of Harmon's absence at that time.

Harmon testified today that he was present when Andrew Young, who was a chief prosecution witness last Monday, was questioned on the night of April 6 by several law enforcement officers. Young was taken to the Clay County Jail on that date after he had been arrested here on charges of malicious mischief in connection with the Court House bombing.

Harmon stated today that during questioning, Young gave officers information which led to the arrest of six Negroes, five of whom are the defendants in the conspiracy case. The sixth man, Clifton Sykes, was released last Monday when his name was not mentioned in testimony given by Young.

Harmon said that when officers, led by West Point Police Chief Billy Busby, asked Young if he had any information concerning the bombing, Young asked, "If I tell, what's in it for me?" Busby then told Young that charges could result if he did not reveal information he had concerning the case. At the present time, Young is still charged with malicious mischief.

Today in court, Harmon stated that he had received information from "several other" unidentified sources which indicated that the five defendants were involved in planning the January bombing.

When defense attorney Armand Derfner asked Harmon if he had taken statements from theseother sources, Harmon refused to answer. And when asked if he had any memos or notes on such information, Harmon said he did not. However, Harmon testified that Sheriff Virgil Middleton knows about all of the other information supplied by the sources.

After a brief recess requested by the defense attorneys, Derfner asked that Andrew Young take the stand as an adverse witness. Judge Andrews said that because Young had testified as a State's witness last Monday and had been dismissed as a witness at that time, he did not feel that any further testimony from Young would sway the court's feelings in the cass.

When the court asked reasons for Young's being recalled to the stand, Derfner stated, "His testimony was untrue last Monday." Derfner went on to say that Young was prepared to present different testimony today which would indicate that the five defendants were in no way connected with the bombing incident.

Although District Attorney Harvey Buck and Clay County Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III had no objections to Young's taking the stand this morning, Judge Andrews over-

(Turn to Page TEN)

● Five

(Continued From Page One)

ruled the motion of the defense.

Following the hearing, Buck stated that the prosecution had no objections to hearing Young's revised testimony, because if his first statements were false, the prosecution wants to know.

Called to the stand next was Lawrence Ross, a Jackson attorney who has recently come to represent Young. He answered questions posed by the defense, and stated that he is familiar with the testimony given by Young last Monday. Ross testified that he (Ross) was with Young when the 21-year-old West Point Negro told FBI officials in Jackson last week that he gave false testimony during the preliminary hearing and that he had been harassed and intimidated by law enforcement officers in West Point.

Before resting its case, the defense asked that all affadavits and warrants for the five defendants be submitted as evidence in the case. Judge Andrews granted the request.

When Derfner asked that the affadavit and warrant for Young be submitted, Andrews refused on the grounds that Young was not involved as a defendant in the case.

After hearing brief concluding statements from the prosecution and defense, Judge Andrews left the court room and returned in a few minutes with his decision that the men be bound over the Grand Jury. The Clay County Grand Jury term will convene on the second Monday of July this year.

Judge Andrews also ruled that the continuation of the present $3,000 bond for each of the men would be sufficient, and the amount of the bond was not changed.

Before leaving the court room Derfner said that as soon as he could get to a telephone, he would seek a temporary restraining order from the Federal Court which would prevent further prosecution of the men.

A suit aimed at preventing further prosecution of the five defendants in the case was filed Wednesday in Federal District Court in Aberdeen. The suit, naming the five charged men as plaintiffs and Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews as defendants charges that evidence against the five civil rights workers were "manufactured for punishing the plaintiffs for first-amendment-protected activities."

In the suit, the five Negroes "ask that the court grant immediate and permanent relief (A) enjoinging defendants from proceeding any further with the prosecution initiated against the plaintiffs on charges of conspiring to blow up the court house, (B) enjoining defendant Naugle from swearing to any further groundless charges against any of the plaintiffs."

It was made known in the summons received by Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews Wednesday that "each defendant is sued in his individual and in his official capacity."

Following the hearing this morning, District Attorney Buck said that he felt Andrews was justified in binding the men over to the Grand Jury. As Buck pointed out, the preliminary hearing is not set up to determine the guilt or innocence of the defendants. The court only found that there was sufficient evidence to indicate probable cause in the case. It will now be up to the Grand Jury to take any further action in the case.

Buck told this reporter today that he feels that the suit filed by the defendants in the conspiracy case is "premature, because they have not yet been tried." Buck brought out the fact that if the Grand Jury should refuse to indict the men, such action would bring an end to the whole matter.

Buck, Naugle, Middleton and Andrews must file an answer to the court action within 20 days.

Many of the questions asked Ross by the defense were overruled on the grounds that answers would be hearsay. But when asked if Young was willing to testify again, Ross answered affirmatively and said, "He (Young) wants to tell the truth."

During cross examination, Buck asked the Jackson lawyer how and when he came to know Young. Ross said that after the first day of the preliminary hearing, he was contacted by some of Young's friends. Asked who brought Young to him, Ross said that such information was priviledged and confidential.

After a second motion from the defense asking Young be permitted to take the stand, Judge Andrews again ruled that he could not do so.

Ross then stood beside his chair at the defense table in the court room and asked that if Young should again be picked up for questioning by local officers, he, as Young's attorney, be notified. Buck intervened and said that if such a situation occurs, Ross would be notified if Young so desires.

Ross then implied that Young was denied the presence of an attorney. However, it was brought out by Buck that Young had told officers that he did not want an attorney during the questioning on April 6.

BY ANDREW YOUNG

Testimony Repudiated

By MARY TOM WATTS
Staff Writer

Andrew Young, in an official statement taken from him in Jackson Wednesday, stated that information which he gave during the preliminary hearing for five men charged with conspiracy in connection with the bombing of the Clay County Court House was false.

District Attorney Harvey Buck said this morning, however, that Young indicated in the deposition that he was not harassed or intimidated by local law enforcement officials and that the false statements he had made in the preliminary hearing were not prompted by anything said or done by local officers.

Buck, along with Sheriff Virgil Middleton, Prosecuting Attorney Andrew Naugle III and Justice of the Peace Euland Andrews, was present when the deposition was taken from Young at the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee office in Jackson.

Young's statement was taken as he was questioned by Armand Derfner, of the LCDC, and as the cross examination questions were posed to Young by Buck.

Following cross examination, Lawrence Ross, the LCDC attorney representing Young, asked the 21-year-old West Point Negro several questions to which District Attorney Buck objected. The objections were made on the grounds that the questions were not pertinent to the deposition.

In the deposition taken Wednesday morning, Young contradicted his earlier court statement in which he said he had heard John Buffington, Frankie Free, John D. Brown, Charles Williams, and Johnny Thomas Jr. conspiring to bomb the Clay County Court House on January 26.

The five Negro civil rights workers were bound over to the action of the Clay County Grand Jury at the close of their preliminary hearing April 30.

The statement taken from Young this week will be turned over to the District Federal Court in Aberdeen and will be used as evidence in a federal court civil suit aimed at preventing further prosecution of the five Negro men. The suit names John Buffington and others as plaintiffs and Andrew K. Naugle III and others as defendants.

The Wednesday deposition was ordered by federal Judge William C. Keady at the request of the attorneys for Buffington and the other plaintiffs in the civil suit.

In the second and final day of the preliminary hearing last Thursday, attorneys for the five charged men attempted to call Young back to the witness stand on the grounds he was ready to testify that the story he first gave during the hearing was false.

Judge Andrews refused to allow Young to take the stand again on the basis that he had been dismissed as a witness in the hearing, and that, in the court's opinion, Young was still a state's witness in the case.

Young was taken to Jackson on the afternoon of April 20 after the close of the first day of the preliminary hearing. Jon Thames, in a telephone conversation with District Attorney Buck stated that he carried Young to Jackson. Thames is an at-

(Turn to Page TEN)

Young

(Continued From Page One)

torney with North Mississippi Rural Legal Services here in West Point.

Officers of the West Point Police Department arrested Young on a charge of malicious mischief on the night of April 6. Later in the evening the five men now charged with conspiracy were arrested by local law enforcement officials.

According to testimony given in the preliminary hearing, Young gave officers information which led to the arrest of the five Negroes now charged. However, Deputy Sheriff Jesse Harmon testified last Thursday that warrants for the men's arrests had been signed before Young was questioned.

On the evening of April 6, a sixth man was also arrested in connection with the bombing incident. But in the course of the preliminary hearing, the charges against Clifton Sykes were dropped on the grounds that Young did not mention his name while on the witness stand.

Young is still charged with malicious mischief, according to local authorities.

Meeting Called By Clay Negroes

By LEWIS NOLAN

From The Commercial Appeal
Columbus, Miss., Bureau

WEST POINT, Miss., April 12.—Clay County Negroes will meet Monday night to hear six men accused of conspiracy in connection with the Jan. 26 bombing of the county courthouse here.

The meeting is scheduled for 7:30 in the Mary Holmes College gymnasium.

In another development connected with racial strife in West Point, the Clay County Community Development Program (CCCDP) has posted a $5,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the persons responsible for the Jan. 26 fire which destroyed the CCCPD headquarters.

Later that night the black community held a meeting. Shortly after the meeting adjourned, West Point was shaken by a blast of an undetermined explosive on the courthouse lawn. The sheriff's department and several anonymous business firms and individuals posted a $1,500 reward.

No arrest in either incident had been made until April 6, when six Negro men, five connected with the federally funded CCCDP anti-poverty program, were arrested on charges of malicious mischief.

The charges were later amended by Dist. Atty. Harvey Buck to read "conspiracy to commit a crime," a felony which carries a heavier penalty.

Charged and released on bond of $3,000 each are John Buffington, director of CCCDP, his assistants, Frankie Free, Charles Williams, John D. Brown and Johnny Thomas, and a former Mississippi Valley State College student, Clifton Sykes.

If convicted, each man could receive a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a $5,000 fine.

A preliminary hearing was originally set for April 20, but defense attorneys are expected to request it be moved up to Wednesday. The original defense attorney, Jon Thames of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services, has been replaced by Armand Derfner of Jackson.

Jesse Pennington, another Legal Services worker, is establishing a defense committee which he says is "comprised of 12 prominent state and national attorneys."

STATEMENT OF JOHN BUFFINGTON
ABOUT THE WEST POINT BOMBING

My name is John Buffington. I live in West Point, Mississippi, and I work for the Clay County Community Development Program.

On January 25, 1970, the program's building was burned. The next night, while black people in town were at a mass meeting, the Clay County Courthouse was bombed. There is no indication that officials have done anything about finding the person who burned our building. But as to the Courthouse, on April 6, just one month ago, I and five other black workers were arrested and charged with the bombing. We now have proof that we were framed, and that there is not a word of truth in those charges.

It was obvious that the charges were fishy because we were first charged with actually bombing the Courthouse. Then, when the officials learned that we had been at a meeting at the time the bomb went off, they changed the charges to conspiring to bomb the Courthouse.

Two weeks ago, we had a preliminary hearing in the Justice of the Peace Court in Clay County. At that time a young black man testified that he heard me and several others talking about bombing the Courthouse on the day it was bombed -- not just once, but in the morning, afternoon, and evening. The Sheriff and Police Chief and a detective testified that outside of this young man's testimony, they did not have a shred of evidence against us.

After the hearing, we learned that the young man's testimony was not voluntary, but that he had been put up to accusing us by certain law officers in West Point and Clay County. The young man has given a statement to the FBI in which he told the truth.

After we learned that, we filed a federal lawsuit to enjoin the prosecutions on the grounds that they are phoney, and that they are just designed to punish me and the others because we have been active in civil rights. Yesterday, as part of that lawsuit, the young man gave a deposition and told his story, which is now a public record. He said he had been induced to accuse us because he himself was picked up and chaged with the bombing (even though he was in the hospital when the Courthouse was bombed), and it was made clear to him that he would go to prison unless he accused us. He also said that he has never heard any of us who are accused talk about any bombing, and that he knows nothing at all about the bombing.

We tried to get at the truth during the second day of the preliminary hearing last week, by asking that the young man be recalled in order to tell the true story. This was denied on the grounds that the young man had already testified. My lawyer, Armand Derfner of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, has told me that there is absolutely no basis for that ruling. It is clear that someone in Clay County is more interested in framing us than in getting to the truth.

At present, we have been bound over for the action of the grand jury, which means that the prosecution intends to go on with this charge .

The young man's story makes it clear that certain law officers have been engaged in a sordid mess, deliberately trying to frame innocent people.

So we are going ahead with our federal suit, and we have also asked the Justice Department to investigate the facts in order to decide whether to charge some of the law officers up there with federal crimes.

I will say categorically that neither I nor any of the other four defendants had anything to do with the bombing. We are totally innocent of any involvement.

When someone is charged, there is always a great deal of publicity. The reason I am here today is to try to see that as much attention is paid to the news that we are innocent.

Thank you.

WEST POINT CATHOLIC CHAPEL

621 EAST MAIN STREET

WEST POINT, MISSISSIPPI

JOSEPH DEAN, Pastor
Phone: 494-3153 & 494-3486

Dear Jim —

I'm late in getting there to you, but it will bring you up to date - along w/ some that you know - about the Buffington case. The conspiracy trial comes up again in June, having been turned over to the grand jury. Phil's counter-suit comes up in Federal Court (5th District, Aberdeen, Miss) in July. Let me help you where I can.

Peace, Terry Conroy.

Negro Population
Miss.

October 21, 1944

Mr. T. D. Davis, Chief Planning Division
Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board
Box 849, Jackson 106, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Davis:

Let me thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your letter of October 17 to Mrs. Helen Therkildson of Miami, Florida. The letter contains a lot of valuable information about the Negroes in Mississippi.

You might like to know that we have just moved our headquarters from the Standard Building to Wesley Memorial Building. Our new address is: 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

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P
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October 17, 1944

Mrs. Helen Therkildson
% The Miami Herald
Miami 30, Florida

Dear Mrs. Therkildson:

Your letter addressed to the Jackson Chamber of Commerce has been transmitted to this office for reply.

The figures given below are based in large part upon the United States 1940 Census.

check ? (

The Negro population of the State of Mississippi is 1,174,534, leaving 1,109,262 of other races, including 2,129 Indians, and 342 Chinese.

The negroes are divided on the basis of sex as follows: males, 528,325; females, 545,144.

The Negro population between the ages of 14 and 65 is 666,497. The number of negro women exceeds the men by 40,831 within this age group.

For the school year of 1942 and 1943 there were 291,407 negro children enrolled, with an average attendance of 231,169. There are 3,737 negro schools in the State in which either elementary or both elementary and high school grades are pursued. There are 6,500 negro teachers. Based on the calander year the average salary for white teachers is $76.00 per month, while the average negro salary is $35.00 per month. The negroes of Mississippi have five public junior colleges and five senior colleges. The education of the negroes in Mississippi has made rapid progress within the last twenty years. Yet, of 101,574 negroes from 15 to 24 years of age only 23,593 attended school as reported by the census of 1940.

The number of negroes over 65 years of age, at the time of the census, was 54,231 as against the whites in the same age group of 65,187.

We have 27,431 old age assistance cases on the active list of our Department of Public Welfare and of this number 11,521 are negroes. These public welfare figures are based on the 1944 record.

Of our total negro population of 1,174,534, there are 565,715 above twenty-one years of age. The white population of the State over twenty-one years of age exceeds the number of negroes by 52,354. In other words, we have a potential voting population, both races included, of 1,075,076, with the whites being in the majority by a number of 52,354. The total votes cast in our last general election was 269,035. These figures are given you for what they are worth and not to be accepted as an argument for or against negro suffrage or abolition of the poll tax.

The records as reflected by the Mississippi Board of Health based on findings of the Selective-Service revealed that 28½% of all negroes in the prime of life examined by military service had syphilis. For comparative purposes, the whites was 2½%. These vital statistics covered the period from the time of the beginning of the Selective-Service to December 8, 1943. What the total disease and/or disabilities from all types of venereal diseases was for this period we do not know. Of course some of these men were treated and finally accepted for military service, receiving probably other treatment. It may be of interest to observe that in order to make our full military quota many thousands of young white men, no doubt many of them being pre Pearl Harbor fathers, had to take the place of thousands of these syphilitic negroes.

With regard to the birth rate of both races in Mississippi, "Mississipp's birth rates are very definitely higher than the national rates; the downward trend is more pronounced among the white women of Mississippi than among the negroes; the decline in birth rates in Mississippi white women is faster than for the country as a whole, while the converse holds for the Mississippi negro women."

The death rate of the negroes in Mississippi has been consistly higher than the death rate of the whites during the entire history of the State. As an illustration, the death rate for the whites in 1920 was 9.5 as against 16.8 for the negroes; in 1930 whites 9.3, negroes 16.1. However, the negro death rate in Mississippi compares favorably with the death rate of negroes for the United States. As an illustrations the death rate of negroes for the Nation in 1920 was 17.8, for Mississippi 16.4; in 1930 for the United States 16.2, for Mississippi 16.1. For the year of 1928 the death rate of the negroes for the United States and the State of Mississippi was the same, 17.3. Incidentally, the overall death rate of Mississippi compared with the Nation is highly favorable. The death rate of the white population of Mississippi to the overall national rate indicates that Mississippi is the most desirable place in which to live.

The fact that the negro population at the present time is slightly less than the white population is probably due more to the excess of negro mortailty over the white than to an excess negro migration out of the State compared with the white migration.

Since 1910, there has been a sharp fall in the number of negroes moving into Mississippi. According to the 1930 census, 320,790 whites born in Mississippi were living outside the State, whereas 288,846 Mississippi born negroes were living outside the State. We experienced a large out movement of negroes during and immediately after World War I.

The average farm in size in Mississippi consist of 65.8 acres. This average is overall average and not merely crop land acreage which has been estimated as being 24.1 acres. The average overall negro farm consist of 33.8 acres. Since 66.2% of all farms in Mississippi are tenants, you can understand that the ratio of negro tenants to the total farm population is probably higher. There are 159,540 negro farms in the State.

Hoping that these facts cover at least the primary information wanted, I am

Yours very truly,

T. D. Davis

T. D. Davis, Chief Planning Division
MISSISSIPPI AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL BOARD

TDD/hb

747
39 Lines
+ Head -

MISSISSIPPI VITAL STATISTICS

Jackson Daily News March 20, 1945

A decrease in population and marriages, an increase in divorces and deaths were reported in the 1943 report of the Division of Vital Statistics of the Mississippi Board of Health of which Dr. R. N. Whitfield is director.

The data was prepared by the Public Health Statistical Service of the State Board of Health for the Division of Vital Statistics.

For the state as a whole, population has decreased from 2,188,145 in 1940 to 2,052,984 in 1943, the report shows.

Despite this decrease in population, Mississippi birth rate continued to rise, reaching in 1943 an all time high of 28.9 per 1000 population, the rate for white being 26.4 and nonwhite, 31.6.

The death rate was .9 higher than in 1942. For white, the rate was 8.7 and for colored, 11.6.

Infant mortality has reached the lowest point on record with a rate of 46.7 deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births.

The maternity mortality rate has declined from 6.4 maternal deaths per 1,000 live births in 1934 to 3.9 deaths in 1943.

Tuberculosis continues to lead the infectious and parasitic diseases as a cause of death in Mississippi. Cancer mortality continued an upward movement with a rate of 75.9 dead per 100,000 population, the highest recorded in Mississippi.

Other causes of death were: 24 died of diphtheria; whooping cough, 90; violent and accidental deaths, 1843 or a rate of 89.8 per 1000,000.

The number of marriages recorded in Mississippi was 36,030 or 7.1 per cent less than in 1942. The 5851 divorces were an increase of 26.4 per cent over 1942. 767

January 25, 1952

Mr. S. William Kennedy
Route 6, Box 263
South Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Stetson:

The Urban League tells me that the change in the city limits in Atlanta altered the Negro population from 33% to about 28%. People have been saying that in Negro voting there was a change from a third to a quarter in the city limits.

We don't expect any significant change in the mayor's policies, which have been generally pretty good over the last few years.

I am sorry, but I don't know a thing about Thomasville.

I hope something or other will bring me to South Jacksonville and I can see you and your wife and the Kudzu.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

Info requests
Population

Route 6, Box 263
S. Jacksonville, Florida
January 15, 1952

Dear George:

I see by the papers that Atlanta on January 1 expanded its boundaries, thus increasing its population by 100,000; and that Thomasville did likewise, adding 3,000 to its population.

Do you have, or know where I might get, figures as to what these expansions did to the white-Negro ratio in these municipalities? And are there any other such expansions of which you have knowledge?

All goes well with the project here, and I hope before long to turn it into a meal ticket which will enable me to write fulltime for the first time.

Best wishes,

Stetson Kennedy

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Stetson

In Atlanta [illegible] change in the city limits

Population I R
State
Southeast

April 22, 1953

Miss Frances Tiernan
712 Belvoin Ave.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Miss Tiernan:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to send you what information we have related to your recent questions.

(1) What is the infant mortality rate for the Southeastern region and for the U. S. for 1950 or after?

The latest figures on mortality that are readily available are for the year 1949. In 1949 the infant mortality rate for the South was 38.3; for the total United States, 31.3

"South" as used here includes: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Source: Based on Tables 65 and 80, Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1952

(2) Number of persons engaged in manufacturing in the South in 1950 ... decrease in number employed in agriculture.

In 1950 there were 2,621,667 persons employed in manufacturing in the South (includes thirteen states listed above). Persons employed in manufacturing constituted 18% of all persons employed in the South.

In 1940 there were 1,864,099 persons employed in manufacturing in the thirteen Southern states, constituting 15% of all employed persons in the South.

Thirty-four per cent of all employed persons in the South were engaged in agriculture in 1940. By 1950 the proportion had decreased to 22%. The actual number of persons employed in agriculture decreased 1,056,198 from 4,179,610 to 3,123,412. Source: 1950 Census of Pop, 1940 census

(3) Crime rates in the South and U. S.

The following rates are taken from Table 161, Statistical Abstract

of the U. S., 1952:

US Crime Rates -- Offenses Known to the Police in Urban Communities, 1950
(Rate per 100,000 population)

Region	Murder, Non-negligent manslaughter	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary, Breaking or Entering	Larceny—Theft (Exc. Auto)	Auto Theft
Total US	5.11	50.0	73.4	356.4	894.9	153.4
South Atlantic (Del, DC, Md, Va, WVa, NC, SC, Ga., Fla)	10.97	50.1	218.7	430.9	929.6	192.0
East South Central (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss)	14.44	53.7	119.7	394.0	662.5	193.1
North South Central (Ark, La, Okla, Tex)	9.59	42.2	74.7	457.3	1001.8	207.1

Note: The murder, nonnegligent manslaughter rates in the South Atlantic, East South Central and North South Central are higher than in any other regions.

The robbery rate is highest in the Pacific region, second highest in the East North Central region.

Aggravated Assault rates are highest in the South Atlantic, East South Central and North South Central regions.

Burglary, Breaking or Entering; Larceny (except auto); and Auto Theft rates are higher in the Pacific region than in other regions in the U. S. Rates for these three categories of crimes are second highest in the Mountain region and third highest in the North South Central region.

(4) Proportion of church membership in South as compared to rest of U. S.

We do not have any figures at hand that are up to date. The Georgia Council of Churches says that the last census conducted by the National Council of Churches showed that the South had a lower proportion of church affilated persons than the U. S. as a whole. The proportion of the Georgia population affiliated with Protestant and Catholic churches in 1952 was 59%, while 57% of the U. S. population was church affiliated.

We are checking Louis J. Sherrell's book, "Lift up Your Eyes" for the last figures from the National Council of Churches at the suggestion of the Georgia Council. If this contains any up-to-date figures on the South, we will forward them to you.

(5) New industries in the South ...

The Southern Association of Science and Industry completed its first annual survey of Southern industry at the end of 1951, at which time it announced that the South (fourteen states from Maryland through Texas) had added an average of one new multi-million dollar industrial plant every working day during 1951--which amounted to some 300 multi-million dollar plants. (CHATTANOOGA TIMES, 1-1-52)

The second annual SASI survey, released in March, 1953, indicated that the one new multi-million dollar plant per day rate of progress is continuing. (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 3-24-53)

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us again.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

712 Belvoir Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee
April 15, 1951

RECEIVED
APR 16
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell,
Miss Hamilton and

I missed seeing you at the Sociological Meeting.

Enclosed is my check for membership in the Southern Regional Council. I'm glad to become a member.

$3.00
KS.

Do you happen to have anything on these questions? If you do, it will be all I need to finish this particular paper I'm working on now. Our Library in Chattanooga is not too good — we have had a death in our own family — and taken together I don't seem to be able to find these specific facts.

US Vital Statistics (1949 most recent, in covinge) N. Yearbook?

1. What is the infant mortality rate for the Southeastern Region and what is the rate for the United States for 1950 or after?

1950 Census ✓

2. Do you have any figure on the number of people engaged in manufacturing in the South in 1950 and what was the decrease in the number employed in agriculture. I have a figure for

1945, but that is the latest I can get here...

3. I believe the crime rate is highest in the South. Do you have any comparative figures for the South & for the U. S. for the past year (1951)

N. Yearbk. 1951 Uniform Crime Reports

4. Isn't the South the most over-churched area? Do you have a late report from the Federal Council of Churches? The Library here does not have one after 1936.

Rev. Walters on crime

5. Do you have any figures on the number of new industries which have come to the South in the past year without going through the states and cities separately?

SHSI clip.

I'm merely listing these questions so that if you happen to have the information on hand, you can tell me.

I have everything outlined, but I made these statements only on condition I could get evidence or proof to support them.

I surely appreciate all your kindness and help.

Sincerely yours

Frances Tiernan

IR
Negro Press

March 25, 1953

Mr. Art Wiser
Macedonia Co-op Community
Clarkesville, Ga.

Dear Art:

Nice to have your good long letter, with its knowledge and sincerity about matters too few people have any knowledge or feelings about.

I am sending you separately some copies of our recruitment leaflet and a few back issues of NEW SOUTH. We need some more members!

The one Negro newspaper published in Atlanta is the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD. Editorial office, 210 Auburn Avenue, N. E. The editor is Mr. C. A. Scott. The ATLANTA WORLD has a close connection with the BIRMINGHAM WORLD (weekly) and, I think, with one or two other weekly papers.

The ATLANTA WORLD is the only Negro daily published in the United States. The leading weeklies are, of course, the PITTSBURGH COURIER, CHICAGO DEFENDER, BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN, and the JOURNAL AND GUIDE, 719 East Olney Road, Norfolk, Virginia. I myself think the JOURNAL AND GUIDE the soberest and best of the weekly papers.

You tap another whole chain of these papers through Carter Wesley, editor of the INFORMER newspapers, Box 3086, Houston, Texas. For Oklahoma, the famous one is the BLACK DISPATCH, Oklahoma City. In Mississippi, Mr. Percy Green at Jackson puts out the JACKSON ADVOCATE. The editor of the BIRMINGHAM WORLD is Emory Jackson.

I should think nearly all of those papers would be interested in Luthuli's statement.

I try my best to keep up with African matters, as you know.

When your friends come through, send them to see us, at home or at the Council.

These spring days make Macedonia sound mighty inviting. I expect I'll be up there some morning at four or five o'clock and see who I can catch up.

Sincerely,

GSM:ec

George S. Mitchell

maeedonia co-op community clarkesville georgia

22 March 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 24
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. George -

It occurred to me that you folks in the Southern Regional Council office might not have seen the statement by Chief Luthuli regarding his election to the office of President-General of the African National Congress. I am enclosing it, and would appreciate having it back when you are through with it, or if you have already seen it. It is an inspiring statement, isn't it, recalling some of the best things said in the Indian struggle for independence.

Would you let me know the names and editorial addresses of the editors of Atlanta negroe newspapers? Together with your evaluation of the papers involved - their responsibility and breadth of concern in their editorial policy. I have a letter from "Americans for South African Resistance" asking if I could get some of this material to negroe editors, and I would like to help to acquaint more people with the information: it's appalling how little reaches us through the standard press and radio channels.

On this point, several Indians have visited us here who are leaders in the Gandhi-inspired basic education movement in India. We have felt very close to them, both in motivating philosophy and in our actual work and living. They always include places like Tuskegee on their itineraries, and travel under the indignity of segregation~~s~~, because of the strong sense of identity among Asians to all colored races. Invariably they have been surprised at the lack of a similar feeling of identity and concern for the oppression elsewhere on the part of American negroes.

They also feel, of course, that the non-violent resistance techniques developed in India and in Africa are applicable to the problems in the States. That may be debateable, but they are surprised at how little acquainted with the struggles in India and Africa are the people who~~l~~, in this country, could most benefit by the acqauintance.

These folks from India are wonderful people, by the way. I wish more Americans could meet them. They are evolving techniques of rural rehabilitation beginning with village resources (which are of course terrifically limited) that are effective and bring with the rehabilitation a high sense of dignity and self-respect. Asha Devi Aryanayakam, who, with her husband, has been director of the basic education school at Sevagram, and who is the outstanding pioneer and leader in the basic education movement in India is going to be in the states in May, and is planning to come to Macedonia on that trip. We will be having here a conference of "intentional community" representatives at about that time, and hope the two things will come together.

Thanks for writing Robertson Fort. . . . Saw a very good letter on academic freedom from Broadus to the Manchester Guardian Weekly in the last issue.

It's that time of year. Come to see us, and bring the family.

Best wishes,
Art

POTENTIAL ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Sister Margaret Traxler, SSND
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1307 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Mr. Fred O. Detweiler
Director of Administration
Austin College
Sherman, Texas 75090

Jim Silver
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Tampa, Fla. 33620

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Meridian Center
Star Inc.
P.O. Box 271
Meridian, Miss. 39302

Dean James T. Laney
Candler School of Theology
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dr. Robert J. Rea
Central Presbyterian Church
201 Washington Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Ken Cocke
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New Orleans, La. 70126

Mr. W. Kenneth Haddock
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Mrs. James W. Ely, Jr.
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Mrs. George T. Johnson
Office of the Librarian
Bishop College
3837 Simpson-Stuart Road
Dallas, Texas 75241

Mr. Lawrence B. de Graaf
Professor of History
California State College
800 North State College Blvd.
Fullerton, Calif. 92631

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Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation
50 Riverside Drive,
New York, N. Y. 10024

George A. Finchum
Director, Teacher Corps
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Johnson City, Tenn. 37601

Rev. Douglas M. Still
Executive Secretary
United Ministries in Public Education
110 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Mr. Douglas A. DeLong
Serials Librarian
Milner Library
Illinois State University
Normal, Illi. 61761

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
The Center
P. O. Box 4068
Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103

Mr. Vincent Harding
The Institute of Black World
87 Chestnut St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Mr. Joe Clontz
Baptist Campus Ministry
University of North Carolina
P. O. Box 467
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

Mr. H. Claude Young, Jr.
828 Wesley Drive
P. O. Box 749
Statesville, N. C. 28677

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute

REGARDING:

Memo from Leslie W. Dunbar re: SRC's ~~&&&&&~~ Board and various other matters relating to SRC and its future.

DATE:
January 26, 1961

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT

~~&SRC&Board&&&general&&correspondence&~~
SRC - General Correspondence

Gary Byrd
Union School Theology

Daily Report
Chrid J SFC
Rel & Race Relations

~~Hatfield~~

via air mail special

May 30, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
2401 "H" Street, N. W., #715
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

The chimes are now ringing five o'clock and we have the Chronology to the enclosed report yet to mimeograph. However, we wanted you to have the report which Les spent the whole of last night writing and the staff the usual busy day getting out. Nice way to spend the eve of your departure isn't it?

Will see or call you on Saturday.

Sincerely,

mf
Enclosure - 1.

Potomac Institute
Room 353
Shoreham Bldg., 15th & H
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

About the copies of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights: Harold said, if you will, just bill Dr. Cooke for 50 copies. (Actually, he is willing to pay for the 50, but just hoped you would throw in an extra five.) And, Potomac will pay for its dozen! (no cy. Potomac)

Incidentally, we qualify for a visit--Washington is abandoning its last street car...

Margaret

Margaret Price

sent 6-12-61
billed 6-16-61
MA

June 22, 1961

Dear Paul:

Thanks very much for sending the first part of the SRC bibliography and the copies of "The Federal Exec,etc" Enclosed is a check for $5.50 for the eleven copies of the latter.

Now, another favor: would you send us any copies of hard backed books SRC has for distribution? As I recall, you had at one time copies of Mr. Dabbs' books and several others. Harold has copies of all, of course, but would like to keep them in his library at home. So, if you could have someone bundle up any available books--and would bill Potomac--we'd appreciate it.

It's good to have Mildred here. She came in Monday and reported she's all settled in her new apartment.

Thanks again,

Margaret Price

6-23-61
check for 5.50
given to RHA
MA

sent
PA

File Pakmatter Inst.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

August 15, 1961

Harold -- Fleming

Just a reminder that Dave Freeman suggested that you convene him, Whitney Young, John Feild, and me to talk about what role a) foundations and b) the National Urban League, could play in the employment picture. Maybe you have already talked to Dave about this.

Board meeting

September 1, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
353 Shoreham Building
15th & H Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

The world continues on its miserable way. And, of course, not all events are pleasant. Usually, however, those of us who are adjusted and mature learn to take these things rather philosophically. One could (regretfully) accept, for instance, the fact that your duties and resposcibilities would make it impossible for you to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

But even those of us with pleasant and even temperments are severely tested on hearing that you can't be with us because of a NAIRO meeting!

We will express your regret to the Members. But, please let us know of some other duty you are performing in San Francisco. The strain of idealism still runs high here South of the Potomac. One simply can't ask Mr. Dabbs to report that you are at a NAIRO meeting.

Would really like to see your new quarters, and no doubt will eventually - when I am vacationing in that area. As for "promoting" a trip, there are a few things around here which haven't changed; I'm still allowed to go to Wadley.

Best to your staff. We miss every one of them down here.

In sadness,

PA;mbb

Paul Anthony,
Executive Assistant

P. S.

Hope in the new quarters you will have electric typewriters. Undoubtedly those two typographical errors in your letter of the 30th were caused - in part- by the use of an outdated manual machine.

Turnpike Press - Annandale, Virginia CL-6-3444

PRINTERS WHO SERVE YOUR COMMUNITY - LET US SERVE YOU

Paul,

If you'll pay my way I'll come as an observer to see that things go as they should.

MF

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.
353 Shoreham Building, 15th & H Streets, N. W.

August 30, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I assume you are now back from vacation, as unrested and irritated with the state of the world as ever.

I appreciated your sending me a copy of the notice of SRC's Annual Meeting. Assuming this to be an invitation to attend, I am distressed to find myself inescapably trapped on November 8. In a moment of what must have been sheer madness while still at the Council, I agreed to prepare and present at the NAIRO Annual Meeting the official statement of concern and commitment which is supposed to serve NAIRO as a credo from now on. I can't imagine what can be said in such a document and where I'm going to find the stomach to follow through on this assignment, but I am committed to do it. The fact that the NAIRO meeting is taking place in San Francisoo this year makes my discomfort a little more bearable. But the fact that the meeting starts on November 7 and that I must be there at least through the 9 means that I cannot come back to haunt the annual doings of SRC.

Why don't you come to San Francisco too; it will be more relaxing. If you can't do that, promote yourself a trip up here some time soon so that we can show you our plush new quarters and we can get caught up.

Yours,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF/mf

My tardy thanks for intervening with Bob's Rambler — saved my life. H.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

1501 - 18th Street, N. W.

file

September 6, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This is to confirm our plans to get together with Whitney Young, John Feild and Dave Freeman on September 19. The time that seems to suit everyone is 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m., over lunch. I hope this is satisfactory with you.

As you know, the Potomac Institute is newly quartered in its Victorian town house at the above address. By that time we should have all our furniture and I will arrange for a light lunch on the premises.

Looking forward to seeing you then.

Cordially,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF/mf

Turnpike Press - Annandale, Virginia CL-6-3444

PRINTERS WHO SERVE YOUR COMMUNITY - LET US SERVE YOU

Paul,

The kind of remarks you've been making lately leads me to believe that you're really unhappy because I'm not there. Now stop being ugly and hurry up here to see this l o o v e l y office building we're inhabiting. Notice, I've got a new typewriter Underwood Forum, it hasn't helped much I'm still making errors! Nate letter.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

1501 - 18th Street, N. W.

September 11, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Any time it's convenient, you can ship to us the stuff which I left in your already crowded storage space. This would include the pictures which Les has no doubt long since removed from his office walls. Send them C.O.D. or bill us, whichever is easier for you.

As to your getting to Washington, I have a suggestion. Why not schedule an interagency meeting here? The Potomac Institute will be glad to make its facilities available. (I assume the interagency group is still in existence and that you are keeping my name on the mailing list.)

Your snide remarks about NAIRO leave me entirely unmoved. What could be a more courageous undertaking than the effort to transform NAIRO into a meaningful and effective organization? (!) Your further aspersion on the quality of our correspondence I am leaving Mildred to deal with.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF/mf

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

ANNOUNCES THE OPENING OF ITS NEW OFFICES AT

1501 - 18th Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

Decatur 2-5566

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-Pres.

October 26, 1961
Air Mail - S.D.

Mr. Harold Fleming,
The Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

We are still considering your message of yesterday morning. In the meantime I wonder if you would read the enclosed and give me a call after you have done so. This is a draft we prepared last week and follows along lines I discussed by telephone last Thursday with Stephen. It seems to me still a reasonable approach.

The figures certainly can be modified (though I do not believe they are unrealistic).

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

November 21, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

At the Annual Meeting a motion was made and unanimously passed that the entire Council adopt the resolution which the Executive Committee had made in the spring when it accepted your resignation. The resolution, you may recall, is as follows:

> "The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council accepts with regret the resignation of Harold Fleming, the Executive Director of the Council for the past four years.
>
> The Committee, however, cannot let Harold Fleming go without attempting to express its appreciation of the varied services he has rendered the Council and through the Council, the South, as Director of Information, Assistant Director, and Director, through the past fourteen years.
>
> While directing the Council in ever widening fields of action, he has at the same time deepened its understanding of and work for the South.
>
> He has done this not only through his personal leadership but also through the recruitment, organization, and direction of highly capable staff.

To: Harold Fleming
November 21, 1961

As a person he has exhibited a remarkable combination of objective detachment and deep commitment. Going now to a related work in the national Capital, he will be the living exponent of what the South has sought for a hundred years, the Southern American, combining within himself both Southern richness and American directness.

The Council lets him go with regret but watches with pride his entrance upon the national scene.

It is significant that he goes to his new position during the centennial year of the Civil War, the new Southern American, who himself will help to bridge that old, unhappy gulf.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Enc. cc Adrian DeWind letter
Draft memo

December 8, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of November 22. We are glad that David Loth is apparently available to do the north side of Integration North and South.

Jim Moss and I will plan tentatively to be in Washington at the time of the Interagency meeting to discuss this with you and Loth.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

IH-6
return DLD

November 22, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

All the travel of recent weeks has kept me from replying to your letter of October 31 saying that SRC would be interested in undertaking an up-dating of Integration North & South. David Loth has also indicated his interest, although he wants to defer discussion of method and scope until we can sit down together.

It seems to me the next step should be just that -- a face-to-face discussion to work out a research plan that would enable us to predict costs, timing, and so on.

I know you are as busy as can be especially now that the voting project is ready for launching. But assuming that you are going to have to be in Washington again sometime soon for that and other purposes, let's try to schedule a session on the proposed inventory.

I hope to be talking with you by telephone soon about the public relations aspect of the voting project and will pursue these questions with you further then.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President

HCF/mf
cc: Messrs. Ernst and Loth

Pending

December 22, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

You wrote a mighty good letter to Stephen regarding the state councils. Many thanks.

Some time I would like to talk with you about Ed Randall from whom I hear frequently. I seem to remember that you had a high regard for him and his efforts, and so do I. Do you think there is any possibility that this man might get some financial help?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

TRV
PAL
LD

December 14, 1961

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stephen:

On Tuesday you expressed the wish for a thorough evaluation of the Southern Regional Council's request for aid to state councils. Since our meeting time is limited, I thought it might be well for me to get my views to you in writing before next week's meeting.

I am firmly of the opinion that, next to support of the Southern Regional Council itself, aid to the independent state groups through the Council is our best Southern investment. My reasons for thinking so are as follows:

(1) Perhaps no other grant of comparable size makes possible as much useful work in as many needful situations as this one. Eight active state councils and a number of local ones exist in the South today because of Taconic's previous grants for this purpose. Despite their weaknesses, the number of situations that have been positively affected and the lives that have been helpfully touched by these groups make for a very high return per dollar contributed.

(2) Building and sustaining a unified body of Negro and white opinion in each Southern state is the toughest and most unrewarding job in this field. But it has to be done, or else all the victories will remain mere legal formalities and paper triumphs. It is also one of the few ways to combat the growing bitterness and suspicion that threaten to isolate Negroes and whites psychologically even as formal progress in race relations accelerates. Whatever the deficiencies of the state councils -- and I know them better than almost anyone -- they are

increasingly valuable in this respect.

(3) It is a fortunate circumstance that the Southern Regional Council is available to guide, stimulate, and administer aid to the state groups. An annual amount of $25,000 doled out by the foundation directly to the state councils would be much chancier and less productive. Through intimate, working contact that goes back for years, the Council can achieve incalculably more with this aid than anyone else. If the Council's judgment and supervision were not enlisted here, I would feel entirely different about the proposed grant.

(4) The state councils are, in fact, setting the pattern for official human relations agencies that are bound to come in the South, however slowly and unevenly. This expectation has already been partially borne out in Kentucky, where the recently formed state commission employed as its executive the first director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. It may not be too long before we begin to see a similar pay-off in North Carolina, Tennessee, and the other more moderate states. To help seed this development, while most foundations look the other way in fear or stodginess, is squarely in line with Taconic's philosophy.

I needn't spell out for you why it is hard for these groups to raise money -- the hostile climates in which most of them work, their low "visibility," the usually undramatic and unrewarding nature of the job they have to do. The surprising thing to me is not that they need more support on the same scale, but that they are still alive and, in some cases, growing in membership and fund-raising ability. Having suffered gloomily over this program for some years, I am glad to be able to speak of it so positively -- though I apologize for the length of this letter and for my untrustee-like partisanship.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President

HCF/mf

BC: Les Dunbar - SRC

MWB - fyi
WS - file

April 3, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

You probably can imagine how good we feel that the Voter Education Project is finally out in the open. We stood at the altar a long time. I would have been just as pleased if Claude had been less zealous, but there is not much use complaining. Despite leaks in other places, Claude was scrupulous in avoiding any mention or allusion for many months, even though he regarded this as a pretty big story. On a whole, I am sanguine about it and doubt that his piece will be detrimental. These things are bound to come out.

Enclosed is a nice little editorial from yesterday's Constitution.

I don't want to burden you with our concerns, but at this point I think there may be something gained by taking a look at where we are. I am not sure who is the appropriate person for me to share the view with, but I'll start with you.

Some remarks which Max Hahn made to me over the phone concerning comments by Lloyd Garrison at the last Field Board meeting prompt me to want to

re-emphasize again that we do not assume the fund-raising responsibility for this project. It has never been clear exactly as to who does. We do, of course, expect to write the formal applications and we do stand ready to answer questions and make ourselves available for discussion. Beyond that I don't think we can go and our Executive Committee concurs fully in my reluctance. We have put before the Stern Family Fund a request, as you know, on which we expect to hear some time in May. Other than this, there are no requests outstanding. The Stern request carries our hopes also for aid to general support of SRC. If anything is granted, we shall take the first $25,000 for this purpose.

In November, we submitted to Taconic a proposal that agency allocations be sized in the order of $250,000 a year; we noted that we did not expect Taconic to provide all of this. We indicated at the same time that the Voter Education Project itself would require about $60,000 a year and that SRC's general expenses would, conservatively, increase as a result of this thing by $10,000 a year. I have never had a written reply.

My oral understanding, however, is that Taconic has committed a flat $250,000 for a two-year period and that it does not intend to increase its appropriation to us for general support (this leaves us no alternative except to take a larger overhead tap).

We were disappointed in the Field grant. The situation now is that we believe we have $125,000 for the first year from Taconic and we have $75,000 from Field. We are going to take another hard look at the VEP budget and at what this will add to our general expenses. Assuming for the present that something between $55 - 70,000 for the year must be reserved for us, we have in sight $130 - 145,000 for allocation. Frankly, I am not sure that during this first year much more can be spent sensibly; maybe so. But this is considerably less than the $250,000 per year which has been more or less the target and even if sound expenditures the first year are well below $250,000, we ought, if the thing is working right, be able to use more than that the second year.

I think it would be very helpful if some small donations from perhaps smaller foundations could be infused, which could be used for SRC's-VEP's administrative and research expenses. When I was in New York Dave Freeman alluded to possibilities along this line. When I was in Washington last week, I met Brooks Hays and he remarked that Merrimon Cuninggim had recently seen him and had indicated that Danforth was interested in voting research. Keeping in touch with Dave is no problem to me, but I am a little hesitant about following up Mr. Hays' vague reference. I think there would be value, if you could see your way clear to do it, for us to talk some time about the fund-raising strategy and tactics.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

April 10, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I was not clear whether this was to be returned to you or Jane Lee. I read it with neither consternation or admiration. Lomax has, in some cases, been guilty of just plain bad reporting as, for example, in his account on page 259 of Martin King's arrest. But as to what concerns us I think it will do no harm.

If, on the other hand, someone such as Victor could convince him that the VEP is not an arm of the Administration, I think Louis would be the gainer. I would think also that Taconic would want to inform Louis that the five agencies are not "the recipients of a quarter of a million dollar grant," page. 266.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

April 10, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

I received your letter of April 3. After all you have been through during past weeks, there is not much that a friend would feel like adding to you except to wish you every success.

When Harold quit, I figured you would be around here to keep me from making mistakes. But when you went off to Washington, ~~miscalculation~~ my failed and so I made them. Keep a kindly spot in your heart for the Southern Regional Council and remember that you are one of the people from whom we are always glad to hear.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/6

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•

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

April 3, 1962

Dear Friend:

Please accept this as a personal letter from me to let you know that I will be taking an extended leave from ADL as of April 5th.

I shall be continuing the work I began last summer on implementation of President Kennedy's Executive Order on equal employment opportunity among government contractors. This will require that I spend full time in Washington, where the family will join me as soon as school is out here in June.

In order that the work of the Southeastern Office will continue uninterrupted, a new director will take charge of the office. He is Monroe Schlactus, former director of the Minnesota-Dakotas Regional Office, a most competent and personable young man of long-time ADL experience. Richard Shapiro will continue as Associate Director, and "B" Botnick as Community Consultant. I know you will give these dedicated men the same wonderful cooperation which I was privileged to have from you.

So this is by way of saying an "organizational goodbye" in that I will no longer be working with you professionally on ADL programs. I expect to continue my association with ADL as a "layman" because I, of course, am no less committed to the vital program of ADL, and I know that I shall be seeing you at one meeting or another in the future.

Leaving ADL and Atlanta was a most difficult decision for us, and only the challenge of this broader opportunity in human relations could have induced us to leave all our wonderful friends here. We hope to continue to enjoy your friendship for many years to come, and I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your many kindnesses and personal help to me over the years, which I value beyond words.

Warmest personal regards house to house, and the very best wishes until we meet again.

Most sincerely,

Art Levin

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

April 24, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on "School Desegregation - Help Needed?" The first publication of the Potomac Institute deserves cheers not only for being the first, but for its own high quality. It's a very good job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Dr. Kenneth Morland

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

PAV
MJ-file

April 26, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Many thanks for your kind words about Potomac's first publication. In view of the typographical defects, I have yearned for the services of John McKenzie up here!

I have been meaning to write you to say how helpful I thought your memo to Quigley was. This is the kind of sage advice that these people need a lot more of -- and that virtually none of the civil rights agencies except SRC (and occasionally Potomac) are offering.

You have probably seen by now the enclosures from the Washington Post. I feel more comfortable now that the Office of Education has publicly stated its intention to institute a school desegregation service. I must say, though, I was a trifle surprised they used this means of announcing it.

As to George Mitchell, did anything ever run in the New York Times? If so, I didn't see it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President

HCF:EMA
Enc.

Washington Post - April 23, 1962

New 'Clearing House' to Help Schools Chart Desegregation

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The United States Office of Education is establishing a clearing house to help public school officials plan desegregation.

The new operation is expected to be under way by the start of the fall school term, according to Robert M. Rosenzweig, Assistant to the U. S. Commissioner of Education.

He disclosed the plan when asked to comment on a survey conducted by the Potomac Institute which showed that many Southern school officials would welcome help in planning desegregation.

The Potomac Institute's report concluded that the USOE could best meet this need.

Rosenzweig said he had studied the Institute's report and found it helpful. The USOE clearing house would serve not only Southern school officials but those in the North and West who are faced with segregation problems.

Would Serve as Center

As now contemplated, the USOE operation would serve as a center for information on the experiences of various communities which have undergone the desegregation process.

It would be a relatively small operation, using local consultants spotted throughout the Nation. These consultants would report on the local situation and desegregation devices that have been successful and unsuccessful, and would make special studies for the USOE.

The Federal agency intends to perform a professional service in the field and not to become a social reform service, Rosenzweig said. He also said the USOE will not be giving advice on how to avoid desegregation.

The need for such a Federal program, to which school officials could look for factual information on the problems of desegregation, has long been felt among many public educators and private organizations in the race relations field.

The Potomac Institute report, "School Desegregation—Help Needed?" was written by J. Kenneth Morland, head of the sociology department of Randolph Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Va.

He and five other social scientists from Southern colleges and universities interviewed 34 superintendents and school board chairmen in 15 city and 15 county school systems in nine states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Thirty—88 per cent—of the 34 officials said they would find it useful to have information on the experiences other school systems have had with desegration.

Nineteen said consultants on desegregation problems would be useful while ten were doubtful. Twenty of those interviewed said they felt conferences also would be useful.

Must Be Reliable

A majority of the school officials said that the auspices of the information center didn't matter so long as the information was reliable and valid. Some superintendents thought a non-Federal agency was preferable because of the reaction of their school boards. However five of six school board chairmen interviewed specifically said the USOE would be acceptable.

"There is little question that the rate of desegregation will gain in momentum as the legal means of opposition run their course," the report states. "Thus there is an urgent need for intelligent guidance in meeting the problems of adjustment that more and more communities will be facing."

Research advisory services of the Potomac Institute, a non-profit organization established to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity, have been used by Government agencies and private groups to develop programs to assure equal treatment of minority groups.

W. Post 4/23/62

George S. Mitchell

The country owes a note of appreciation to George Sinclair Mitchell who died recently at his home in Glencoe, Scotland, to which he had retired a few years ago after a life of active and exceedingly useful public service in the United States. A Rhodes scholar, a distinguished economist, the author of three books on the industrialization of the South, he served for a number of years in the Interior and Agriculture Departments and, during the war, in the Foreign Economic Administration. Perhaps his most notable public service was rendered, however, as director of the Southern Regional Council from 1945 to 1957. His fervor for justice together with his sympathetic understanding of the South made him an extraordinarily effective catalyst in the field of race relations. He served in no small measure as midwife to the birth of a new era. The country, North and South, is indebted to him.

~~M.F.10~~
M. M. Johnson

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION— HELP NEEDED?

A Survey of Southern Educators

by

J. Kenneth Morland

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

FOREWORD

Since May 1954, when the Supreme Court held public school desegregation unconstitutional, the need for authoritative facts and analysis to guide the process of school desegregation has grown increasingly acute. The legal aspects of this process have commanded most public attention. The educational aspects have been largely neglected. A few private human relations agencies have rendered valuable service in this area, but their efforts have necessarily met only a fraction of the total needs.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights observed in its 1959 report: "Many school districts in attempting to evolve a desegregation plan have had no established and qualified source to which to turn for information and advice."

As a remedy, the Commission proposed that it be given legislative authority "to serve as a clearinghouse to collect and make available to states and to local communities information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts to comply with the Supreme Court mandate, either voluntarily or by court order, including data as to the known effects of the programs on the quality of education and the cost thereof." This recommendation, which went unheeded, was reiterated in the Commission's 1961 report on education.

The Southern Regional Council, in its timely report "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" (January, 1961), made a similar recommendation, proposing the U.S. Office of Education as the appropriate implementing agency. It called upon the President to direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare "to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process."

Considering this still unmet need in the Fall of 1961, it seemed to the Potomac Institute that an additional type of testimony might help the policy-makers reach a decision—namely, the views of Southern school administrators for whom desegregation presents critical problems. Accordingly, the Institute commissioned Professor J. Kenneth Morland of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va., an able Southern social scientist, to survey the opinions of a sampling of educators in the region.

The survey was limited to school administrators in the South. This was not because of any conviction that segregation and desegregation are exclusively Southern concerns. On the contrary, the large cities of the North and West are increasingly and acutely afflicted with problems arising out of *de facto* school segregation based on discriminatory housing patterns; their school systems are in urgent need of the kinds of services here considered. But it is the South, with its historical burden of racial custom and law, where the willingness and ability of educators to make use of "outside" assistance has been most in doubt. Hence, there was special reason to seek their views at first hand.

Following are the methods and findings of the survey, as summarized by Professor Morland.

Harold C. Fleming

Washington, D.C.
April, 1962

SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

Do local school officials, often caught in a cross current between federal law and state resistance, need and want aid in solving problems of school desegregation?

In November, 1961, 34 superintendents and school board chairmen in 30 different school districts of nine Southern states * were asked this question. The districts, 15 city and 15 county, varied widely in population, proportion of Negro to white, and stage of desegregation. Some of the districts served a population of over one-half million and some a few thousand. The percentage of Negroes in the population ranged from five to 45 percent.

Of the 30 systems, six had undergone some desegregation, one was under court order to desegregate in January 1962, two had cases pending in federal court, and the remaining 21 had not yet moved toward desegregation. Because of the variety of situations, it is probable that the opinions recorded reflect views representative of Southern educators. However, there is no claim that those interviewed constitute a scientifically valid sample of all superintendents and school board chairmen in the South.

Research Personnel

Six interviewers participated in the gathering of the data. All six are on the teaching staffs of colleges and universities in the South, all have Ph.D. degrees, and all have had extensive experience in conducting research. The director of the project conducted interviews in four of the states, while the other five interviewed in the states in which they reside.

Nature of the Interview

In arranging for the interview, the interviewer explained that the Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C., was interested in finding out whether educators needed information about the experiences of schools with desegregation and service in helping them meet problems involved in desegregation. Of those asked to be interviewed, only two refused. Both were superintendents currently involved in federal court cases on desegregation who felt that they should not say anything about desegregation.

In the interview, answers were sought to three basic questions: The first concerned the desirability of having information on the experiences other schools have had with desegregation, the types of information most needed, and the agencies preferred for the collection and dissemination of such information. The second asked about the usefulness of consultants on problems of desegregation and the types of persons who would best perform such a function. The third dealt with conferences that might be held on desegregation.

Every effort was made during the interview to get the respondents to talk freely and frankly; assuring them of anonymity helped to achieve this.

For the most part the interviewers were well received, and the majority of respondents expressed appreciation for the chance to give their reactions to the questions. In the arrangement of the interview, when "desegregation" was mentioned, some of the respondents hesitated, and during the interviews they showed varying degrees of enthusiasm. Generally speaking, however, rapport was good, and the interviewers considered their results valid and reliable.

Summary of Findings

Question One: "Would you find it useful to have information available on the experiences other schools have had with desegregation?"

Replies: 30 (88%) said "Yes;" 3 (9%) were Doubtful; 1 (3%) said "No."

The enthusiasm of most of those who replied "Yes" was high. ("I need all the factual, objective information I can get," "It's later than we think." "The unvarnished truth is what we need.") Those who were doubtful were convinced that their situation was unique and that they could not learn anything useful from other situations. Even these, however, said they would be interested in seeing such information. The one who said "No" stated that there was more material available than he could possibly use and that not much of it was helpful.

An elaboration of Question One asked: "What types of information do you think would be most helpful?" The most frequent reply of those in districts which had not desegregated was that they needed information about the steps other school districts had taken to assure successful desegregation. Specifically, they wanted to know: Who took the initiative, the school board or Negro plaintiffs? How has it worked to desegregate from the first grade up, and is it acceptable to the courts? How has it worked to desegregate from the 12th grade down? How much has community reaction been considered, and how has the public been prepared? Was special preparation given to the teachers? to the pupils? How did Atlanta and Memphis do it so smoothly, and why did Little Rock and New Orleans have so much trouble?

---

* Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Many wanted to know the problems associated with academic adjustment of Negro pupils in formerly all-white schools; how schools have integrated their faculties, especially how they have gone about putting Negro teachers in formerly all-white schools; how Negro and white student relationships have been handled, particularly on the social level; what has been done about PTAs; how Negro as well as white parents have felt about the results of integration.

A second elaboration of Question One was: "Under whose auspices should the information be gathered? In other words, what sources would you trust?" (The interviewer suggested the following: research departments of colleges and universities, independent research organizations, the U.S. Office of Education, National Education Association.) The majority felt that so long as the information was gathered in a reliable and valid manner, it would not matter what the sponsoring agency was. ("What we need are the facts, not 'hints' and 'suggestions'." "Give us unbiased data, and we'll make our own interpretations.") The superintendents stressed the need for those whose basic job was education to sponsor the data collection ("Educators can speak each others' language.")

Some of the superintendents, however, stated that while any reputable research organization would be acceptable, a non-federal agency would be preferable, not so far as they as educators were concerned, but because of the reaction of their boards. However, of the six chairmen of school boards interviewed, all said that the agencies suggested would be good, and five said specifically that they would go along with anything the U.S. Office of Education turned out. A few thought that college research organizations were too liberal to be reliable and that the NEA had alienated some by its resolution against segregation. Other agencies suggested were the education association of the particular state, the state board of education, and the American Association of Secondary School Principals.

Question Two: "Would the availability of consultants on problems of desegregation be of use?"

Replies: 19 (56%) said "Yes"; 10 (29%) were Doubtful; 5 (15%) said "No."

Those who replied in the affirmative elaborated by saying that they would find it helpful to talk to someone who had had experience with desegregation. ("We do this all the time in business. Why not here?" "If I went to Alaska, I would need a guide.") But all urged caution in the use of consultants. ("An outsider would probably 'rile' people.") Those who were in the "doubtful" category emphasized this fear of resentment by the community, saying that someone from the outside would complicate matters unduly. Those in both the "doubtful" and "no" categories stressed the uniqueness of each local situation, saying that no one from the outside could properly understand local problems. Some superintendents feared that even to request that a consultant come would be misconstrued by the public.

An elaboration of Question Two asked: "What should be the background of such a person, and how could he best be used?" The great majority stated that the person should be one who had dealt directly with desegregation and knew what it took to maintain a school system under such circumstances. Others thought that college professors could help. Some preferred a person from outside the state while others felt that local persons would be the most acceptable and helpful. Most of the respondents felt that the consultant would be most useful in talking quietly with the school board. ("He should not attempt to solve our problems for us, or tell us what to do, but he should act as a resource person.") Some superintendents thought that they alone should consult with the person, while others felt that community leaders, in addition to the superintendent and members of the board, should be involved. In every case, they said great caution would have to be exercised.

Question Three: "Would conferences dealing with problems of school desegregation be of value?"

Replies: 20 (59%) said "Yes"; 11 (32%) were Doubtful; 3 (9%) said "No"

Among most of these who replied "Yes" there was strong enthusiasm. ("They would provide a wonderful opportunity to exchange experiences and information with others." "An excellent idea. I believe in the workshop type of approach." "I would have attended any such conference over the past five years and would have brought some of my principals with me.") Again, however, caution was urged to avoid publicity. Many thought that a conference should not be advertised as one dealing solely with problems of desegregation but rather as one dealing with problems of school administration. ("Otherwise your school people would not attend.")

Those who indicated doubt about the value of such conferences or who said "No" did so for these reasons:

each community is unique and cannot be aided by discussions with others who have quite different situations; because of attitudes toward desegregation in the particular community, this cannot be considered at present—perhaps it can and should be done later; although conferences could be useful, participants could be victimized by the press.

An elaboration of Question Two was: "If conferences are organized, how should this be done, and who should do it?" There was wide variation of opinion here. Some felt that conferences should be restricted to local areas. Some felt they should be state-wide, and still others thought that only regional conferences would allow freedom of discussion and exchange. Some suggested that they be organized by size and type of school system, rather than on the basis of a particular area. ("Large city systems have common problems not shared by small towns and counties.") Some felt that only school superintendents should attend, while others thought that school boards or school board attorneys should be included. A few would invite community leaders of all types.

The most frequent suggestion for an organizing agency was a professional organization: Association of School Administrators, state board of education, state education association. Several thought such conferences could be an integral part of regular professional meetings. Several suggested that a school board itself could not take the initiative in setting up such a conference, but that it should be involved in some way in the planning stage.

Additional Replies

Respondents were asked to suggest anything else that might be helpful in maintaining and strengthening public education at present. Those whose systems had been desegregated emphasized the importance of visits by superintendents and board members to those districts where desegregation had taken place. ("There is no substitute for direct, first-hand observation." "A lot can be learned not only by visiting those places which have successfully desegregated, but also those which have had trouble in order to learn what not to do.") Respondents were not sure just how an outside agency might help to implement such first-hand study. They pointed out that too many boards either did not have sufficient funds, or had their heads in the sand.

Several respondents expressed the need to know how the people in their district, both Negro and white, "really" felt about the desegregation of public schools. They wondered if opinion polls could be taken by an outside group.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The following conclusions and recommendations are based on the author's personal interpretation of the thirty-four interviews and on his direct contacts during the study with superintendents and school board heads in four states.

1. The type of agency best suited to offer help with the problems of school desegregation in the South should be educational in nature and national in scope. Respondents in the study emphasized that the problem was an educational one, so far as they were concerned, and that, fellow educators ("even those from the North") could best understand what they were up against. Superintendents and school board heads reiterated that it was their task to maintain and operate a school system, not to introduce or block social change. One superintendent defined his job as "the science of the possible." The findings indicate that an agency whose primary task is education *per se* would be well received, while a non-educational agency would not be as readily accepted.

The study likewise reveals that respondents felt the problem to be nationwide. Several pointed out that problems of adjustment in northern and western communities were just as great as those in the South and that educators could learn from the experiences of different regions. Southerners are not as sympathetic to undertakings that imply that they alone are the problem as they are to efforts which recognize that racial problems exist in other regions as well. It is obvious that only a national organization would be in a position to coordinate the task of bringing together pertinent information and planning effective services.

In the opinion of the author, the U.S. Office of Education is the agency that would most clearly meet the criteria of being educational and national, at the same time being one of the most acceptable to educators. Although some respondents stated opposition to any agency of the Federal government, such opposition tended to be mild and non-specific. Furthermore, it was likely to be couched in terms of what "others" might think rather than how the respondent himself felt. When respondents spoke of the Office of Education itself (rather than vaguely referring to the Federal government), they spoke with high respect. The "image" of this agency is of an organization devoted to promoting the best interests of education. One superintendent, closely familiar with the work of the Office, expressed his opinion as follows: "Being a professional man, I would certainly go along with other educators. I have found especially that the U.S. Office of Education puts out practical and usable material."

2. All of the respondents, including those in the two states where no desegregation has yet taken place, realize that desegregation is inevitable if public education is to be maintained. And all seem strongly resolved to maintain public education and therefore to accept some desegregation. They feel that closing of public schools is too high a price to pay for keeping segregation. One Virginia superintendent put it this way: "We simply cannot let what happened in Prince Edward County happen here, and we won't."

However, the idea of inevitability is being faced differently: Some are discussing plans of desegregation, seeking information and advice, and in other ways trying to remain in control of the situation. Others are dragging their feet, hoping that desegregation will be delayed as long as possible. Some wish to face the inevitable more positively, but fear the reaction of the community. These feel that no move can be made until they are forced by the courts. ("For me even to suggest that we do something about adjusting to desegregation would be like putting my head on a chopping block and asking that it be cut off.") But even if forced by the courts, the respondents feel that their districts will accept desegregation when they realize that it is the only way to keep their schools.

3. There is urgent need for systematic information on the steps various communities have taken in moving into desegregation. The respondents generally agreed that while current information from the *Southern School News* (widely read), the *Race Relations Law Reporter,* the Southern Regional Council, B'nai B'rith, and the American Friends was helpful, the material was not adequate to the needs of local educators. Those in desegregated systems said that they would have been able to make a smoother transition if they could have had more adequate information, both to allay the fears that so many felt and to give direction and guidance.

Other types of information that are needed include the following: experiences with the integration of faculties, effects of desegregation on academic standings, on PTAs, and on student extra-curricular activities. Foremost in the minds of some superintendents in rural areas of Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama is whether or not there are native differences in the intelligence of Negroes and whites. Scientific information could be useful here.

While not all superintendents and boards would make use of available information of the types suggested, there is little question that a sizeable majority would. And some of those interviewed said that they themselves could not ask directly for such literature. ("If I did, folks would ask, 'Now just what is he up to? Is he trying to get us desegregated?' ") However, these respondents said they would be very interested in receiving such material if it came unsolicited.

4. The possibility of the use of consultants should be fully explored. Several of the respondents mentioned how helpful Dr. J. J. Brewbaker of the Southern Regional Council had been. ("He didn't come with any model plan, and he didn't try to tell us what we ought to do. But he helped us see our problem in perspective, and he told us where we could best go for first-hand observation.") As more and more communities move toward desegregation, it is likely that they will desire the services of a consultant. An attempt should be made now to discover those best able to serve in this capacity and how they may best serve.

5. Explorations about the place of conferences on desegregation should likewise be made. Some respondents who were skeptical about information and consultants were enthusiastic about conferences. Would it be possible for interested agencies to work with state educational associations, with organizations of school administrators, and with other professional groups in arranging such conferences? As desegregation becomes more widespread, it is likely that such conferences will be increasingly needed. It would be well now to find out what the possibilities are.

6. Encouragement should be given in some way to superintendents and boards of segregated systems to visit communities where desegregation has taken place. For those school systems facing imminent desegregatian or trying to draw up plans for desegregation, the idea of visits might be readily acceptable. For those in very conservative communities a part of the task is convincing them of the worth of such first-hand observation. As already indicated, the respondents in those communities which have successfully desegregated spoke of direct observation as one of the most helpful experiences they had.

7. Information and services should be offered with no strings attached. They should not be granted, for example, only on the condition that a community proceed forthwith with desegregation. Superintendents and school boards need professional help in operating a school system in circumstances that are often very difficult politically. They are hypersensitive to "outside" control and moralizing. At the same time, they are vitally concerned with the preservation of their schools.

As they see it, their job is not to promote civil rights

but to educate children in as effective a manner as possible. Any agency which can help educators do their jobs more effectively as educators would be welcomed by most of the respondents. Desegregation is coming, all of the respondents realize it, and most of them admit that they need all the help they can get to meet the challenge of adjustment.

8. A final statement: Obviously it will not be easy to move into this area, and great care must be exercised. However, the situation is filled with promise. It also contains surprises. Where one might expect opposition to change, there is sometimes full awareness of the situation and an eagerness to make a satisfactory adjustment. In part, this varies with the individual superintendent or school board head, in part with the community situation. In one city where school desegregation has not taken place and where one might expect the strongest kind of opposition to desegregation, two of the respondents, one a city and the other a county superintendent, have offices near one another. But the separation of the superintendents in terms of their readiness to accept change is vast. One is anxious and eager to learn all he can about the issues; the other is hesitant to discuss or even to look at the problem. However, those who are afraid to face reality or to accept help should not keep educational agencies from offering help to those who want it.

There is little question but that the rate of desegregation will gain in momentum as the legal means of opposition run their course. Thus there is urgent need for intelligent guidance in meeting the problems of adjustment that more and more communities will be facing. And as these communities begin to realize more and more that it is the future of their children and of the nation that is at stake, such guidance will be more and more readily welcomed.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

May 17, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1962

PERSONAL

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Some time ago you received a copy of "School Desegregation - Help Needed?", a Survey of Southern Educators by J. Kenneth Morland. This study was carried out under the aegis of the Potomac Institute, which published the findings and recommendations.

Commenting on the study, a spokesman for the U. S. Office of Education announced on April 23rd that it will establish a clearing house to help public school officials plan desegregation, starting in September 1962. The full story is contained in the enclosed reprint.

The Office of Education will respond to requests from school superintendents and other educators, and from school board members, for this new service. The effectiveness of the program will depend in good measure, therefore, upon your stimulation of local school officials to avail themselves of this service, in addition to your own efforts in the communities in your area. If such requests can be elicited now, the USOE will be better able to gauge the extent of its required efforts this fall.

Hopefully, a combined Federal and local approach will give added impetus toward the goal to which we are mutually dedicated. Best regards.

Cordially,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:see

Enclosure

CC sent to JJB, BM - 5/24
Paragraph in Newsletter, June,
sent to state Councils.
MM

New 'Clearing House' to Help Schools Chart Desegregation

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The United States Office of Education is establishing a clearing house to help public school officials plan desegregation.

The new operation is expected to be under way by the start of the fall school term, according to Robert M. Rosenzweig, Assistant to the U. S. Commissioner of Education.

He disclosed the plan when asked to comment on a survey conducted by the Potomac Institute which showed that many Southern school officials would welcome help in planning desegregation.

The Potomac Institute's report concluded that the USOE could best meet this need.

Rosenzweig said he had studied the Institute's report and found it helpful. The USOE clearing house would serve not only Southern school officials but those in the North and West who are faced with segregation problems.

Would Serve as Center

As now contemplated, the USOE operation would serve as a center for information on the experiences of various communities which have undergone the desegregation process.

It would be a relatively small operation, using local consultants spotted throughout the Nation. These consultants would report on the local situation and desegregation devices that have been successful and unsuccessful, and would make special studies for the USOE.

The Federal agency intends to perform a professional service in the field and not to become a social reform service, Rosenzweig said. He also said the USOE will not be giving advice on how to avoid desegregation.

The need for such a Federal program, to which school officials could look for factual information on the problems of desegregation, has long been felt among many public educators and private organizations in the race relations field.

The Potomac Institute report, "School Desegregation—Help Needed?" was written by J. Kenneth Morland, head of the sociology department of Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Va.

He and five other social scientists from Southern colleges and universities interviewed 34 superintendents and school board chairmen in 15 city and 15 county school systems in nine states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Thirty—88 per cent—of the 34 officials said they would find it useful to have information on the experiences other school systems have had with desegration.

Nineteen said consultants on desegregation problems would be useful while ten were doubtful. Twenty of those interviewed said they felt conferences also would be useful.

Must Be Reliable

A majority of the school officials said that the auspices of the information center didn't matter so long as the information was reliable and valid. Some superintendents thought a non-Federal agency was preferable because of the reaction of their school boards. However five of six school board chairmen interviewed specifically said the USOE would be acceptable.

"There is little question that the rate of desegregation will gain in momentum as the legal means of opposition run their course," the report states. "Thus there is an urgent need for intelligent guidance in meeting the problems of adjustment that more and more communities will be facing."

Research advisory services of the Potomac Institute, a non-profit organization established to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity, have been used by Government agencies and private groups to develop programs to assure equal treatment of minority groups.

August 24, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Potomac Institute
353 Shoreham Building
15th and H Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Art:

Since talking with you when in Washington, I have done some more thinking about how we should proceed. I wonder if there might not be an advantage to our meeting, not now, but after Margaret has had time to get into the job. I think all of you know where we want to go and that Margaret can begin her background reading and note collecting. I am wondering, in short, if a meeting would not be more fruitful several weeks hence, after she has dug into the subject a bit.

I am planning a New York trip for the last week in September. I could conveniently stop off in Washington on my way up (say Monday morning September 24) or on my way back on Friday.

If you, however, think it would be wiser to meet at the start I could come up for a day. These dates would be impossible for me:

August 30
September 4 to 6
September 13 and 14
September 17 to 20

Of course, and emphatically, I renew the invitation to use the SRC Conference Room, either for an early or a later meeting. Harold said that he might be down for an inter-

agency meeting on the 13th or 14th. Are you coming, too?

Enclosed is a letter from Arnold. The reports which he mentions in the 5th paragraph we have here but will be glad to send up if you don't have them. I thought we would undertake also a bibliography of the materials in our library which might be useful for Margaret, and perhaps pull together a few fugitive items in addition and send them up.

Would it be possible to do us a favor? Could you get a copy of the Kheel report and send to us? And also a copy of a report which Robert Troutman told a reporter this morning he had sent up to the committee reviewing his work?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:jl
enc.

Photostat of letter from David Arnold, ICMA
Ordinance 6-61-26 (Skokie, Ill.)
Roster of MIS cities

September 24, 1962

Dear Harold,

Les asked me to send you this copy of the VEP report. He is delivering a copy to Taconic in New York this week. He also said that he would appreciate your being discreet in showing this report to other people.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

Mr. Harold F. Fleming
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

October 23, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Wiley Branton has been asked to accept membership on the National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League; as you probably know, Harry Fleischman is chairman of the board.

I would be very grateful if you would give us a word of advice about this. I do not myself know of any reason for him to decline if he wishes to serve; it is a very distinguished board. I respect your judgment about these things more than I do my own, however, and I would be grateful if you could get me a word.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

November 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

My knowledge of the Workers Defense League is also scanty, but it is clearly an honorable and worthy liberal organization. It is made up primarily, I believe, of labor people and their sympathizers, some of them like Harry out of the "old socialist" school. As I think you know, I have complete confidence in Harry Fleischman's integrity. In short, if on the merits Wiley wants to go on the Executive Board, I know of no reason why he shouldn't.

I appreciate your invitation to attend the Annual Meeting, which I would warmly wish to do. Unfortunately, my board has scheduled a meeting in New York the morning of the 20th, and so herculean a task is it to find a date on which those gyrating people can get together, that I dare not press for a change. The 1963 meeting seems a long time off, but if you will let me know when the date is set, I will start now to preserve it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

In Consideration of

A National Service Corps

(Some Initial Staff Observations)

November 15, 1962

INTRODUCTION

The President's challenge to all Americans to ask what they can do for their country has had an initial answer in the exemplary support of the Peace Corps. However, for many Americans who have not been able to participate in such an expression of service, the paradox remains -- a desire to serve but no clear path to meaningful volunteer commitment.

There is a need for these peoples' services. We know that America has the highest standard of living the world has ever known. No other nation has done more to give its people an opportunity to live in comfort and self-respect. We have much to be proud of.

Yet we know that much remains to be done. In the midst of our prosperity, there are pockets of great need. There are millions of people who live outside the mainstream of American opportunity. These people need and deserve help.

We face no greater national challenge than to help these people help themselves. Our nation has a long history of volunteer service. There exists today, as there always has, a great reservoir of good will-- citizens who want to use their talents and energies to help others less fortunate than themselves.

We need to offer guidelines to give more people useful outlets for their desire to serve. The best way to offer significant opportunities for service in the United States is to organize a national service corps. Such a corps would help direct the great potential of volunteers to areas of human need made critical by the lack of sufficient numbers of persons to provide human services.

THE NATIONAL GOAL

A LARGE NUMBER OF AMERICANS OFFERING THEIR SERVICES TO THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES AND TO THE NATION SO THAT OUR COMMUNITIES CAN MORE ADEQUATELY COPE WITH CRITICAL HUMAN PROBLEMS.

To challenge our citizens and lead the way in stimulating local communities to greatly expand local volunteer programs, a national service corps should be created, and

a. give national visibility to the value of all volunteer services;

b. on invitation, assist in supporting and enlarging local volunteer efforts;

c. provide technical assistance and clearinghouse information to those local communities seeking more effective volunteer programs;

d. provide additional manpower addressed to the nation's most pressing problems;

e. provide an opportunity for significant numbers of our citizens to better understand the need of our people and thereby stimulate the recruitment of persons choosing careers in the helping professions.

THE CRITICAL NEED FOR VOLUNTEER SERVICE

There are 32,000,000 persons in the United States living at a lower level than America is capable of providing for its citizens. Many of these persons are handicapped by poor health, diets, and housing, as well as inadequate education. The majority are unable to remedy these conditions by themselves; they are largely dependent Americans. Neither the professional not the supportive personnel needed to cope with the complicated causes of this dependency, and the casualties resulting from it, are available today.

The President's Panel on Mental Retardation has clearly demonstrated that it is this socially, culturally, educationally, and economically deprived population that provides the largest numbers of the mentally retarded -- and other health and welfare problems.

Despite the tremendous attention on education in the United States, appalling variations are found in the adequacy of instruction for our less fortunate citizens -- with a predominant failure in our most depressed areas. Five states and territories have over 10% of their elementary school children on double sessions; 22% of our beginning rural elementary teachers do not have college degrees; no state has achieved the recommended 250-1 guidance counselor ratio. With mounting elementary and high school enrollment, 230,000 new qualified teachers will be needed every year in the decade ahead while the supply apparently is to be less than 100,000.

Migratory workers are among our most neglected citizens. Our 500,000 domestic migratory workers and their 1,500,000 dependents have been excluded from virtually all the benefits enjoyed by most Americans. The children are generally retarded 2-5 years behind their non-transient counterparts. Established schools cannot cope with the migrant child's transient pattern. The adults are unaware of noraml health and dietary standards. Communicable diseases threaten every community through which these migrants travel. Economic instability is the pattern; their average annual wage is $911. Due to the transient nature of their existence, no one has assumed the responsibility to provide the personnel to meet the problems of these migratory families.

Despite the vast increase in knowledge of mental health and mental retardation, it is estimated there are in the United States 5,400,000 retarded children and adults. We have 777,000 institutionalized persons who are mentally diseased or defective. Our hospitals have been judged to have less than 50% of the nursing and social worker staff they need. As a recent study has strongly suggested that environmental conditions play the major part in producing mental health, community mental health programs must be greatly expanded. Since even the mentally retarded can lead productive lives if given continued personal warmth and understanding, the shortage of valued personal service in this field is a national scandal.

Among our 285,000 American Indians living on reservations, the continued dependency on the Federal Government, coupled with the minimal level of existence and high rate of communicable diseases, indicates that despite

Federal efforts much remains to be done in working with Indians to overcome their apathy and restore a sense of dignity long denied. Many Indians exist on a family income of less than $500 per year. The need is evident for professional service personnel to live among the Indian tribes in situations contributing to mutual understanding.

Jails, reformatories, and prisons throughout much of the nation are filled with individuals desperately in need of basic education and training. Our jails alone hold 100,000 persons. In many of these institutions rates of illiteracy and absence of skills consistent with the needs of today's labor market remain dangerously high.

We have no reserves of people to cope with acute and persistent human problems often encountered after a local or national emergency. The influx of Cuban refugees unable to speak our language, untrained for our labor markets, and with vague prospects of an early return to their own country is a case in point.

Even with these limited examples of human needs in the United States, the shortage of personnel to cope with the problems - be it skilled or semi-skilled - must be recognized. A major volunteer effort including the use of skilled amateur manpower to meet these problems should be given immediate consideration.

SUPPORTING LOCAL SERVICE

Volunteers can be of immense assistance in attacking the kinds of problems described above. To be effective these problems must be approached on a local basis; thus, the problem of recruiting volunteers is primarily a local one. However, the current supply is inadequate to the demand.

The role of the Federal Government in facing this issue must be one of example and technical assistance to local communities. We propose a national service corps whose operation would by example stimulate marked increase in volunteer efforts in the United States. Proposed too is a clearing house center with technical personnel services available to assist local communities in improving the size and efficiency of local volunteer efforts. Both would be provided only by invitation from a local sponsoring agency.

A NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS

It is proposed that legislation be enacted to provide for a national service corps. An independent agency, with advisory assistance from public and private groups, the corps would respond to the most critical human needs within the United States. Not an end in itself, the corps would primarily exemplify the value of volunteer service. Its staff would be a reservoir of general and technical information on the best techniques and applications of volunteer efforts in the United States.

PERSONNEL

By the end of its third year the Corps would be at a strength of 3,000-5,000 persons.

Corps membership would be drawn from all persons age 18 and over without regard to race, creed, color, or citizenship. Applicants would be selected on the basis of their interest, experience, education, and personal qualities.

Corpsmen (and women) would serve for a period of one year but could apply for a further assignment.

There would be no pay. Members of the corps would receive a minimum allowance to cover day to day living expenses. They would receive a modest separation allowance after a year's service.

PROJECTS

Assuming allocation of 30 volunteers to a project, following an initial plan period, 30 projects enrolling approximately 30 volunteers each could be underway within six months of the enactment of legislation. In the third year at least 100 to 160 projects could be fully staffed.

Projects would be proposed by local agencies, public or private, supported by community approval and as part of a community's overall plan for improvement. Personal service addressed to human problems would be the corps' major contribution.

Prior to assignment to a project, corps personnel would receive approximately four weeks of training using local and regional education resources. Where possible such training would be undertaken on or near the project site. Training would continue on the job.

Only those projects showing good organization, sound planning, adequate local supervision, the availability of some local "counterpart" volunteers, and a current shortage of qualified personnel would be considered. The eventual replacement of Corps personnel by local volunteer resources would be encouraged. The local agency would provide a gradually increased show of the cost of the volunteer's service.

TO: Robert F. Kennedy, Chairman
Committee on a National Service Corps
736 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

COMMENTS OF KEY NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS PROPOSAL

In order to expedite your replies, we submit the following questions in this form. It would help us greatly if your comments could be in our hands by December 15, 1962, since the President has asked for the completion of this preliminary study by the end of the year. Of course we would welcome your comments at any time.

1. Each program will be locally conceived, administered and supervised.

   Do you believe that this high degree of local auspices is desirable?

   Do you believe local communities, agencies and organizations will avail themselves of this program?

2. The national service corps seeks to stimulate and supplement local volunteer efforts.

   Do you believe, through the use of an elite, highly visible service corps, that local programs can increase the effectiveness of their local volunteer recruitment?

3. The national service corps will endeavor to increase interest in subsequent professional training in dealing with critical problems.

Do you believe that a number of members of the service corps, as a result of this experience, will seek further professional training and career preparation?

4. The service corps can meet immediate critical needs.

Has it been the experience of your organization that full-time volunteers with brief training can make an immediate useful contribution?

5. The service corps will appeal to many young and mature citizens who would welcome the chance to serve.

Do you believe there will be a substantial response?

Do you think this proposal is feasible and desirable?

PLEASE NOTE: We welcome your complete comments and suggest these questions are only a list of those to which we are immediately giving attention. Please feel free to expand your comments.

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

File Patronage Dist
C. Mf.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On November 14, 1962, the President of the United States appointed a committee to assess the feasibility of a national service corps so that more citizens may serve their country in addressing pressing human problems.

The feasibility study will primarily concern the Government's possible role in this undertaking.

In view of your organization's experience, you are in a position to offer needed advice. We would welcome and appreciate your immediate response to the general outline and questionnaire which accompanies this letter.

Should the study ultimately determine a national service corps to be prudent, we shall then request more specific suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Kennedy

Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General

Enclosures:

December 21, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

I write for two reasons: first, to wish the Potomac Institute a Merry Christmas and, second, to say that I have just finished reading the final copy of "Municipal Practices" and want to thank you all for doing so well by us.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

January 4, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

I am enclosing a list of books and pamphlets which I hope will be of some use to you in preparing a "Recommended Reading" section for the ICMA piece.

I imagine our list will overlap somewhat with yours, particularly in the pamphlet department. The list is by no means definitive, but rather a selection of works we think will be of the most interest to the readers of the report.

Please let me know if we can be of any further assistance in completing the report.

I enjoyed meeting you, Art and Harold last month and hope our paths will cross again before the new year gets very old.

Best regards,

Staige Blackford
Director of Research

SB/mmj
Enclosure

March 2, 1963

Mr. Art Levin
Program Director
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levin:

We would like to have copies of your recent publication, State Executive Authority to Promote Civil Rights, sent to each of our state and local directors of human relations councils. A list is enclosed for your information.

We would also like to have 10 to 15 copies for the Research Department, to be used as resource material for persons requesting information along this line.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Lw dv - fyi
(mailed 3/4)

March 4, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I thought I might summarize for you some of the points we have from time-to-time discussed regarding the financing of the Voter Education Project. As you know, VEP has had for its first year of operation a total grant of $262,000, plus a few small contributions. The Taconic and Stern grants, totalling $187,000, are pledged for a second year. We have an application before Field for renewal of its grant, with the expressed hope that it may exceed the $75,000 given for the first year.

I am not sure we could have intelligently spent more during the first months than we have; consequently, we have not as yet been handicapped.

We think the Project is, however, underfinanced, and we say this with full recognition of the generosity of the three principal grantors, whom no one could expect to do more. We shall, of course, do the best job we know how, but unless additional and substantial funds can be obtained we do not think that the high expectations which all of us have had can be probably realized.

There are four problems; the first two listed below are critical.

(1) Present financing envisages a two-year Project. As we began April 1, 1962, this means a termination on March 31, 1964. I don't have to tell you that between April and the fall of 1964 - just prior to the Presidential election - the opportunities for fruitful work will be greatest. It is imperative, therefore, that the Project be extended six or seven months.

(2) During the last year of the Project, when opportunities will be ripe and organizations perfected or greatly improved, we need to be able to spend at a greatly increased rate, deisrably at least double the present rate. Assuming for the moment that the present rate of expenditure is continued for the first 18 months of the Project we would need $393,000 for that period. If the expenditure could be doubled during the last 12 months we would require for that $524,000. This would mean a total VEP budget of $917,000 for 2½ years, as against an expectable budget of $524,000 for two years. To sum up, additional grants of $393,000 are needed in order to extend the Project six months and to increase the expenditure rate during the last year.

(3) $917,000 is a lot of money, but you will remember that in the gestation days people spoke glibly of a million. Therefore, I note now that we could from this time (March 1963) forth be able very probably to make good use of more money, both for grants and for strengthening the VEP, which is, we are convinced, an economical way of strengthening field program effectiveness.

(4) We have not reserved the money we should for writing and publication. When the field work ends, we'll write a book and it's going

to be a good book. My gamble is that the expenses can be separately raised in due time or saved from the general VEP budget over the months. Certainly we would feel more secure if we were setting funds aside; we shall not do so, however, unless the grants to us surpass $917,000.

I happened to be reading not long ago an article by Ray Marshall titled "Some Facotrs Influencing the Growth of Unions in the South." There is no date on the reprint I have, but it came from the Proceedings of the 13th annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association. A footnote in it provides a measuring rod fo appraise the size of the VEP budget:

> It is impossible to calculate the exact membership results and costs for various unions during the CIO's 1946 'Operation Dixie.' The estimated cost of the campaign was to have been $1,800,000 a year. (CIO Executive Board Minutes, March 15 and 16, 1946, pp. 217-224), but this was reduced considerably because the unions would not pay the amount pledged for the campaign. (Ibid., January 22, 23, 1948) The average amount spent during the campaign by the CIO directly was about $90,000 a month. In addition, other unions spent large amounts. The TWUA, with the largest stake in the South, spent $95,000 a month itself, at least during the first part of the campaign. An estimate of $8,000,000 spent during the campaign is probably an understatement. The director of the Southern campaign claimed 400,000 members when the drive started and an additional 400,000 organized through January, 1948, which would have given the CIO 800,000 members in the South in 1948, which is the number claimed by Phil Murray. Troy estimated 400,500 CIO members in the South in 1953. (Leo Troy, "The Growth of Union Membership in the South," Southern Economics Journal, Vol. XV (April, 1958), p. 409.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Wiley A. Branton

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1963

March 22, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

A double bed room has been reserved for you at the Ambassador Hotel here in Washington for Thursday, March 28, 1963.

The Ambassador is located at 1412 K Street, N.W. (NA 8-8510) and will be within two or three blocks of your engagement.

The price of the room is $14.00.

Sincerely,

Helen J. Hester

Helen J. Hester
Secretary

Cr ref. of will Campbell & FOSC

April 23, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am writing as I told you I would about the little meeting which we had here on April 17. In addition to Will Campbell and myself, Jean Russell, Charles Jones, and John Morris took part. I believe that the consensus was that the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is uniquely in a position to sponsor an enlarged program in the South, and that it would probably be glad to avail itself of Will's services.

The discussion took note of several moves understood to be in progress within the National Council of Churches to solve the administrative problem that has led to Will's resignation. As a matter of fact and coincidence, during the course of the day a call reached Will from Al Kramer in New York reporting that he was withdrawing from all connection with Will's project. Nevertheless, our group thought we should discuss the problems on the assumption that the break between Will and the National Council was final; this assumption rests, I might add, on Will's own expression of intention.

John Morris has discussed with Will the possibility of Will's joining ESCRU. My impression is that this is not going to happen, though I don't believe any doors have been finally shut. Others in the group, particularly Jean Russell, strongly advised against Will's having any denominational sponsorship, and my own impression is that Will concurred.

John Morris stressed very strongly ESCRU's desire to cooperate in a program way with Will's work, of whatever sponsorship.

We discussed at length the past and the present of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. The more we talked, the more everyone seemed to come into agreement and even to become a little excited about the idea. Charlie Jones began to call Will his executive secretary, and Will didn't seem to mind. Will also began to mention certain program ideas which, I gather, he has long had in mind, but which he has not been able to carry out, and which he talked about as things he could do if he were working for the Fellowship. To me, as I said to you before, the great attraction about the Fellowship is that it has neither bureaucracy nor program to integrate with.

Charlie Jones pointed out, however, some organizational problems which he seems to feel confident can be easily solved. As I understand them, these have to do largely with the fact that the Fellowship is, as now established, a membership organization, though nobody knows how many members it has nor who they are. Charlie thought, and so did Will, that the Fellowship should be converted into an organization with structure such as SRC's; i.e., with a self-perpetuating Board and no general membership. Charlie left here with the intention of consulting, during the next few days, with other members of his executive committee (there are 12 altogether), and probably with a lawyer whose help would be needed in redrawing the By-Laws.

As you know, SRC adopted, last year, a strong recommendation of Ben Muse's, and with the concurrence of Dave Freeman entered into an arrangement with the National Council whereby for a two-year period we would contribute $10,000-a-year for the purpose of putting

another man on to work with Will, with the somewhat specialized assignment of working only in the Black Belt areas of the Deep South. As a result, Will has had Elbert Jean with him since last June. We have shared in planning Elbert's work, though he has been entirely under Will's administrative supervision. It has worked well, and we think has been a good program. Although our arrangement with the National Council is firm enough so that they would have to continue Elbert, we believe that we would be free to move Elbert with Will to the Fellowship. On the other hand, Will believes that there is some possibility that Elbert might be chosen as his successor. If this were done, our money would be freed, and we would certainly consider using it to aid the new program. (Dave's concurrence would be necessary.) So far as I know, Elbert has not been consulted about these possibilities, and he would, of course, have to be. I would like to emphasize that, at the most, we are talking about $10,000 for the one terminal year beginning June 1963.

As I think you know, for the last several months Jean Russell has been giving time to the Fellowship for travel about the South, to see what grassroots support she could find among church people. We spent some time listening to Jean describe her travels which seemed to be, at the least, encouraging. I believe they can be summarized in saying that she has held some conversations in Macon, but for the most part has worked in the Carolinas where, with the assistance of Charlie Jones and Mr. Dabbs, a half dozen or so local meetings have been held with church people, and they feel very good about the temper and outcome of some of them.

Assuming that Charlie can solve his organizational problems, and assuming that the National Council does not reclaim Will's allegiance -- which should not be, I guess, written off as a possibility -- I think we have here a viable plan. Taconic's policy will, of course, be a key. I might add that Will has had, from a couple of denominations, indications of their willingness to make helpful grants.

Other than saying that SRC is, of course, interested and stands ready to do anything we can to move this matter along, I think that the next moves will have to be among you, your Taconic associates, Charlie, and Will.

One final word. During the whole course of this letter I have violated both the letter and the spirit of the meeting last week. We did not talk about these questions in a "what to do about Will Campbell" framework. The discussion took off from the problems we now have, from the resources we now have, and tried to make the best sense we could out of them. I believe everyone present shared SRC's strong conviction that this is a time to be strengthening work with southern religious leadership and not a time for abating of efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Reverend Charles Jones
Reverend Will D. Campbell

Cw. ney
NSA

CONFIDENTIAL April 24, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Confirming our telephone conversation on Monday, Chuck Morgan called me on April 19. He said that he had talked with Mr. Orzell Billingsley in Birmingham. Billingsley had told him that his fee in the Green County jury case was $6,000, and in the Jefferson County voting case, $5,000. The Legal Defense Fund, as I understand it, pays $75 a day to senior people in cases such as these. But according to Billingsley this is not the entire fee which the lawyer gets -- local groups supplement.

The figures above do not include expenses.

I talked with Morris on Tuesday. He had passed the NSA suggestion through the channels. I quoted the above figures to him. I gather that he feels a little rueful about the thingsbut didn't know anything else to do. He said that he had not told Chuck the fee had to be cut, only that this was all that had been raised. I told him that Chuck had heard him differently.

At Morris's suggestion I called Max, and I am awfully glad that I did. Max was, as you might have

expected, pretty unhappy at being, in his words, bypassed again. I did what I could to assuage his feelings, even to the point of a little shading of the truth, and I hope I succeeded. He had on his desk, he told me, a check already made out to the NSA, and he was trying to stifle his distaste of "conduits" so that he could call NSA and ask it to accept the money. Nobody had told him NSA had already been talked with. At his request I called Tim Manring and asked him to get off a letter to Max in the form of a proposal and a request; Tim said that he would get it out immediately (it went out Tuesday). The amount, as you know, is $5,000 plus $500.

Max's version is that Greenberg talked to Shad Polier who talked to Mrs. Polier, and that was it.

I confess to being more than a little annoyed at Greenberg. He has not only manuevered around in New York, but he has bitched to Claude Sitton, and I don't know to who else. He has also tried to interfere with the clients. I think it is best, however, for the moment that he be let alone. But if we get some more of this, I intend to talk to him. I learned just yesterday that he has asked Wiley to come up to New York next week for some kind of meeting with Stephen. Wiley knew little about it, but I assume it has to do with Legal Defense Fund money-raising. This is entirely all right with me; I think Wiley is a person whose judgment ought to be called on at many quarters. But I think it would have been courteous for Greenberg to have let me know about this.

As to Chuck's fee we are going to suggest to him that we let this ride for the moment. When he sees what the case amount to, I think we may be in a better position to go to work again. As I understood you, this is your view too.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

original Jones ltr returned to Lund

May 30, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Charlie Jones; I have not included the memorandum by Jean Russell which Charlie refers to because it seemed to me not to be very pertinent. I wonder if we could talk about this early next week, and perhaps form some ideas as how best to proceed?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

6/19/63

June 17, 1963

Dr. and Mrs. Morris A. Gordon
97-B Elsmere Avenue
Delmar, New York

Dear Ruth and Morris:

It is good to hear from you after so long a time. As you will see from the letterhead, I have changed positions, though I am still working in the field of race relations from this new vantage point.

The Southern Regional Council is doing a magnificent job in these trying days of the South. Among many other things, it is coordinating the major voting registration drive about which you have undoubtedly read. I know a contribution from you would be greatly appreciated.

The check should be made out simply Southern Regional Council and addressed to the Executive Director, Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, at 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia. I am sure if he can make suggestions as to ways in which you and your friends can help, you will hear from him.

My warmest regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

July 26, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Enclosed is a list of Congressmen whom our Washington participants believe would be appropriate recipients of the pre-publication report of the February conference. Leslie Dunbar will be sending you shortly 100 copies of the revised text. We are grateful for your willingness to take on the task of transmitting copies to these officials.

In addition, we are arranging among ourselves to send copies to the officers of the major civil rights agencies which carry on the legislative effort in civil rights within the framework of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

If you have other suggestions for distribution, or if you require additional copies for your own use, I suggest you drop Leslie a line.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. William Taylor

The following should be addressed to:

Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

The Honorable Warren G. Magnuson
The Honorable A.S. Mike Monroney
The Honorable Ralph W. Yarborough
The Honorable E.L. Bartlett
The Honorable Gale W. McGee
The Honorable Howard W. Cannon
The Honorable Thruston B. Morton
The Honorable Winston L. Prouty
The Honorable Edward Jarrett
The Honorable Thomas J. Dodd
The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
The Honorable Kenneth B. Keating
The Honorable Pat McNamara
The Honorable Joseph S. Clark
The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
The Honorable Claiborne Pell
The Honorable Jacob K. Javits
The Honorable John O. Pastore
The Honorable Frank J. Lausche
The Honorable Clair Engle
The Honorable Vance Hartke
The Honorable Philip A. Hart
The Honorable Norris Cotton
The Honorable Hugh Scott
The Honorable J. Glenn Beall
The Honorable Estes Kefauver
The Honorable Edward V. Long
The Honorable Birch Bayh
The Honorable Hiram L. Fong
The Honorable Wayne Morse
The Honorable Jennings Randolph
The Honorable Quentin N. Burdick
The Honorable Barry Goldwater
The Honorable Stewart E. McClure

The following should be addressed to:

House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

The Honorable Adam C. Powell
The Honorable James Roosevelt
The Honorable Elmer J. Holland
The Honorable Roman C. Pucinski
The Honorable John Brademas
The Honorable Hugh L. Carey
The Honorable Carlton R. Sickles
The Honorable George E. Brown, Jr.
The Honorable William H. Ayres
The Honorable Albert H. Quie
The Honorable Donald C. Bruce
The Honorable Dave Martin
The Honorable Paul Findley
The Honorable Louise Maxienne Dargans
~~The Honorable Francis E. Walter~~
The Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
The Honorable Harold D. Donohue
The Honorable Herman Toll
The Honorable Jacob H. Gilbert
The Honorable William L.St.Onge
The Honorable William M. McCulloch
The Honorable George Meader
The Honorable William T. Cahill
The Honorable Clark MacGregor
The Honorable James E. Bromwell
The Honorable Pat Minor Martin

The Honorable Edith Green
The Honorable Frank Thompson, Jr.
The Honorable John H. Dent
The Honorable Dominick V. Daniels
The Honorable James G. O'Hara
The Honorable Augustus F. Hawkins
The Honorable Thomas P. Gill
The Honorable Peter Frelinghuysen,Jr.
The Honorable Robert P. Griffin
The Honorable Charles E. Goodell
The Honorable John M. Ashbrook
The Honorable Alphonzo Bell
The Honorable Robert Taft, Jr.
The Honorable Emanuel Celler
The Honorable Michael A. Feighan
The Honorable Byron G. Rogers
The Honorable Roland V. Libonati
The Honorable Robert W. Kastenmeier
The Honorable James C. Corman
The Honorable George F. Senner,Jr.
The Honorable William E. Miller
The Honorable John V. Lindsay
The Honorable Garner E. Shriver
The Honorable Charles McC.Mathias,Jr.
The Honorable Carleton J. King
The Honorable Bess E. Dick

August 12, 1963

BCC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send 12 copies of the Notre Dame Conference Report to:

Mr. John Feild
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

(Label attached)

thanx, mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

DEC 2
AUG 12 1963
RECEIVED

August 8, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar - John Feild suggested that I drop you a note to ask if you can spare another 10 or 12 copies of the Notre Dame report. Our supply is just about exhausted.

As you probably know, Harold is on vacation until the 19th.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Ambrose, Secy

HAROLD C. FLEMING

(Love to Mildred)

CONFIDENTIAL August 19, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

What with Presbyterians et al. looking around for ways to spend money, I wish you would keep in mind the Fellowship of the Concerned. There is nothing to tell you that you don't already know all too well about the Fellowship. I have never felt in a good position to strive hard for funds for it. For the last two years we have absorbed most of the cost out of general operations. In this ~~ear~~ of frenetic giving, however, maybe it's as deserving as many another ~~thing~~.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C. • 332-5566

TA ✓
WB ✓
VI ✓
MJ - file
file - Potomac Institute

January 15, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Many thanks for the invitation to attend the Annual Meeting. I would like very much to come, especially to the dinner meeting; God willing and weather permitting, I will do so.

I have also read with care your two proposals to Taconic and will do all I can to facilitate favorable consideration. In the case of VEP, if the proposal hasn't been acted on by then, perhaps I can further improve my understanding of the project's accomplishments and immediate potential when I am in Atlanta.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

File: Potomac Institute

March 6, 1964

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the Partners for Progress ad from this morning's paper; it will be repeated this afternoon in the Journal, and some other ads will follow. Television programming is being planned also. The first program target of the ladies is Grady Hospital.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2. (Ad from Atlanta Constitution, 1963 Annual Report)

-File
Potomac Institute

March 6, 1964

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

I have not overlooked your letter of January 31. I am not as sure as you may be that there are "many bright people out there"; at least we seem to have a hard time finding them.

I'll be in Washington at the time of the Civil Liberties Clearing House conference. Could we talk about this then?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 36, D.C. • 332-5566

January 31, 1964

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We here at Potomac frequently are asked to suggest names of superior young people for positions in government (and occasionally in private intergroup agencies). I am well aware that there are many bright people "out there" somewhere whose names have not come to the attention of us provincials in Washington, and it is in this regard that I need your help.

Could you let me have the names of one or two young people of exceptional capability whom you would recommend unreservedly? A paragraph identifying and characterizing each (present employment, approximate salary range and age, area(s) of experience, and anything else germane) would help proper placement. I could then put these names into the hopper as occasion arises.

Since I am a great believer in "transferability" of skills, these people would not have to be from the intergroup relations field per se, but could come from related disciplines (law, teaching, journalism, industrial or labor relations, etc.). The objective is to place capable, imaginative talent in effective, often strategic, positions.

I would very much appreciate your cooperation in what I know is a matter of mutual interest, and of course I would be happy to share this "resource list" with you whenever you have need of it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:vg

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Trustee
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Trustee
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice-President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director
MARGARET PRICE, Research Associate

March 16, 1964

file

filed in Research

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

I have just finished reading The Federal Role in Equal Housing Opportunity. It is up to the good standard which the Potomac Institute has already achieved for its publications. Congratulations.

There is an interesting article in the February issue of The Mortgage Banker in case you have not already seen it.

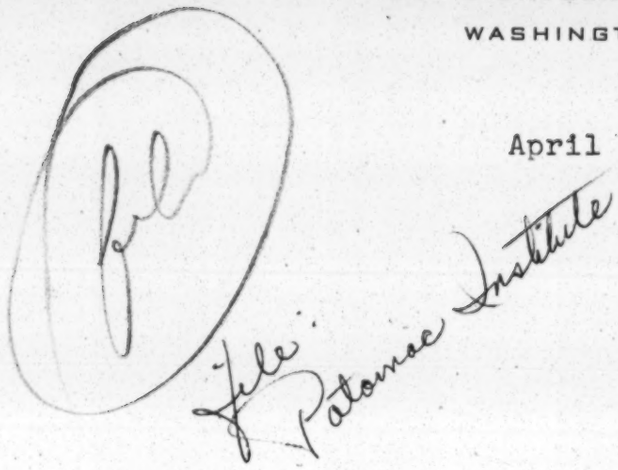
All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

HAROLD C. FLEMING
1501 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.



April 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Upon receipt of your letter, I called Senator Brewster's office, where I have some acquaintance. A staff member named Crowther (whom I haven't met) told me he had a copy of Nat Welch's letter to Welsh, copy to Brewster. He said all material would be welcome and would be referred automatically to him, as the campaign guy in the Washington office.

Best,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:EMA

PA ✓
MJ-file

via air mail

April 12, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. BD

Dear Harold:

Ozell Sutton sent me a copy of his proposal of April 9 to Taconic. I don't know that I could justify as much money as he is asking. For several reasons which have to do with the growth of the Arkansas Council, I do hope that if there is any possibility of assistance his request may get sympathetic consideration.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Sutton, Ozell && (A.C.H.R.)

REGARDING:

Proposal for financial assistance to Taconic Foundation

DATE(S)
April 9, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Councils on Human Relations: Arkansas

File - Potomac Inst

April 27, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Your letter of February 17 arrived here at the most opportune time. Did you know that it would or was it just coincidence? We had been discussing this question of application for federal money within the staff, and on the same day that you wrote your letter had had a serious discussion of it here in Executive Committee. My own opinion was and is exactly yours; viz., that SRC should not accept any federal contracts or grants. I am a little less firm about the state Councils, and have a quite open mind about local councils. My opinion at the time of your letter was getting re-thought, however, especially because our good friend, Vernon Eagle, had talked with me along a somewhat different line. Your views confirmed my own.

Now I must report that last week we went to some effort to encourage the state Councils to make Operation Head Start applications.

There were some special reasons for doing so, and Operation Head Start is a very special short-run program.

Thank you for your April 14 letter regarding the Arkansas Council. Again, I agree. Incidentally, what happened?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Vernon Eagle

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

PA
LD

April 14, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter about the Arkansas Council's request to Taconic arrived today just after I had talked by phone with Carl McCall. By fortunate coincidence, my advice to Carl was in harmony with your view, which I gather you had already given him.

In short, I recommended (a) that the proposal, particularly the projected conference of churchmen, be favorably considered; (b) that one conference instead of two, with commensurate reduction in cost, seemed to me reasonable; and (c) that consideration be given to working out any grant through SRC.

As to the latter point, it is a reflection of my bias that Taconic should avoid direct grants to the state councils -- there are too many of them, Taconic is too far away, and SRC is perfectly positioned to judge relative needs and opportunities. Hope I haven't done you a disservice by suggesting that your headaches be added to.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

Rec'd 2/19/65

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

February 17, 1965

PAV
VJ
LD

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I had heard that you made a brilliant presentation at the annual meeting. The outline of your remarks confirms it.

One of your points moves me to a comment of my own. I agree with you passionately that SRC and the state councils should continue to serve as responsible critics of government -- more than ever now that so many new programs are going to be in need of monitoring. This being so, I would carry your point even farther and seriously question the wisdom of SRC or a state council entering into <u>any</u> contractual relationship with a government agency. Reassure ourselves as we may with declarations of unimpaired independence, in practice the hand that feeds almost never gets bitten; and when it does, the relationship almost inevitably ends in acrimony.

Even though Potomac has no major role as a public critic of the Federal establishment, our experience with contracts has convinced me that we are far better off without such formal and financial entanglements. If this is true of Potomac, it is infinitely more true of SRC and its cooperating councils.

We never seem to get a chance to talk at length and at leisure. I hope that will happen soon.

Best,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*
JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*

PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*

HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1601 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

April 27, 1965

Rec'd 4/29/65

VKV
FAV
M.J. file

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Statesboro
Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

Les Dunbar was thoughtful enough to share with me a copy of the letter you received recently from Chancellor Martin.

Truth crushed to earth will rise again, they say. And although nine years are a long time, it's satisfying to see the Regents fulfill the prophecy.

Those years were bad ones for Georgia, but, looking back on them, I think they were good ones for us.

Highest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar

File Potomac Inst.

April 28, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Bedtime reading.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report)

file

May 7, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is all we have on Lee Thomas. He is now President of Vermont American Corporation, 500 East Main Street, Louisville, Kentucky. This is a combine of American Saw and Tool Co., Vermont Tap and Die Co., Delux Saw and Tool Co., Multi Metals, Inc., and Threadit Division.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File
Personal Letters

July 30, 1965

Dear Margaret:

Getting into the mails today are twelve copies of ENCOUNTER. No charge.

It's a relief to know that others have had their share too -- Zeke and I were beginning to think we just weren't living right!

Hugs and kisses to all at Potomac.

Love,

File Potomac Institute

MEMORANDUM July 30, 1965

To: BCCook
MPAnderson

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up twelve (12) copies of ENCOUNTER and send to Margaret Price at Potomac Institute (label attached).

Mattie,

For your information and records.

thanx, mmj

Margaret Price

Dear Mildred:

Harold asked me to write to see if SRC would send us a dozen copies of Pat Watters' latest, Encounter With The Future. I can't find any price on it, but if there is a charge, have Potomac billed, will you, please?

It was so good to talk to you last week and since we're both such hopeless letter writers, I'm going to try to think of an excuse to call SRC from time to time, so that we can keep in touch. Eleanor is sorry she missed talking to you and sends her love.

As for Bem, he sends Zeke his sympathy. A couple of years ago some friends in Atlanta wrote that they had planned to build a swimming pool, but hit a solid bed of rock and had to abandon the whole idea. They now have a sunken rock garden! Sometimes the joys of home owning do seem a little dubious. (That's what Bem thought when he was on the roof on his stomach, painting the last section of the house, where the ladder wouldn't reach. The roof has marble chips, so when he came down he had a somewhat mottled, or indented, front.)

M.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Potomac Institute

REGARDING

Letter from Paul Anthony to Congressman Kastenmeier October 29, 1965 re: sending certain materials under separate cover.

Date (s)

October 29, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

U. S. Government - Corresp. w/congressman

File
Potomac Inst.

October 29, 1965

Miss Analoyce E. Clapp
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Analoyce:

We did have a letter from Congressman Kastenmeier inviting me to a meeting and saying someone would call as to date, etc. I have been out considerably, but no call that I know of.

We are sending him a considerable collection of materials and the offer of other assistance

Hope to see you in Mid-November.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm
Enclosure

P. S. Our Annual Meeting is November 14-16, Atlanta Biltmore. Why doesn't Potomac send you down. Would love to have you.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

October 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have just talked with Congressman Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, who heads a new subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee -- an ad hoc advisory sort of set-up to look into the implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964, plus the Voting Rights Bill. A rather large order, especially in view of the fact that they have no funds and no staff.

Bob, however, is a dedicated guy and wants to do as complete a job as possible. I think he would get a lot out of your latest publication on voting, and I would appreciate it if you would send him a couple of copies as soon as possible. If you think of anything else that might be helpful to the committee, please add that.

I see that you were in Chicago at the NAIRO affair. I would have given my eye teeth to hear Saul Alinsky and Sviridoff debate -- and suggested as much to Art. But he didn't see it my way. I am hoping that Fred Routh was able to tape it, as he said he would. (I wrote a note to Saul and told him to BARK at Art when he met him!)

I hope we see you soon. It is always a pleasure to have such a clear breeze from the South in the office! (Now, I DIDN'T day big wind)

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, *President*
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JOHN G. SIMON, *Secretary*
PHILIP G. HAMMER, *Trustee*
ANDREW E. NORMAN, *Trustee*
HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice-President*
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

File
Potomac Institute
Cr. ref.
Rockefeller Fd., 1965

November 29, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute Inc.
1501 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Included is a copy of our proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation. In addition to the proposal there were a number of attachments, including the:

Board List
Staff List
Publications List, 1965
Proposed Budgets, 1966
SRC Publications Program
Press Comments About SRC
A Sampling of Comments on SRC Materials

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/pf

File Potomac Institute
Cr. ref
VEP, 1965
"Proposal"

December 8, 1965

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I've been asked to send you the enclosed proposal which we got off yesterday to Les at Field, Mr. Currier at Taconic and an informational copy to Mr. Hunter at Stern.

Paul tells me that you, when you were here, had not seen the proposal we sent to Rockefeller. It was mailed to you on November 29s However, in case it went astray, here's another copy.

It was like old times seeing you again -- hurry back.

Sincerely,

Mildred M. Johnson

ENCLOSURES

January 11, 1966

Mrs. Analoyce E. Clapp
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Analoyce:

We don't have a Voter Education Program in Louisiana. In fact, until we get some money from those foundations we won't have a program anywhere. However, in a few days you will get from Barbara Patterson, the Project Research Director, some analysis of what is happening and may be happening in Louisiana.

Good luck on whatever you are doing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dear Paul:

I hope you can take a couple of minutes to answer a few questions about your voter registration projects. I am interested in Louisiana, because of the impending race there for U. S. Senate.

Can you give me an inkling about the size of your operation there: time-wise, money-wise, personnel-wise? How many new voters can you expect in Louisiana before the primary in August? Are you concentrating on rural areas or dividing pretty evenly between country and city?

I will appreciate ever so much being clued in.

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.20036
Jan. 6, 1966

P.S. - Mind if I say I am not working for the incumbent Senator?

Hi to Vernon

original to Barbara Patterson 1-11-66 KM

January 20, 1966

Mr. James O. Gibson
Staff Associate
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Jim:

Delighted you are coming down for the interagency meeting, and look forward to renewing our acquaintance.

Congratulations on your position, too.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

January 18, 1966

Rec'd 1/20/66

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Congratulations and best wishes in your new situation.

As of January 1, I joined Art and Harold here at Potomac and this letter is to alert you that I will be attending the Southern Interagency Conference on January 26-27 for Potomac. I look forward to renewing ties with some of my old friends at SRC.

It won't be necessary to ask that any arrangements be made for accommodations for me, since I plan to stay with my family while in town.

See you next week.

Sincerely,

James O. Gibson
Staff Associate

JG:CD

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Trustee
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Trustee
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice-President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director
MARGARET PRICE, Research Associate

March 3, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

While it's unlikely anyone may be interested in Bill Maness of Jacksonville as a judge, should the question come up he's a good man and the enclosed may be of interest.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
(Enclosure - Maness ltr. of Feb. 5, 1966 to Pres. Lyndon Johnson re: appointment to a U.S. District Court judgeship or Judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals, along with zeroxed copies of news clips from the Florida Times-Union of Feb. 20, 1966, and biographical data)

March 21, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Perhaps these relatively insignificant reactions to the draft report will reach you in time.

As we discussed earlier the report is somewhat disappointing because it does not reflect the quality of the conference.

On the first page of the Introduction you make the statement: "There are gaps... notably in the areas of personal security for civil rights workers..." Some of us at the conference would disagree with this statement, since the administration of justice generally, and jury reform in particular, seem considerably more important.

On page 4, "Anti-discrimination measures... cannot achieve desegregation..." seems somewhat overstated and could be interpreted as being in contradiction to the recommendation on page 27.

The above is minor, and my only real concern is that in the section on housing there is no clear mention of the need for a program for low income housing in rural areas. Several of us thought we had an agreement with Bob Harris that this would receive more attention than it does.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

~~BA~~
MM
MJ

Rec'd 3/28/66

March 24, 1966

Dear Paul:

I want to add my congratulations to all the others you undoubtedly are receiving on the new New South.

It's a great job, from Marge's cover right on through an imposing, and interesting, collection of articles.

I wish you could give it newsstand distribution, for it certainly deserves the widest possible audience.

Best,

Margaret

Margaret Price

March 28, 1966

Mrs. Margaret Price
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Thank you for your nice note about New South.

We are experimenting with the idea of placing the magazine on newsstands and in college bookstores. But, it will probably be after the second issue before we know whether or not it works.

Why don't you write us an article for the summer issue?

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 29, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Here is a copy of our proposal to your Foundation, whose support we continue to need.

I know it's too many words for you, but thought you should see the whole package.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

See cr. ref. Taconic bd. Request for gen. support, 1966

April 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am glad you sent me not only the request to Taconic but the "whole package." I have read it all, with admiration for the way you have grasped the leadership of the outfit and considerable pride in what SRC is, and is still becoming. The last point, which you make superbly, is terribly important. SRC will be relevant as long as it is discontented with the going formulation of "the South" and, accordingly, of itself. Keeping the virtues of adversity in a time of relative success won't be easy; but I know of nobody (including me) who is better qualified than you to keep alive the spirit of adversity. Staying lean, however, is quite another problem.

Needless to say, you have my support in your effort to up the annual ante.

Yours for grits and a streak of lean.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER President
LLOYD K. GARRISON Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER Director
BURKE MARSHALL Director
ANDREW E. NORMAN Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING Executive Vice President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN Staff Director

April 12, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Every now and then, pretty often as a matter of fact, when I'm thoroughly convinced that this damn thing won't float, there comes a letter like yours.

During the past six months I have received three letters which I value; your's is the fourth and most valued. Thank you.

Incidentally, we don't want to be too lean.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Free Potomac Inst.

April 29, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

We thought you might want the enclosed information in case you appointed any federal judges.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Briefs for Frank Smith + Paul Johnston

June 7, 1966

file

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

James Christenberry of Rolling Fork, Mississippi was by last week looking for a job. He has a pretty remarkable background for someone interested in getting into this business. Both Chuck Morgan and I thought highly of him.

He has reason to believe that his days are numbered in Rolling Fork, and is anxious to get a job. Anything you can do would be appreciated.

Hope you have recuperated from last week. I haven't!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Biographical data sheet)

File
Potomac Institute

August 1, 1966

Mrs. Bem Price
The Pptomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Here is Moreland Smith's memorandum describing the research project in housing. As you get into it I think we might well decide to give less attention to such things as the history of these organization, and there might be places where we would want to broaden it. But, this is the general idea.

Under separate cover we are sending you a considerable amount of material that may help you further.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Files
Potomac Inst.
Cr. ref. Urban Planning Project
re: Special Study done by Margaret Price
"The Baltimore Story"
a housing study

December 7, 1966

Mrs. Bem Price
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Margaret:

Your statement of fees and expenses for the work is very reasonable. We can afford it, and we more than got our money's worth. Our check is enclosed.

Glad the Atlanta visit is scheduled and look forward to it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $933.44)

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

Nov. 29

Dear Paul:

When we talked about fees I forgot to ask you if you had a certain amount budgeted for this particular project under the Urban program. Now, while I know SRC is wealthy, according to the Wall Street Journal et al I also know there can be clear limits to what can be spent on a specific project. So, the enclosed represents a very strict accounting of time. However, since I didn't have to take this many days from Potomac, because I worked week-ends, we could knock off a few and I would still come out even. Obviously, I've always had a very soft spot in my heart for SRC !

Best,

Margaret

P.S. If Mildred sees this, tell her to feel perfectly free to comment on my typing.

Expenses passed on to RHA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Director
BURKE MARSHALL, Director
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice-President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director

File
Potomac Inst

February 21, 1967

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Tentatively I plan to be in Washington on Thursday, March 2, to talk with Calvin and David Apter. If you are available and it is convenient, I would very much like to talk with you early that morning before seeing them. In fact, I would be happy if you would join me in my conversation with them if you feel that desirable.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File Potomac Inst.

March 22, 1967

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Harold:

Pop probably sent you a copy of the enclosed. If not, thought you would like to see it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

File
Palomar Inst

MEMO
FROM THE DESK OF
HAROLD C. FLEMING

file

5/4/67

Dear Paul,

I believe I failed to tell you today that I thought your letter to Jack Anderson was well done — and sufficient unto the day.

Let me know if anything more develops.

Best,

Harold

File Potomac Inst.

May 31, 1967

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Harold:

I have just returned with the resolve to eat nothing but fried chicken and pork chops for six months!

I had very much hoped we might be able to spend some time together at Capahosic. However, I have every sympathy with the reasons for your absence. There are no reasons at this point for me to be in Washington in the near future. If one doesn't develop perhaps I could run up in late June just for a long conversation which I feel the need of.

Things look good on the VEP funding. New World has given $25,000 and we expect favorable action on $10,000 from New York Foundation next week.

Most incredibly, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation has just made a grant of $50,000 to the Project.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

Rec'd 5/15/67

May 11, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have read the Apter-Kytle report you were thoughtful enough to send me. My sympathy for you is greatly tempered by the knowledge that by the time this reaches SRC, you will be frolicking in Europe. I should suffer in such style.

I will defer any discussion of the report and its implications until you are back and we can talk it out. Meanwhile, this is just to put a note in your stack of homecoming mail to ask: After all the reactions have subsided, what, if anything, is to be said about the merits of SRC doing something more in its own vein to influence business practices and leadership?

Yours for the peptic generation.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
President

HCF:EMA

Board of Directors

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ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director
JAMES O. GIBSON, Staff Associate
MARGARET PRICE, Research Associate

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

file

file Potomac Inst.

June 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am glad you have finally arrived at a date when you can make it to Washington. I expect to be here on July 11 and will keep the morning clear for a get-together with you.

As you may know, Les and Carl Holman enlisted me to some extent in what Les calls the "doctors' plot." I think their report is a very powerful one and hope their testimony will help jolt the American public into awareness of the genocidal effects of our indifference.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
President

HCF:EMA

Board of Directors

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WILLIAM L. SLAYTON

ARTHUR J. LEVIN, *Staff Director*
JAMES O. GIBSON, *Staff Associate*
MARGARET PRICE, *Research Associate*

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

POTOMAC INSTITUTE

REGARDING

P.A.Engagements 1968

RE: Jim Gibson's role in arranging conference between SRC and Bureau of Census delegations on underenumeration of non-whites in censuses

DATE

xk2022x 12-22-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. GOVERNMENT - Dept of Commerce

file Potomac Inst.

via air mail

April 15, 1968

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
President
Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Norman Perlstein and I need a meeting place on Friday morning, April 19th, in Washington. May we use your facilities? Don't bother to answer, since I will show up at the Potomac Institute shortly after 9:00 a.m. on Friday, and meet them there whatever your circumstances.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 20, 1968

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
President
Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Just a note to let you know that I learned, on trying to reach him, that Jim Toomey is also in Europe. Therefore, I have done nothing further relative to having any discussion with anyone at Urban America.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 30, 1968

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your help. I did speak with Twomey while he was in Atlanta.

Eliza Paschall and several others did picket the meeting until they were invited in at no cost.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

September 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Sorry to hear the European air lift fouled up my suggestion that you get in touch with Twomey. But Bill Slayton is back now and I found occasion the other night to tell him about the situation in Atlanta as you described it to me.

Bill felt that there would be no problem arranging for appropriate indiginees to attend the meeting at little or no cost. He said he would instruct Twomey to be in touch with you when Twomey is in Atlanta within the next few days. I hope this helps.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
President

HCF:EMA

Board of Directors
HAROLD C. FLEMING, President
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Vice President
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WILLIAM L. SLAYTON
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director
JAMES O. GIBSON, Staff Associate
MARGARET PRICE, Research Associate

TA
PR ✓
MA file

THE

POTOMAC

INSTITUTE, Inc.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, Inc., is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans.

To further these objectives, the Institute employs the educational tools of research and fact-finding, informational and consultative services, publications, special-purpose conferences, and cooperation with other agencies.

The Institute's advisory services have been enlisted by government agencies in the development of policies and programs designed to assure equal treatment of minority groups. It also serves as a resource to private organizations with similar concerns.

For these activities, as well as for its own projects, the Institute recruits specialists from fields as varied as the law, education, economics, sociology, industrial and community relations, in the belief that the best of professional knowledge and experience should be applied to the full development of America's human resources.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, Inc.
1501 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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ARTHUR J. LEVIN.....*Staff Director*

MARGARET PRICE.....*Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*

Rec'd 4/19 file

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
~~41 Exchange Place, S. E.~~
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~
1501 - 18th St. NW
Wash. D.C.

April 16th

Dear Les:

Leaving Atlanta was a most difficult decision - all the more so because of wonderfully kind sentiments such as your letter.

I feel rich indeed in the invaluable friendships I have been fortunate enough to enjoy over the years, among which I hope to count yours for many more years to come.

We'll probably get to see more of each other now than in Atlanta. As soon as we get a permanent home address, we'll expect you to make our home your home base whenever

you are in Washington. Until school is out, I'll be commuting to Atlanta weekends and hopefully we can get together a few times before June.

Warmest best wishes house to house.

Sincerely,

Art

Please give my best regards to Paul, Paul, Jim Moss, Mildred, et. al.

HAROLD FLEMING HEADS INSTITUTE

Human Relations Expert Elected as President of Potomac Organization

Special to The Chattanooga Times

WASHINGTON — Harold C. Fleming, one of the South's foremost human relations experts, has been elected president of the Potomac Institute, a non-profit organization which serves national programs to advance equal opportunity, eliminate discriminatory practices and promote the betterment of the culturally deprived throughout the country.

Fleming, who has served the institute as executive vice president since its establishment in 1961, succeeds the late Stephen R. Currier, who was founder and president of the institute until January of this year when he and his wife were lost on a plane flight in the Caribbean. The Curriers had won national attention as an outstanding "husband-wife team" committed to broad philanthropic ventures in the interests of community building to improve American life.

Fleming, a native of Atlanta and a graduate of Harvard University, headed the Southern Regional Council for many years, building a national reputation as one of the most finely balanced students of multi- cultural problems and the techniques for progress and improvement in these areas.

Sociologists, government officials, Southern leaders from all walks of life, foundation executives, and visitors from abroad, would spend hours in Fleming's offices in SRC headquarters in Atlanta listening to his calm and reasoned interpretation of the complexities of the racial crisis and the deeper meanings and acute problems of a whole region in transition.

Fleming's hand at the helm was largely responsible for making SRC a major force in race relations improvements in the South through the methods of persuasion, information, and production of pamphlets and treatises that soon became guidelines and instructional material for community leaders and civic groups throughout the South.

His leadership on the regional scene led to his selection to direct operations and programs for Potomac Institute, where he has had noted success in developing methods and techniques that essentially relate many of the wisdoms and insights discovered in Southern situations to the needs and challenges of problems of national dimension.

Other officers elected at the board of director's meeting here were Philip G. Hammer, vice president; Lloyd K. Garrison, treasurer, and John G. Simon, secretary. Hammer, a North Carolinian, is widely known throughout the South for his studies and projections of community growth patterns and potential. Garrison is a New York lawyer, and Simon is an associate professor at Yale Law School.

In addition to the officers, other members of the board are Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, president, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia; Burke Marshall, vice president and general counsel, International Business Machines Corp.; Andrew E. Norman, senior field representative, New Jersey District, Community Action Program; and William L. Slayton, executive vice president, Urban America, Washington, D.C.

Please copy for Potomac Inst.

File
Chatt Times

Dear Paul:

~~Thought~~ Thought you might be interested in this clip...I put it together to take care of old Flem', but it also gave me a chance to drive home a few reminders of SRC and its role in the South in those years,etc. In this busines you've got to keep your sights on the target for the good and true ones all the time, or the readers won't know where to take a stand when the crisis comes.

Best regards

Pop

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

June 26

Dear Mildred:

The other day when I was getting together some stuff for a speech for Art Levin I found we are missing several of the SRC L reports--L 27, 28, 29 and 31, 32 and 33. Oddly enough Harold seems to be missing the same ones. Can't imagine what happened. Could you send two copies of each, please? We would appreciate it.

I've been intending to write you for weeks, in hopes that would bring a letter with lots of news from you. However, I have kept up with the 3½ Johnsons after a fashion, via Ruth and Eleanor's talk with you the other day.

It was wonderful seeing Ruth and I thought she looked great. She gave us a lot of SRC news, and unfortunately most of it was pretty discouraging. I got mad even at this distance hearing of some of the things you and she have had to put up with. It is just incredible. Keep me posted and I certainly will be hoping things improve.

Ruth said your home is so attractive and that you and Zeke have done wonders with your yard. She also reported that Lauren seems so happy. It was so good to hear in your last letter that relations have improved so much with your family and I know what a tremendous relief that must have been to all concerned.

Bem and I had a marvelous vacation. We took off Easter Sunday and spent the first week in London. Then we picked up our new car and spent the next two weeks driving in England, seeing lots of castles, fortresses, cathedrals, etc., and on up to Scotland, where we had a wonderful three or four days in Edinburgh. Then we drove back through the midlands, via Oxford, into London for another week there before coming home. This time I didn't push so frantically and we were much more leisurely but still managed to see and do most of the things we wanted. Both of us are in love with London, really the most wonderful city. We went to a play every night--it is so much easier, and cheaper, than the NY theater; it's unnecessary to make reservations before the morning of the performance and the best seats are just a fraction of the cost in NY. Uusually on a trip you can count on picking up some kind of bug that knocks you out for a few days but we were lucky and stayed healthy.

We came back to a yard of weeds practically waist high (the neighbor boy who was to cut our grass was about as effective as Mr. Peterson) so we spent a hard day working before returning to our offices. Bem spent about 15 minutes at his and then, to his disgust, had to go down to Cape Canaveral for the Carpenter orbital flight. However, he stayed only two days and came right on back--said he couldn't wait for Carpenter to return to Florida, that he had to get home to cut the grass again. We spent the following two or three week-ends working like crazy in the yard and now I wonder why because the weeds are all back (I/m thinking of getting a couple of sheep or goats).

Then last Sunday a week Bem left again, this time for a five week swing around military bases from Ft. Benning to California. At the moment the lawn mower is on the blink--neither I nor a neighbor who tried for me could start it Sunday--the percolator is leaking, some outdoor shades are piled in the living room waiting to be put up and--oh well, why go on. Husbands are handy to have around. At least a pipe started leaking before he left.

As you know, Art Levin is here full time now and is a fine, cheerful person to have around. They are just renting for the summer, since their house in Atlanta hasn't been sold yet. Their older boy has a job in a summer camp and Billy went to a YM camp for a month Sunday. We still have the darned fish; they just won't die.

Harold is still as busy as ever and today, for example, I don't think I've even seen him to say hello. You know how it is--better telephone if you want to communicate.

Fred Routh came in beaming yesterday; he had just traded in his beloved T-bird for a 1961 Jaguar, hardtop, grey with red leather upholstery. You know he is head of the NAIRO office, which moved headquarters here, now. He has rented a little house in Georgetown and is the same, breezy old Freddy. He leaves for California this week to run some kind of interracial, inter-faith citizenship camp for six weeks.

Eleanor probably told you her mother had been quite sick--was in the hospital for a week and both Eleanor and Rita took off to stay with her. But, she recovered--seems her doctor found the medicine he had prescribed probably caused all the trouble; it was something to which she was allergic. Eleanor said today Michael leaves Sunday for three weeks or so in Bolivia.

John came by for coffee the other morning and he too could bring us news of all of you. But, we all want to hear something first hand, so how about a letter soon. Hope you are over all the worst part now and that from here on everything goes smoothly until the baby arrives.

Love,

Margaret

Ruth wanted a copy of the enclosed, which Zeke might enjoy too.

For Harry

Boo-Boos From Sixth Grade

By PASQUALE MARRANZINO

THE MAGNIFICENCE of young and spontaneous boo-boos was pointed out to me by Mrs. Elinor Lorie, a teacher at Bromwell School.

Now that school is almost out, Mrs. Lorie has let me peek at a collection of answers to questions given sixth graders all over the city.

Marranzino

GEOGRAPHY:

The general direction of the Alps is straight up.

The seaport of Athens is Pyorrhea.

Most of the houses of France are made of plaster of Paris.

New Zealand is a democratic country. They passed a law preventing women from sweating in the factories.

* * *

HISTORY:

If it hadn't been for Greece, we wouldn't have any history.

The French Revolution was caused by overcharging taxis.

Napoleon wanted an heir to the throne, but since Josephine was a baroness, she could not bear children.

Henry VIII, by his own efforts, increased the population of England by 40,000.

Queen Elizabeth was a fat woman. She stoutly resisted the demands of the Spanish ambassador.

Oliver Cromwell had a large red nose, but under it were deeply religious feelings.

He fought the Battle of Worchester on the anniversary of his death.

* * *

GOVERNMENT:

A limited monarchy: Only one man can be king at a time.

The difference between a president and a king is that a king has no vice.

Tell how a city purifies its water supply. They filter the water and then force it through an aviator.

* * *

HUMAN BODY:

Describe the circulation of the blood. It flows down one leg and up the other.

To prevent head colds, use an agonizer to spray nose until it drops in your throat.

A person should take a bath once in the summertime and not so often in winter.

A stomach is a bowl-shaped cavity containing the organs of indigestion.

* * *

SCIENCE:

Why do we not raise silk worms in the U.S.? We get our silk from rayon. He is a larger animal and gives more silk.

A dinosaur became extinct after the flood because they were too big to fit in the Ark.

One by-product of cattle raising is calves.

How do bacteria reproduce? They multiply and then divide.

Iron was discovered because someone smelt it.

The Moon is a planet, just like the Earth, only deader.

What happens when there is an eclipse of the Sun? A great many people come out to look at it.

Three heavenly bodies are the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The four seasons are salt, pepper, mustard and vinegar.

The triangle which has an angle of 135 degrees is called an obscene triangle.

* * *

MISCELLANEOUS:

The men who followed Jesus about were called the 12 oppossums.

In the middle of the 16th Century all the morons lived in Utah.

A Scout obeys all to whom obedience is due and respects all duly constipated authorities.

February 9, 1954

Miss Hallie Price
Box 1249
Berea College
Berea, Ky.

Dear Miss Price:

In reply to your card of February 5th I enclose the following material about the Council:

A copy of the "Statement of Policy and Aims" adopted in 1951, some excerpts from the Annual Report for 1953 (the whole report is rather long) and a list of our publications.

Membership in the Council is $3.00 per single membership with sustaining membership (an additional contribution) at $10.00. A year's subscription to NEW SOUTH is included.

We will be happy to have you join us and to be of service in anyway possible.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

sent Pkt - Policy Stmt &
part rept -

Dear Sirs;

Would you please send me any information about your Council and the work you do. Your Executive Secretary has spoken on our campus, and I would like to learn more. Thank you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Hallie Price

Hallie Price
Box 1249 College
Berea, Kentucky

RECEIVED
FEB 6
Southern Regional Council

A Five-fold Plan for Community Service

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EDUCATION AND RECREATION
BARD McALLISTER

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
JAS. H. GRIFFIN, CHM.

April 5, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Our lateness in getting this 1953 gift to the Council is no indication of [redacted] tardy interest. With this comes our good wishes.

Sincerely,

Carson

J. Carson Pritchard

for J Carson and Marion P.

$35.00
H.

JCP/lm

DCR 4-7-54 HCF

card seat

A Five-fold Plan for Community Service

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APR 14 1954
Southern Regional Council

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MRS. P. S. GRIFFIN

DIRECTOR OF
EDUCATION AND RECREATION
BARD McALLISTER

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
JAS. H. GRIFFIN, CHM.

April 12, 1954

Mr. Harold C.Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Congratulations and all good wishes. I don't envy you the job of organizing to do all the work that may be implicit in a grant of that magnitude. We have a very temperate challenge in a grant of $22,000 for development of College in the Country.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Carson

J. Carson Pritchard

JCP/lm

A Representative, Non-partisan Medium for Community Action on Behalf of Our Common Needs

A Five-fold Plan for Community Service

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JAS. H. GRIFFIN, CHM.

April 13, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Romm 432
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I can always use a spare copy or two of news clippings, so I assume that you can. This one is from Sunday's New York Times.

Good wishes,

Carson

Carson Pritchard

RECEIVED
APR 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

JCP/lm

A Representative, Non-partisan Medium for Community Action on Behalf of Our Common Needs

incoming ltr to #17.

June 17, 1954

Mr. John G. Pratt, Jr.
Route 3, Box 13
El Dorado, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Pratt:

I can't be at the June 18th meeting, but Harold will be there and will be delighted to see you. We need more strength and more friends in your state.

Warm regards to Stephen Stephan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The PROGRESSIVE FARMER
RALEIGH BIRMINGHAM MEMPHIS DALLAS

1105 Southland Bldg. Annex
Dallas 1, Texas RA-3152

AIR MAIL

Carbon of yr. letter to Butler attached EB

28 June 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I expect to be in Dallas on June 30th and I'll be glad to see you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Butler

Editor

Eugene Butler:DSM

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 24, 1954

Mr. Eugene Butler
Progressive Farmer
1105 Southland Building Annex
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Butler:

Jim Sells and I are near neighbors office-wise, and occasionally get a chance to swap ideas. And years ago in a Raleigh period I had the honor of Clarence Poe's friendship.

Sells thinks that I may have some useful ideas to put in on the problem of schools under the Supreme Court's Decision. I happen to be coming to Dallas June 30th with the afternoon of that day free.

If you will be available, I would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you a bit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Copy to: Mr. James Sells

August 17, 1954

Dear Miss Pritchett:

We do thank you for the dollar and for your nice letter. Singers in the Dawn heading your way. Call on us again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 24, 1955.

Mr. Carson Pritchard
West Georgia College
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Carson:

Thanks for sending me a copy of yo r letter to Rhoda Kaufman. It was excellent and straight to the point.

Enclosed is mine, lazily cribbed from earlier correspondance with Fox.

I will try to advance your suggestions in further efforts here.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Encs.

College in the Country

December 12, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 14 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

Dr. and Mrs. William Biddle were in St. Louis at the Adult Education Association last month. We had an interesting conversation which I had hoped to report to you Person to Person before now.

As you know, they have directed work camps in Puerto Rico for seven summers. A core group of work campers is Earlham College students. They do an effective and democratic work.

You should see their book (Harper's) Cultivating Community Leaders.

Invitations have come to them from several foreign countries to bring work camps abroad: Ceylon, etc.

Biddles, believing the South is coming awake, would like to work in the South if a challenging opportunity arose. We talked about your dream of an International House in Atlanta.

If you have some coal of fire on your tongue their address is: Program of Community Dynamics, Earlham, Richmond, Indiana.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Carson

Carson Pritchard

CP:as

P. S.-

Is Roy Harris a close personal friend of yours!

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION, WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE, CARROLLTON, GEORGIA
A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

Mr. Carson Pritchard,
College in the Country,
Carrollton,
GEORGIA.

December 14th, 1955.

Dear Carson,

Thank you for note in re the Biddles, to whom I have written. I don't feel aglow with present hope, but I always have plenty for the future, and so said.

Come to see us. We miss you.

Roy Harris tells lies.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

June 19, 1957

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Having failed to reach you by telephone (I assume you are still with your family), I thought I should let you know this way that voting figures have been playing an important part in the Congressional civil rights debate.

Enclosed is a copy of a story by Reston which gives some of the story. Needless to say, Jim Davis saw fit to mount an assault on us after Celler introduced the figures in the House.

I am about to be off on a trip, but later on will fill you in on more detail.

Did you see Bim's copy on the obnoxious character who directs SRC?

Best to you both,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure

First Baptist Church
THIRD AND DOWNEY
Radford, Virginia

Richard E. Price, Jr.
Minister

February 11, 1958

The Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have been invited to lead a conference on "Viewing Racial Readjustments" at a statewide meeting of the young people of our Baptist Training Union. I would appreciate your sending me any free literature that you feel would be helpful to distribute to young people. If you have any free tracts available that would be pertinent for these young people I would appreciate 25 copies of each tract.

I should like also to get some copies of "Three Views of the Segregation Decisions" published by the Southern Regional Council in 1956. These were the papers given by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays, and Cecil Sims. If these pamphlets are free, I would appreciate 25 copies of them also. If there is any charge for them please advise me, and I will try to place a separate order for them.

Thank you very much.

Cordially yours,

Richard E. Price, Jr.

REP/bjb

JC - Lets send the following gratis -

25 Copies "Three Views"
25 Copies " MLK's Macon Speech"
25 Copies Publication list
1 a leadership packet for him - FBR -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

August 28, 1958

Mr. Carson Pritchard
West Georgia College
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

This is an inadequate method of expressing our appreciation for your thorough handling of Mr. Ahmed on such short notice. However, we are most grateful and if an opportunity arises when we can serve one of your visitors in like fashion, we shall certainly try.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

November 21, 1958

Mr. Carson Pritchard
West Georgia College
Carrollton, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pritchard:

I regret that we must report failure in our Thanksgiving foreign visitor assignment. We were able to turn up a Turkish family but we have been unable to reach them. Also, there are a number of students from Turkey here in Atlanta, but it is unlikely that they would be in a position to handle the hospitality.

I have been told by Mrs. Ed Driscoll, who heads up the International Club at the local YWCA, of a couple in Athens who might be able to help at the last minute. They are Mr. and Mrs. Paul Pseutze (pronounced Fitze). Dr. Pseutze is with the Department of Philosophy at the University of Georgia and Mrs. Pseutze is with the YW there. Both serve as counsellors for foreign students on campus. According to Mrs. Driscoll they have performed last minute miracles in arranging hospitality in Athens' homes, and are more than cooperative.

We are genuinely sorry that we had been of so little help in this matter.

Incidentally, as we discussed on the phone at the first of the week, we will be happy to see your students at any time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

June 26, 1962

Mr. Duane Lockard
Associate Professor of Politics
Princeton University — file
Princeton, New Jersey:

Dear Mr. Lockard:

In answer to your inquiry of the 22nd, we would suggest the following persons:

Mr. Whitney Young, Director
National Urban League
14 E. 48th Street
New York, New York
(former Dean of the School of Social Work, Atlanta University)

Dr. John Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
(an attorney, formerly of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, has handled a number of major civil rights cases)

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Leland deVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Enclosed is a listing of SRC publications. If any of them would be of interest to you, we will be happy to forward single copies without charge.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

THE ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
123 1879 Hall

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1962

June 22, 1962

Whitney Young
John Ketchum
Wiley Branton
Oscar Cohen
Harold Fleming
Leland de Cuney
SRC Atlanta

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The Human Relations Council of Princeton University is planning to support in the course of the next few years a number of research projects in the general area of problems of the American Negro. Preparatory to that, I have been asked to assist in organizing some conferences here at Princeton during the next six months at which knowledgeable leaders in various fields may discuss the kinds of research that might be most beneficial. It is not intended that the persons doing the research necessarily be here at Princeton either permanently or on a visiting basis, although some no doubt will be.

I would appreciate it very much if you or some member of your staff could suggest the names of any scholars, active organizational participants, philosophers or anyone else who might have a fruitful contribution to make to a week-end conference on the general subject of "where should research efforts on Negro Americans now be directed?" If possible, for lesser-known persons, would you please add some comment about their general background and interests?

Sincerely,

Duane Lockard

Duane Lockard
Associate Professor Politics

DL/hjf

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

TA - pls reply; my suggestions are noted

College in the Country

Dear Harold,

Thanks very much for seeing the two Biddles yesterday. They were excited by what they found of SRC's work. Thank Tom the Romuts for being so helpful.

I hope we have the A.A.E. office for Atlanta.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Carson

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION, WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE, CARROLLTON, GEORGIA
A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

JUNE 1957 35 CENTS FOUNDED IN 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

SPRING BOOKS

also

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR ALL James Murray

THE KNOWLAND STORY William V. Shannon

BOX-OFFICE QUAKERS Milton Mayer

LAFOLLETTE AND McCARTHY An Editorial

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Date December 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council made today the following statement:

"I. Three Centuries of Moral Crisis

"The South's history for centuries has been intertwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world. There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

"These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the world-wide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

"White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim. Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

"Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built this region, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made the South's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

"Out of affection for the South, and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, we suggest the following thoughts to the public in this year 1963, the centennial of several great events of American history and a year also of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy.

"II. The Two Leading Issues

"The Southern Regional Council has always been committed to the achievement of the goal of justice for all, and the consequent elimination of discrimination and inequities through

education, understanding, and cooperation at the local level and within each community and state. We believe that this is still the primary and most effective way. Surely, however, all must recognize that where there is a breakdown in this primary approach, resort will inevitably be had to legislation and demonstrations.

"In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races apart and to discriminate against its Negro citizens. At the same time, southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races together or to suppress discrimination. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

"That we have progressed far in the years since World War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic strength and tranquility are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

"III. Law is the Servant of Justice

"As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state, and federal governments. We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

"Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action

of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our Constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace. In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress; there is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

"The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to 'move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression.'

"We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the 'Negro revolt.' One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise. The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

"The federal government does not serve the public well when the help it offers, through either legislative or executive actions, is minimal; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when it allows its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

"Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in recent months have established effective bi-racial commissions and committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutally satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only as it does so will it itself prosper.

"None of the issues of civil rights is likely to be solved fully while there exists, throughout the population, the present wide differentials of educational opportunities, nor while unemployment is as large and menacing as it is and has been. We are gratified by the industrious, even imaginative, endeavors now underway or being discussed in several southern states to lift educational levels. But federal leadership in these intricately related fields of

education and employment is a continuing necessity. The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

"We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

"The means to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

"IV. An Historic Opportunity

"There is no virtue per se in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

"Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would

encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

"We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either. Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society -- governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations -- must contend and which they must rectify.

"We commend those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights.

"We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be non-violent, in spirit as well as in form.

"We ask the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching

and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice. We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

"We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of southern public life is the pathway to strength. We believe that the greatest contribution which Negro Southerners can make today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South.

"The qualities which are exhibited in the protest demonstrations are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power -- these are qualities needed in politics, in the schools and universities, in the churches, in business, in all of our society. May this nation have the wisdom to draw strength from them."

Note: The Southern Regional Council is an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Members of the Executive Committee are:

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
President of the Southern Regional Council

Statement - 9.
December 1963

John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C.
Chairman of the Executive Committee

Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.

Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.

John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.

Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.

H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.

June 19, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

This is a long time to wait before writing you, but I wanted to be able to say that the draft of the report was completed. Now I can say it. I had also wanted to send you a copy of the draft, but for the moment we are short of them, but we sent off all but the working copy to the various people in New York and I will get one to you as soon as I can.

Having worked over the material at great length, I realize more than ever what an excellent job you did for us. We are grateful to both you and Bem for letting the laundry and the dust pile up for those weeks.

Tell Bem I appreciated his note and that we will be looking forward to seeing him in July. I will let you all know as soon as possible after publication plans are worked out for the desegregation report, and Bem will get a copy well in advance of release date. Right now, all that is uncertain, since Loth and the Fund are dickering with the New American Library over a possible paper-back printing. I doubt that they will materialize but hopefully we will publish in some form.

Out of the projects we have afoot, there should be a considerable amount of stuff to pull together by about September. I will be writing you to see what we can work out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo

P.S. I have just had word that Max Rebb will be glad to see me whenever I come to Washington. I haven't scheduled a trip yet, but will let you know when.

June 7

Dear Harold:

By the time you receive this, my letter to Jane must have reached you, bringing you up to date on us.

I just wanted to say thanks for everything. The work was extremely interesting and it was good to feel I was doing something worthwhile again, rather than plug Carling ale or Guatemala. I haven't enjoyed working so much since I was in Atlanta for the Abram campaign. I'm glad you thought of me. Also, you were most generous and helped the sagging Price account.

To continue the conversation started my last day in Atlanta: if I can help in any way on the voter survey or any other part of the project, let me know. I'm going to do some part-time public relations work again, starting next week, but I don't want to continue there beyond Barbara's vacation in August. So, if you do need a hand later in the summer or September, say the word. Meantime, if there is anything I can do here, please write--any research, etc. Also, I felt that I probably didn't leave the fact-finding project in the form I might have so if I can do anything more there, or if you haven't had time to work on it and I can polish it up, bundle it up and send it; I'd be glad to do whatever I can.

I'll be most interested, of course, to hear what progress you're making and what has been worked out on publicaton. I hope the Oklahoma material has reached you. Also, anything new on the possibility of a conference here? I'm sending along a piece on Rabb, along with a few miscellaneous clips for the files.

Please tell the rest of the people at SRC I'll try to write a general letter soon.

- Margaret

June 21, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

We have been able to shake loose an extra copy of the desegregation report which I send you herewith. As I got further and further in the material, I changed more and more of our original decisions about form. For example, putting in the names of the states as sub-headings made it unwieldy to divide the sections into subject matter areas. It seemed to me more orderly and simpler to do this, even though it meant scrambling up baseball teams and art festivals.

We are still getting some late returns, so there will be revisions in the next typing. Therefore, if you have time to give the manuscript a critical reading, any corrections, comments, or suggestions from you will be much appreciated.

The Fund and the New American Library couldn't get together on a paper-back publication. Until I hear further from Loth and the Fund, I won't know what the prospects are for subsidizing publication of the full findings. But even if no plan is forthcoming, we will publish some kind of summary and will make the full findings available, at least to Price and Popham.

Everybody here sends regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

June 22, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

I wonder if you could take on a small mission for us. In the Saturday Evening Post of June 9, 1956, it is reported that the Governmental Affairs Institute has done research on the voting behavior of every county in the United States and that the data are on file cards available to any one interested.

As you know, we are carrying on a southwide survey of Negro suffrage. It may be that this outfit's data would help us.

Their address is - Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Massachusetts Avenue N.W. If you could get by there one day soon and see what kind of dope they actually have, it would be a great help. Specifically, I am wondering if they have any kind of race breakdown. If not, what kind of voting behavior have they researched? Also how recent are the findings?

If there turns out to be anything in this, I may be calling on you for some free-lance research.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbe

June 26, 1956

Dear Harold:

I've talked--by telephone--to a Mr. Scammlon at the Governmental Affairs Institute. It's been impossible to see him yet as he is leaving town tomorrow, is tied up this afternoon and I couldn't get over this morning. However, for the time being, I've gleaned enough information by phone, I guess, to relay.

First, the Institute itself: not having seen the Post article yet I asked about the set-up (which you may know about, but, I didn't--so--). It has been in operation about a year, is a private research group--patterned somewhat after the Brookings Institute--financed by the Stern family fund of New Orleans.

Scammlon, who is the director, I think, is enthusiastic about the Council survey and sounded most cooperative (he knows of the SRC, incidentally). However, he said that all the information the Institute has gathered to date is in their volumn, "America Votes" published at $12.50 in December, 1955. It covers county-by-county the party vote in the last presidential election, gubernatorial, senate and Congressional elections (the latter complete through the Kentucky election in November '55, up to date then except for the Louisiana election this spring.)

Earlier, Mrs. Scammlon, also at the Institute, told me the book also has voting totals for all the Congressional elections since the post-war period and has ward-by-ward votes in the 16 largest cities at the time of their last elections.

The study doesn't have primary figures or racial breakdowns, I understand, so how helpful it would be I don't know. Scammlon said the book could be bought at the bookstores here so if you want me to buy a copy for the Council, let me know and I'll send it right down.

So far as primaries are concerned, Scammlon knows of nothing more up to date than Heard and Strong's 1950, "Southern Primaries and Elections." And he said, incidentally, that Donald Strong at the University of Alabama had as much information on racial voting patterns as anyone he'd found. He also said that pollster Gallup's 1956 "Book of Facts," an almanac type paperback, carries voting tables by state, including some primary statistics.

He said that, except for Florida and Louisiana, the Institute had found registration by race difficult to obtain. The only suggestion he had for the smaller counties, and this as a last resort, was to try county weeklies for reports on racial voting patterns and, of course, in the larger cities study the Negro wards.

None of this sounds very helpful but let me know if you want the Institute book or if you can think of anything else I might ask Scammlon.

I don't think I've said thanks for your noble defense of Bem in the letter to Nebrit, but I knew he'd written to you. Did your letter bring a reply?

Sincerely,

Margaret

June 29, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thanks for your letter on the desegregation report and for your prompt run-down on the Governmental Affairs Institute.

I'm glad you think the report turned out well. The questions you raise are all good ones, and they, as well as the additional information you sent, will be incorporated. We will have to do a revised version soon, so there is no need to return the copy. I got word yesterday that the people at the Fund are earnestly figuring ways to publish.

"A Hitch in Time" is superb.

The Institute data on voting won't help our survey, but the various suggestions by Scammon sound promising, and I will run down Gallup and the rest.

We will look forward to hearing when Bem's schedule is set. I am writing Rabb today to find out when I can see him and will come to Washington accordingly.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo

August 6, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Mr. Fleming is presently on vacation but I hasten to acknowledge with thanks the batch of clippings you were good enough to send to him. I know how grateful he is for your interest and help and will, no doubt, communicate with you on his return to the office and perhaps have news for you in connection with the publication of his desegregation survey.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Secretary to H. C. Fleming

August 7, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for the clipping on the interesting experiment which was conducted in London. I believe that I have conducted similar experiments in the past, although I've got to admit they were probably more informally structured than the one on which you sent the report.

If I do get up your way, I shall certainly come in to see you and I thank you for your cordial invitation to be your guest.

Best regards to Bem and you.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

August 29, 1956

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Just a note to tell you that I received the galleys of the desegregation report today. I'm rather unhappy that the booklet is not expected to see print until late in September, thus missing the opening of the new school year. But maybe it will get some attention anyway. I don't know yet what the publicity plans are - if any - but Bem will be getting a copy, and I hope he will have a chance to do something with it.

The voting study and our other projects are running a little behind schedule. The findings should begin piling up about the end of September. When I see where we are with respect to digesting the findings, and preparing the necessary reports and so on, you can expect to hear from me.

We had a pleasant two weeks on the beach at Jacksonville. I hope you and Bem have been getting some recreation too. Let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

P.S. Thanks for the clips you've been sending.

January 15, 1957

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thank you for your letter of January 10, forwarding the final section and conveying the news of Bem's nomination. I am pleased as punch about this and would do anything short of bribery to further it. This should go a long way toward neutralizing the irritation over the complaint on the New York Times treatment. It looks as though this kind of stupid business is inevitable.

I have finally had a chance to read almost all of your draft, and I am tremendously pleased with it. We are a lot closer to a final manuscript at this time than we had any right to expect. As soon as I have finished reading and perhaps re-reading it, I will be in touch again. Meanwhile, Florence tells me that she is gradually getting the statistical picture worked out for the remaining states, and you should receive them before too long.

Enclosed is the Tennessee report, which I know you will be delighted to see again. I think the only thing to do is to pull out whatever can be spliced into the various sections without any damage. As to Kentucky, it might make sense to do a short additional section on Kentucky as the border state most closelyidentified with the South and, as such, perhaps foreshadowing some of the voting patterns that will develop in the South during the years ahead. If this makes sense to you, give it a whirl.

Emory and I both greatly enjoyed the evening with you when we were in Washington.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc
Encl.

Tuesday, January 29 (1957) File

Dear Harold:

Today I mailed a few gleanings from the Tennessee report and a section on Kentucky. Bem thought the latter perhaps the most interesting of the various sections. Frankly, I was rather surprised when I started digging into it for I'd thought it would be a sort of after-thought. It was a breeze to do because Kesselman's report is excellent.

I wish I could say as much for the Tennessee report. After wading through it once again I still came up with almost nothing. (Apparently, she still is to send more, on the socio-economic factors. Has she been heard from yet?) It wasn't the jargon in the report that bothered me, but the lack of positive statements. Everything is so hedged as to make the entire report almost worthless. When we are at the final ironing out stage I'll try to add a few paragraphs on the difference of the three areas of the state. Also, three counties in the western part of the state were mentioned as being particularly difficult for Negroes--Haywood, Hardaman and Fayette. Would you ask Florence if there's anything in the files on these?

I'm enclosing an expense account, which I'd intended submitting if and when I came back to Atlanta for I wanted to talk to you about it and work out what seems fair in light of the fact-finding budget. However, a few days ago I received my statement of earnings from the public relations job and it suddenly dawned on me that Ruth might want to have my account in for year-end bookkeeping purposes. I've scaled down the time listed, but even so it seems this project has taken me far longer than it should have. Feel free to whack it some more--I'll certainly have no complaints. You know the state of the budget, how much was alloted for this particular phase, whether I spent more time than I should have, etc., so please be perfectly frank about it.

Bem said that the New York AP found that the social scientists piece was used in 25 of the 60 papers checked. This is not a very good showing, compared to the use of most of his stories. However, since the release date was rather ill-chosen--the day before the inauguration and a time when spot racial news had hit something of a lull--I don't think it's too bad. He has some clippings and I'll be sending a couple to you on the off chance that you didn't see the piece in print.

I assume that GM has departed and that consequently your days are even more hectic right now. But, when you have time, fill us in. If you're coming here soon, we wish you would plan to spend a night with us if possible.

I've been wishing the voting survey were completed ever since reading thatSenator Humphrey is planning to submit a bill to safeguard the rights of all, etc. It might give him some material for debate if and when the bill hits the floor.

Margaret

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	PAID		THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	2/20/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MRS. MARGARET PRICE
ROUTE 1, Box 272
MCLEAN, VIRGINIA
(PHONE ELWOOD 6-4516)

LAST MINUTE CHANGE. NOW ARRIVING EASTERN'S 560 DUE 3:30 P.M. TODAY.

Harold

August 31 (1957) (59)

Dear John:

I've gone over the galley proofs and made just a few minor changes. I noticed that some of the county figures were changed slightly but figured that must be due to some re-checking by Florence.

The only change in figures I'd question is in the "Political Consciousness" section, where I had used the number of eligible as 108,900 in Dallas County, Texas; this had been changed to 54,332. Since this is quite a difference I wondered if there had been a printing error or if it had been found that the original figure was way off. (In this section, I noted the preceding graf on Fort Worth had been dropped--probably for good reasons--but I mention it only in the thought that in dropping it the figures might have gotten mixed up, somehow.)

The only other thing I noticed was that the section on Voting Performance had been ommitted. I noticed also that the "Prospects" section was out, but this I could understand since Harold was to make the final decision, due to questions about its political nature, etc. As for the former, did he decided against that or was it lost in the shuffle?

I suppose in the section on "Discrimination" a note might be added to the graf on Tuskegee to bring that area up to date. However, this might apply to other points, too, such as the Klan, etc. I should think we might get around this matter of recent developments if Harold will mention in his introduction the time all this was prepared. I think little if anything is included which happened later than the spring of 1957. I'm sure I'm belaboring a point and that he will emphasize that the report was prepared some months prior to its publication but I didn't want to let the opportunity of bringing it up again pass. I do think it may get us off the hook, somewhat.

The foregoing, plus the missing "Voting Performance" are the only points I wanted to raise, really.

I know you'll be glad to get rid of this thing.

I hope everything is going well at the council, and with you. Some day soon, I really will write. Bem has been feeling miserable and is undergoing a thorough physical in an effort to determine what is wrong. And Mother has been visiting me so I've been doing a lot of sightseeing with her. The combination has kept me busy.

Sincerely,

Margaret

October 14, 1957

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

We are mailing you twelve copies of the voting study. The first reaction is good.

Will drop you a longer letter later.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

December 23, 1957

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thank you very much for the recent Christmas card and the thoughts enclosed. I do hope you and Bem are having a good holiday.

The Voting pamphlet has received much attention and is in great demand. I suppose you saw John Popham's New York Times article concerning it, if not, please let me know and I shall mail you a copy. As a direct result of this article we received a large number of requests from government officials and from the general public as well. Even the Voice of America sent its Atlanta representative by the Council for a couple of copies.

Another interesting request came from Martin Luther King and his Southern Leadership Conference. A Catholic priest, who is on our Board, distributed it rather widely to his group in the Southwest, and of course we have had individual requests too numerous to mention.

If you would like some thermo-fax copies of some of the letters, please let me know.

I do hope you can come see us again soon. With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

February 20, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

I hope you won't feel that my failure to write earlier indicates any lack of interest in the questions raised in your last letter. On the contrary, I had delayed answering in the hope that I would see Hallock Hoffman of the Fund for the Republic on a brief visit to New York last week. Unfortunately, we didn't get together after all, so the delay has gone for naught.

It may well be that, in the interim, Bea Collins has found something, but if not she might call Hoffman and ask about possibilities. Though I don't know much about the Fund's personnel needs under its new set-up, I'm inclined to be pessimistic; but it wouldn't hurt to try.

As to possibilities in Washington, I'm equally in the dark. I am writing Hallock, however, to ask if the Fund has any project there to which you might apply your skills. I'll let you know what I hear.

The SRC business I wrote you about has been hung up pending semmingly interminable negotiations with foundations and other organizations. But something should break very soon now, and as soon as it does I will be hot on your trail myself. Meanwhile, all the best to you and Bem.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Va.
Jan. 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

Just label me "possible project personnel" or what you will, I'm available in case plans for the violence survey work out. It sounds like an excellent idea. Just the file that we have on intimidation and violence seems to have grown distressingly fat in the past year. I thoroughly enjoyed working on the other SRC projects and know that I would on this, too.

Also, I'm interested in the Lubell idea, although I don't know anything about the Workshop surveys to which he referred. But, in any event, I definitely would like to talk to him about it, in case he finds he will need some field work done. And, I thank you for thinking of me.

It was odd that your latest letters came just when I was thinking of writing to you. The Post ran an excellent piece a couple of Sundays ago on the new directions the Fund is taking, outlining planned projects, etc. Reading it, I wondered what sort of a staff was planned and whether there would be anything done in Washington on which I might work. Thought you might have an idea of this through your Fund contracts.

While I'm getting in personal plugs, I wanted to ask you, too, about a friend. I think I might have mentioned friends of ours, Bea and Jack Collins, to you. Jack took a leave from his civilian job with the Army to become assistant to the executive director (I'm not sure about the title) of the President's Committee for Education Beyond the High School. When the final report was in, Jack decided to leave government work and take a post with NY Life Insurance--a really good administrative post which was offered to him by the chairman of the board, who knew Jack through the Committee of which said chairman was head. All this is rather involved and given as explanation of the fact they had to move to New York, which meant Bea had to give up a good new job. She was doing research for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Prior to that she did editorial and research work for a management consultant firm, and before that did government work, which took her to Japan for awhile. They were back here for a week-end just before Christmas and Bea said she had been job hunting but with no luck up to that time; she felt she would like to work for one of the foundations and had contacted them but nothing had come of it. I told her then I'd write to ask you if you had any suggestions.

Bea is an extremely able and intelligent gal, a native of California, where she finished college. Knowing her, and judging too from the jobs she's had, I'm sure she's really top-notch in the editorial-research work she's done. Both she and Jack are sound liberals and just very fine people. In fact, Bem and I think they

two of the
finest we've met here. So, if you do know or hear of anyone in New York looking for someone with Bea's qualifications, keep her in mind, won't you? Of course, I'm assuming that she hasn't found anything in the intervening month. But, if you know of anything concrete I could find out easily.

We loved Jane's letter and candid snaps. And we were delighted to hear the Council is expanding down the hall. Tell her I'll write soon.

Bem is still in outer space. He had a front page piece in yesterday's Post on solid propellants, which was so scientific I didn't understand a third of it but it sounded authoritative.

Remember me to all at SRC,

Margaret

VIA AIR MAIL

March 24, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

I have talked to the other steering committee members (Art Levin, Ruby Hurley, Sam Lubin, A. J. Committee) and found them wholeheartedly in favor of my proposal. So let's plan definitely on your beginning the fact-finding as soon after Easter as you conveniently can.

The agreed-upon financial arrangement is the same as last time -- namely, $27 per day as fee and $8.00 per day as expenses. Modest but, I trust, satisfactory.

We're all looking forward to having you aboard again. Can't Bem find a pretext to come down, too, for a few days? He hasn't done a Southern story in sl long he'll forget what it's like to be attacked.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sunday (5-5-59)

Dear Harold:

This is just a quickie. I'm going to New York tomorrow to spend a few days with the Rosenburgs. But, I'll be home by next week-end — and available any time then if you want me to do more work on the voting study. Just let me know. I can either send the rest of the material — the Vines and Sickoff reports and the figures — to you or bring them down.

Bem has been back at work a week now and is feeling fine again.

— Margaret

July 16, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

We've at last finished messing around with the voting manuscript, and I'm enclosing it complete with scribbles and draft inserts by Les and me. Also Courtney Siceloff's reactions to your rewrite of his material. The changes of language in the text -- mostly flyspecks -- and the shorter insert are mine; the notes at the beginning of each section, the longer insert, and the notes on Siceloff's letter and MS are Les's.

I'm sorry to send you this hashed up copy, but there seems little point in another typing until you have had a chance to rework it to your satisfaction. Feel free to revise our language as much as you like -- and to challenge any of the suggestions you don't agree with. Les felt that several of the points made in quotes from Douglas, The Reporter, etc., could be made more effectively and authoritatively by us, and he has enclosed clippings on which statements in our own right can be based.

We're still suffering complications on the Brazeal article. Despite the careful rewriting, it is the opinion of legal counsel that there might be some risk of a libel action. Several named individuals are accused, directly or by implication, of

illegal or unsavory conduct -- and this on the word of downtrodden people who wouldn't even be in position to give sworn testimony in evidence. So -- it seems we must make another agonizing reappraisal. I propose to revise the account as a case-study of an unnamed blackbelt county. This certainly leaves something to be desired; but, after all, our purpose was to depict conditions fairly prevalent in the blackbelt, rather than do a specific expose of one county.

There seems to be no need to obscure the identities of the other two case-study counties. It first seemed to me we would have to do so for consistency, but Les disagreed and I have come around to his opinion that it doesn't matter if one is unidentified and the other two aren't. Your views on this would be appreciated.

If, after looking all this over, you have questions -- as you well may -- don't hesitate to call me collect. And we will be expecting your voucher for time put in on the further rewriting.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

P.S. -- Jane and I enjoyed your letter giving us the latest word on you and Bem. We'll be writing.

HCF/sl
Encls.

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 4, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 5 1959

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are three substitute grafs dealing with the CRC report on the hearings in Montgomery. I didn't see the news stories on this until after I mailed the draft to you. I still haven't had time to read the 322 page report but based the brief insert on news stories. I thought in case you do decide to go ahead with the report now I'd better not delay, while reading the CRC transcript.

I assume you now have the transcript, but I'm enclosing their news release, which may not have been included. I'll try to wade through the CRC report this week.

Enclosed, also, is a carbon of my letter to Courtney Siceloff.

Sincerely,

Margaret

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 4, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helana Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney Siceloff:

Thank you for your letters of June 29 and July 3. I would have answered them sooner but working at home in Virginia causes more than an ordinary delay. Your suggestions on the Beaufort material were digested first in Atlanta and then sent on to me here. Finally, over the week-end, I could send SRC a new draft of the entire voting survey.

It was good of you to take the time to go into such detail. All of your suggestions seemed quite reasonable to me and I think I have made each change or modification suggested. The first paragraph, with the pharase to which you objected about the county being characterized by "white permissiveness and Negro apathy" had been inserted in Atlanta. The rest of the draft, which I had put into narrative form very hastily, can be blamed on me, including the use of the word "paternalistic." I have eliminated both. You are on the scene and know the county and I certainly do not want to apply any label with which you do not agree.

I inserted a paragraph or two about the rape cases. The only other change, other than those you suggested, was the substitution of a rather general three paragraph introduction (a copy is attached).

As I understand it, we will not use a by-line on the Beaufort report, but instead will indicate it was based on a field study made by you.

It sounds as if you have been having a busy and interesting summer, with the high school work camp, the midwives meeting, and the possibility of being named to the advisory committee of the Civil Rights Commission. (Have the appointments been made yet?)

I've long been intrigued by your islands, and want to see them even more after having read your report. The Flemings told me of their visit with you and your wife and I've been intending to see if the Library of Congress has any available recordings of the "shouts" Jane described. My husband has told me something of the area, too--he has met your sheriff, incidentally.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

cc

Answered by memo 8/8/59

LWD
HL

3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia
August 3, 1959

Dear Harold:

RECEIVED AUG 5 1959

First, my apologies for not getting the revised draft to you sooner. It would have reached you a week earlier but Bem was taking part of his vacation and this in turn slowed me up. Also, thanks to both you and Les for the careful reading and the suggestions.

I know the kind of digging Les had to do for the added information, particularly the statistical run down on the Black Belt counties, was time consuming. But I think it strengthens points made considerably and I'm grateful to him.

I think you will find that I used most of the additional information sent, although in some cases in a different section, where I felt it fit in more smoothly. There were a few clippings sent and a few sentences not used, but in no instance were they discarded capriciously. For the most part, either the examples had been used already in the 1956 survey and I found later substitutes, or a sentence suggested for one section rased a point already made in another, etc.

The major exception to this was the sampling of the five South Carolina cities, which I didn't use. My personal feeling is that this is inclusive and dull. With a lot of text the sampling well might be part of the kind of study the South Carolina professors (I'm assuming they were the source) have in mind. I don't think it adds anything to this survey. For example, the questions asked about attitudes--do you have a say in what the government does?--are, I think, rather meaningless without a similar sampling from white voters for comparison. Then the sampling itself was made only in wards where Negro voting participation was higher than in other wards of the cities; it gets involved with Candidates A, B, C and runoffs; Negroes doing one thing in one city, something else in another--it's a mish-mash. About the only thing it seems to show is that they didn't bloc vote, or they bloc voted differently in different cities.

The suggestion that the Alabama and Terrell County stores be shortened was followed and I cut both in half. I also deleted the various quotes from Senator Douglas, a couple of newspapers, etc.

Added were several developmeints, including: the Supreme Court decision in the N.C. Lassiter case (which I shorted to one paragraph); the Northern Louisiana and Washington Parish cases; the pending move in Alabama to reinstate the cumulative poll tax; the defeat in Louisiana of the Long bills to make it harder to purge voting rolls; the Negro turnout in the Virginia primary in July.

I took out the reference to the Civil Rights Commission being due to expire in September, since it appears its life will be extended. Also, I referred only to a study of a Deep South (rather than Georgia) Black Belt county, since I assume we won't even mention the state in which Brazeal's report was made.

As for Courtney Siceloff's letter, I agree with all the points he raised and made changes accordingly. His suggestions seemed reasonable

and I don't think any of the changes or deletions weaken his report--none of them were major. He is on the scene and knows the county so I bowed to him on my use of the word "paternalistic;" I deleted this and also the "permissive and Negro apathy" phrase contributed by Les. Agreeing on all points with Courtney puts me in disagreement with Les on a couple but as I said, none of the points were major, anyhow, and I think we should go along with Courtney. I tossed out the lead paragraph Les wrote and my original one, for both seemed stilted, and came up with one I hope is a little sprightlier.

I will write to Courtney today or tomorrow and send you a carbon. I'm assuming it's okay to use his report without a byline but mention it is "based on a field study by, etc." as Courtney suggested. (I will leave this to you to put in somewhere. Also, you will note in my insert on the Beaufort rape cases I had to leave the outcome of the trial of the Negro charged blank since I haven't seen anything on that here.)

This leaves only the important matter of timing of the report. I've talked this over at length with Bem. He agree that it would be much better to bring it out ahead of the Civil Rights Commission report. For one thing, I'm sure it would get better play that way. If it came out three weeks, or even two, in advance of the Sept. 9 report, it would be fresher and not just a rehash of the government report. Then, when the CRC made its release, using the same figures as SRC, it would add to the weight and prestige of ours. But I don't think the reverse would necessarily be true if SRC followed. In addition to the question you raised of what the sponsors would think of the delay (and I've wondered what the consultants and the Texas man must think about our deadline of last Jan. 1) there would be the problem of redoing much of the report once again. Aside from this, I feel strongly it would have a greater impact if brought out by Sept. 1. If you decide to make the push and I can help in any way either here or in Atlanta, just let me know.

Sincerely,

Margaret

Page 4, New Laws and the Courts, substitute for fourth graf, "Since then x x x x President and Congress.")

x x x x opened the records to Commission examiners.)

The Commission released a report July 31, 1959, which Director Gordon M. Tiffany said showed "a consistent pattern of denial of equal protection of the laws as regards voting in six Alabama counties" (Macon, Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Lowndes, and Wilcox).

The report included testimony taken in executive session from four staff members who had examined voting records in the counties involved. They testified that a double standard was used by some Alabama registrars when considering Negro applicants for registration. Negroes, they said, often were disqualified for minor mistakes that did not generally disqualify white applicants. For example, they told of Negro applicants being turned down for writing the letters "M" or "S" instead of "married" or "single;" one who gave the month and year he became a resident but was rejected because he left out the day.

They said a spot check of accepted applications showed that 16 persons were registered who had made the same type of mistakes as those rejected. Fifteen of the 16 accepted were white. Three of those registered had left blank a question on whether they would "give aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama."

The Justice Department, which made its own, etc. (picking up and eliminating word "Meanwhile").

AIR MAIL

August 20, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for the prompt and able job you did on the release. Any changes we make will be minor, with one exception: If the pamphlet is ready in time to go out with the release, we might cut it down somewhat.

After considerable consultation , we have decided to set the release date for Sunday, August 30. This still gives us 10 days before the Commission's publication date and probably will enable us to distribute the pamphlet itself. Moreover, advice from such newspaper friends as Claude Sitton is that the later date would be preferable, since we are in danger of glutting the market with too-frequent releases.

We'll be sending you a copy of the release as we send it out.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

~~Show~~ PR ✓ P.L

Friday, Sept. 4

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Dear Harold:

The voting pamphlet came yesterday and a very neat looking job it is. I thank you for the kind words in your intro.

Bem read it last night and I pass along his reactions. (I don't ride in cabs much so he has to substitute for the grass root reaction of that much interviewed cab driver.) He hadn't seen the county reports before. He was impressed by the Vines approach and said he could see why you had decided it was wiser not to identify Baker County.

He received a copy of the Civil Rights Commission report yesterday, but forgot to bring it home. I'm hoping he remembers today. He said it was for release Sept. 8.

I just received a call from a lawyer friend who must find time to read the Congressional Record. He said today's copy contained about 10 pages devoted to the SRC voting report, inserted by Javits with a few brief introductory remarks. For once, a friend got in there first, ahead of our enemies. He's going to tear it out and mail it to me and I'll ask Bem to bring home another copy so if you need an extra one let me know.

I had a call last night from Carey Fullerton of the Nashville Tennessean. I don't know him and have no idea how he traced me here. He phoned around 7 p.m., so I don't know whether he had tried to get SRC first and failed or not. He said the AP report on the voting study wasn't very clear to him as it concerned the Tennessee figures. I asked him if he had a copy of the report and he did, but I gathered he hadn't read it. So, I referred him to the page which explained that the earlier figure was low and then told him orally also how we had decided the first figure was unrealistic in light of the 1956 general election vote which exceeded our registration figures, etc. He didn't seem to know much about his own state and wanted to know if registration there was by race. I told him that I didn't know whether there was any set pattern on this or not, that some counties I knew did not (his own county is one that does not, I believe) but there might be some that did. I explained that I thought that the only way a better figure for Tennessee might be obtained would be through a county-by-county check, and with no race designation and perhaps even a lack of central county sources, even this probably wouldn't result in a much better total. I told him for this reason, plus the fact that Tennessee doesn't present the problem for Negro voters that other Southern states does, it had been decided to go along with the estimate. This seemed to satisfy him. He said that so far as he knew only one county--Haywood--made it difficult for Negro voters. I told him we knew of that and perhaps a couple of other southwest Tenn. counties that were difficult. I don't know whether he was planning a story for today or Sunday, but I thought you might want to check the Tennesseans--I'm glad it was this paper rather than the Banner, which as I recall is the more reactionary.

The Journal-Constitution story was a pleasant surprise. I was amused by the "free lance" designation. Bem and I both said that except for SRC this last year only the word "free" seemed to apply, what with needy local candidates, etc.

Speaking of this, I feel rather bad about the Northern Va. CHR request. Paul Rilling had asked me when I saw him in Atlanta if, after the state group had a lawyer interpret the Virginia school legislation, I would xxxx put it into laymen's language. I agreed. Then David Scull called me about six weeks ago and said could we do it another way--would I take the legislative acts, do an interpretation, and then turn it over to a lawyer for checking? This meant more work but I agreed. Next thing I knew he sent me a copy of all the bills--and there must have been about 80--and suggested that I xxxx not only analyze them, but note alternatives available, outline arguments in favor of maintaining public schools, present a blueprint for local communities, etc. Well, this was a full scale treatment I hadn't anticipated. It would have taken me at least the whole month of August. Scull himself was going to be on vacation. I just didn't feel equiped to handle the project, since I hadn't met with any of the local people; I could have come up with suggestions that they might not agree with; besides, not being a lawyer, I couldn't come up with a pat reaction that would fit all the various counties. To add to the problem, I would have been finished with the project about the time schools were opening, new suits were being filed, etc. It seemed to me that I might be spending a lot of time and effort that would be wasted. So, I just bundled it all up and mailed it back, explaining I just didn't have time, what with guests expected, Bem taking a week or two of vacation, etc. I've heard no more.

Any other projects in view? I'm available. Seriously, if you ever do hear of any of the agencies in NY or here that are sponsoring any report on which they need someone to work, pass along the word of my availability, will you?

I guess Coleman will look like a flaming liberal after the new governor takes over.

- Margaret

October 26, 1959

Mr. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Bem:

C. Vann Woodward, the historian, told me the other day that he was commissioned by APN last spring to write a five-part series on the Negro in American history. He turned the pieces in about April 1959 and was paid for them. In midsummer, he inquired their use or non-use; was told the articles were fine and would probably be released at school-opening time. No word or sign of them since.

This isn't a matter of any great moment, but I'm curious and thought you might be too. Do you know anything about the series? Or can you find out without making a thing of it? From what I know of Woodward, the articles should be well done and constructive. Maybe -- I hope -- they're still planning to use them.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 30, 1959

Via Air Mail

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thanks for your not-so-recent letter.

Please tell Bem that the Vann Woodward business is no great matter -- mostly a question of passing curiosity that I thought he might know something about.

Speaking of Baker -- the county and the man -- I take it you know about Bob's new assignment to the Post's "European" bureau in London. I'll never understand these papers; they invest a tremendous amount to make a man an "expert" in one field, then promptly shift him to another.

I haven't heard yet who is to replace Ball, but I've concluded that SERS is a real stepping-stone to a better job.

I haven't got any bright ideas for a Nation article. But if you feel like sounding off, why not fire off something? You're in good shape to pontificate about Negro suffrage in general or in one or more particulars.

Ben Muse has given up the Post columns, feeling that he couldn't do justice to a "Virginia Affairs" column while traipsing all over the South for us.

I feel wretched about it and have been trying to promote the idea of his continuing with a "Southern scene" type of column. But no success -- at least not so far.

The best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

11.18

Dear Margaret:

Enclosed is the Baker article on Baker County.

Harold is in the North attending to the important work of the Council. On his return next week, you'll hear from him.

Best wishes,

AIRMAIL 3916 Mackall ave
McLean, Va.

Dear Margaret:

Thanks for your not so-recent letter.

Please tell Ben that the Varn Woodward business ~~of~~ is no great matter — mostly a question of passing curiosity that I thought he might know something about.

Speaking of Baker — the county and the man — I take it you know about Bob's new assignment to the Post's "European" bureau in London. I'll never understand these papers; they invest a tremendous amount to make a man an "expert" in one field, then promptly shift him to another.

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at least, not so far.

The best to you both.

Sincerely,

HCF

PA- Please send clipping requested & return letter to me for answer next week.
H.

November 13

Dear Harold:

Your letter came last week while Bem was taking a week off--hence, the delay in answering the query about the Woodward series. He checked with New York a couple of days ago but learned nothing except that Wes Gallagher still has the series. Bem will look into it a little more and will write you when he finds out just what the story is. Meanwhile, I wanted to let you know he hasn't forgotten your inquiry.

Do Send

And this reminds me, I don't think I replied to your letter way back asking if I'd seen the story Robert Baker did on Baker County. I think you said it was the one of Sept. 19. I thought I had read all of the pieces he did on his swing through the South but that one I missed somehow and, of course, it would have been the one I would be most interested in. I don't know yet how I missed it. If it isn't too much trouble, I would like to see a copy. I apologize for not writing sooner but about the time your letter came I must have been more disorganized than usual.

We've both been amazed and delighted with the quantity and quality of the material we've been receiving in the mail from SRC. Incidentally, what did you do to Ben Muse--wear him out? He hasn't had his usual Sunday column in the Post for over two months now and I've seen no explanation.

You probably know that Ed Ball is to be the new managing editor of the Nashville Tennessean. He's replacing Collie Harwell. Lew Hawkins (who is working one of the night tricks at AP here now) told Bem about it. He didn't know why Harwell resigned, other than that he'd been having some disagreements with Silliman Evans. Do you know who will replace Ball at SERS?

You may have seen the letter that went to SRC for me from the editor of The Nation. He'd seen the voting survey and wanted me to do a piece for his magazine. It was all pretty vague so I wrote asking him to give me in detail what he had in mind. He replied that he was sending me the next two issues so I could read pieces by Wayne Morse and Kenneth Vines. The one with the Vines article hasn't arrived yet. Apparently, what he was implying was that anything I wanted to write on the subject beyond what Morse and Vines wrote would be fine--in fact, he also said ~~said~~ in effect to submit anything on any subject I wanted. It all sounded to me as if they are scrounging around for free articles. This is alright and I wouldn't mind submitting something but I have no particular ideas I'm yearning to communicate. How about you--any points you'd like for me to try to get across in The Nation?

I want to write to both you and Jane soon so I'll save the personal chit-chat until then.

Margaret

VIA AIR MAIL

March 28, 1960

Mr. & Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret and Bem:

Harold has asked that I let you know that he is having to cancel his Washington trip because of a sudden attack of "Flu."

He expects to be in Washington for another meeting within the next month which he will be writing you about when he returns to the office.

Sincerely,

Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

July 6, 1960

Mrs. Margaret Price
3916 Markell Ave.
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Just a note to give you some idea of how complete the coverage in the press was of your sit-in report. The Associated Press story was carried in quite a few papers both North and South. There were several editorials--three of which are enclosed. I am also enclosing copies from the local papers and a copy from the Arlington Northern Virginia Sun.

One sour note came from (where else) the Montgomery Alabama Journal. A copy of it is also enclosed.

You may have seen the treatment the U. S. News and World Report gave it in the June 20th issue. If not, you might want to look it up.

When are you coming to see us again? You slipped away the last time without most of us knowing when you were leaving.

What do you think of the latest trends in the Democratic campaign?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

July 23, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Price
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

I'm ashamed of myself for being so negligent about writing -- but, you know, it's the same old story -- lazy!

I've just got back in the office after being away for two weeks (one week with an ear infection, and one week of vacation.) The week I came down with the ear infection was the week Zeke, the children and I were to start driving to San Francisco to visit with his brother who lives there. So, my trip had to be cancelled -- just as well since driving such a long distance with a 9-month-old baby held few charms for me. However, my dear husband flew and is now in the second week of his visit out there -- you must know that I'm green with envy. He left Jackie, Lauren and I to spend some time with his mother who chats from the time she opens her eyes in the morning to the wee hours of the next morning. I've enjoyed being with her, nevertheless, but find it a bit frustrating sometimes.

How are all at The Potomac Institute? Please give them all my best regards. It was nice seeing Art when he was here attending the Interagency conference. Also, give Bem a fond hello for me.

Les intended for you to get from us several copies of our Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston reports. I noticed that you were sent only one copy each. I'm having sent today, under separate cover, six (6) additional copies of the three reports.

I won't urge you too much, but do write when you have a spare Minute.

Sincerely yours,

DOCUMENTED

December 12

Dear Harold:

Just a quickie to tell you that Bem did find out yesterday what happened to the C. Vann Woodward series. The AP plans to use the series in January and has now so informed him. The NY office planned to use the pieces this fall but had been waiting for a news peg. However, when none turned up, they decided to go ahead with them after the first of the year. We'd been curious, too, and couldn't imagine the AP tossing aside the work after being lucky enough to get such pieces from a first class historian.

I want to write to you and Jane soon and I'll save until then the second hand report gathered from a reporter with Lyndon Johnson on his mid-west tour. Rather interesting, particularly all the strong things he said on the matter of civil rights, plus his flat prediction that Congress would pass some strong new civil rights legislation, as applied to voting, not too long after convening early next year.

I was sorry to hear of Bem Muse's decision--you might tell him that a lot of us in northern Virginia miss his dash of sanity every Sunday. The substitute columns carried now are a dull contrast.

The enclosed is sent on the off-chance you might have missed it--and this kind of statement comes too rarely to miss a single one.

Best

Margaret

Legion Attack Brings Retort by Sen. Young

Associated Press

Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio) yesterday called a group of Ohio American Legion members loud-mouthed publicity seekers for saying he plans to address a "Communist front" organization in New York City.

He said anyone suggesting he is likely to be a tool of the Communist apparatus is a liar.

The Hamilton County Council (Cincinnati) of the American Legion of Ohio recently passed a resolution censuring Young for his scheduled appearance as a speaker before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee Dec. 15.

The Council said the Commission has been cited as a Communist front. Young's office said it has been attacked as such by the House Committee on Un-American Activities but not so listed by the Attorney General.

In a letter to Neil E. Wetterman of Cincinnati, Americanism chairman of the Council, Young wrote:

"I repudiate your resolution, Buster, and your pompous, self righteous, holier than-thou title of 'Americanism chairman.' . . .

"Another thing—why don't you puffed-up patriots write my American Legion Post demanding my expulsion?

"Or, do you self-appointed vigilantes demand that I submit a list of speaking engagements for clearance by your outfit before I, as a Senator of the United States, open my mouth in public?"

Mrs. Margaret Price

July 20

Dear Paul:

An S.O.S. for the voting material I left behind: could you have it bundled up and sent along to me please? I hate to bother you, but since Harold now has sent me the various pieces for revision I'd like to get started on it but will need the things I left behind. At least, you probably will be glad to get rid of the clutter in your desk.

Thanks for sending me the reaction of our foes to the violence survey. I had seen the reaction of a couple of our friends, the NY Times and Washington Post, but was wondering what the other side was saying. Silence would have been disappointing, indicating lack of impact, to me. In this uncertain world we have to be able to depend on something--and I'm still depending on a strong protest from the Charleston News and Courier.

Will you tell Harold, please, that the voting material arrived and that I'll get started on it this week?

Sincerely,

Margaret

sent 7/23

Medical Assoc.

June 25, 1952

Mrs. Roger Boyle
Box 1183 Univ. Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

Harold is out of the office today and has turned over your information request to me.

(1) I am afraid we can't be of much help regarding the question of Negro doctors and white patients. We are checking several possible sources; in the meantime, you could write the head of the state Negro medical association: Mr. J. B. Harris, Georgia Medical Association, 239 Auburn Ave., Atlanta.

Along this same line, the Medical Association of Georgia (white) recently voted to admit Negro physicians to "scientific" membership. This means they have the privilege of applying for membership in the American Medical Association but cannot vote or participate in the local county societies; they are not entitled to the legal aid provided by the Medical Association of Georgia either. (Source: Atlanta Journal, May 15, 1952)

You probably know that the Medical Society of Virginia voted to open "scientific" membership to Negroes in 1950. Since then the Medical Society of Arlington County, Va. has eliminated racial barriers to membership (Feb., 1951); the Northern Virginia Branch of the Medical Society of Virginia has approved admission of Negro phycians to membership in the local and state organizations (Jan. 1952).

Only Florida and Kentucky have full membership in their state medical societies for Negroes.

In Rome, Ga., June, 1950 Battey Hospital (state TB hospital) appointed its first Negro doctor to attend the colored patients there.

Dr. R. Josey Forde, Negro woman physician, was appointed to the staff of Augusta, Ga.'s University Hospital in 1950.

Dr. Forde was to attend the obstetrics, gynecology and pediatrics cases in the 150-bed Lamar wing for Negroes.

(2) "New Trend in Private Colleges" lists those colleges admitting Negroes that we knew of up to Sept., 1951; some figures on enrollment are given. The enclosed supplementary lists give colleges "discovered" or opened since then and all the dope we have on enrollment.

(3) As for Mississippi's good side. You will see in the chart illustrating "Professional Associations Drop the Color Line" that Mississippi's state nurses and social workers' associations are integrated.

Mississippi has two cities employing Negro police that we know about: Gulfport has two; Indianola, one.

The May, 1952 NEW SOUTH has a note on what Mississippi is doing about schools; it is marked.

Mr. Alex Miller of the Anti-Defamation League says that there is no Klan in Mississippi.

Press reports of the August, 1951 gubernatorial primary run-off estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 Negroes voted. Our files indicate that 2,000 voted in 1940, about 8,000 in 1950. Progress here, of course, is the slowest in the South. South Carolina's Negro vote has jumped from about 3,000 in 1940 to about 80,000 in 1952; Alabama's from about 2,000 in 1940 to approximately 51,000 in 1952; Louisiana's from 2,000 in 1940 to 86,500 in 1952.

The NEW SOUTH summary on Mississippi in 1949 might be of slight help.

To get the best picture you could write to Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor, DELTA DEMOCRAT, Greenville, Miss. Another good source would be Mr. Brant Coopersmith, Director New Orleans Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League, 5342 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans, La.

We will have Mrs. Tilly check the story when she comes back in the office.

Hoping that the above will be useful,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

I R-
Professional Associations

August 28, 1952

Mrs. Roger Boyle
Box 1183, University Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

Here is the most recent information we have on professional associations:

MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS--State

Kentucky Medical Association voted to admit Negroes to full membership in July, 1951.

Medical Association of Georgia resolved to give Negro physicians the right to hold "scientific membership" in May, 1952. "Scientific membership" does not entitle Negro doctors to true membership in the county or state medical socieites, but makes it possible to apply for membership in the American Medical Association.

Washington, DC Medical Society voted to admit qualified Negro physicians to membership, July, 1952.

Medical Society of Virginia passed a resolution to admit Negroes to the scientific sessions of the society at its 1950 meeting. The proposal to admit Negro physicians to full membership was defeated in both the 1950 and 1951 conventions.

A recent newspaper item indicates that the proposal to admit Negroes to the Alabama Medical Society was referred to a committee for further study.

On June 28, 1952 a reliable informant in North Carolina wrote us that the North Carolina Medical Association does not admit Negroes; in fact, there has been strong resistance to the overtures of Negro medical men.

The house delegate of the Missouri State Medical Association voted to admit Negro physicians back in April, 1949

The NAIRO REPORTER for June, 1952 reports that the Texas Medical Association admits Negroes to "scientific" membership. (We have not confirmed this information, do not know when the Association took action.)

MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS--County

Medical Society of Arlington County, Va. eliminated racial barriers to membership, Feb., 1951

Northern Virginia Branch of the Medical Society of Virginia approved admission of Negro physicians to membership, Jan., 1952

NURSES' ASSOCIATIONS

National Association of Colored Nurses disbanded, Jan., 1951. An Intergroup Relations Program was established in the American Nurses Association to take over the program of the Negro nurses' organization. The action was, in effect, a merging of the two organizations.

Louisiana State Nurses' Association has removed its racial barriers to membership. (Do not know date)

DENTAL ASSOCIATIONS

Four Negro dentists voted to membership in the St. Louis, Mo. Dental Society, Mar. 13, 1952.

ACADEMIC ASSOCIATIONS

Maryland State Teachers Association resolved to admit Negro teachers to full and equal rights, Nov., 1951

North Carolina Academy of Science opened membership to Negroes May, 1951.

Florida Academy of Science voted to admit qualified Negroes, Nov., 1951.

The enclosed list of colleges admitting Negroes is more recent than the one we sent you in June. It may have one or two you have not run into. If your list includes any we do not have, please pass the information on to us.

I spoke to Mrs. Tilly about your article and your concern for its accuracy. She said she had just written you, so I assume you have already had your questions about the article taken care of.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1952
AUG 27 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

August 25, 1952

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

I did so appreciate the list of private schools admitting Negroes which you sent me. This was a great help. I'm still digging out fresh ones, not on your list, however, and I now have 22 private colleges and 11 seminaries (33 in all) and have wind of several others. I am checking through the churches for a complete listing of all church schools now and when my list is complete I'll forward it on to you in hope that it may be of some small help.

I'm telling you this because my conscience hurts over having to bother you again for more dope from your files. I want you to know that I'll reciprocate so far as I'm able.

What I need now is the latest dope on professional associations which have dropped the color bar. I have NEW SOUTH for July 1950, which lists these, but of course that's ancient history now. Could you send me the latest data on this?

Also, herewith my third effort to get the low down on Mrs. Tilly. I wrote to Harold once to enquire how much off base the enclosed clipping concerning her was. But he truned it over to her for a reply. A month or two later I wrote her personally, enclosing another clipping and a return card for her to check items and drop in the box. No result from either of these, so I guess Mrs. Tilly must be like my sister, who cannot be induced to write for any reason whatsoever. So please don't turn this over to her. Just write me whether to your knowledge the enclosed clipping makes statements which are untrue. If so, which ones. I constantly refer to Mrs. Tilly in my writings and lectures, yet the only facts I have about her are lifted from what other writers have said. I know how easy it is for things to get stretched and stretched until they are little better than myth after they have gone through a few writers' typewriters, and so am anxious to start on a solid base.

I'm still struggling with the Reader's Digest. They are still keenly interested in the piece but keep asking for specific data on this or that. I've learned so much in trying to satisfy them that I feel I've been fully repaid even if they don't touch the piece when done.

Thanks loads for your help. I'm grateful as anything.

Cordially,

Sarah Patton Boyle

The coverage of this sheet is very small, so it doesn't matter too much if I wasn't absolutely on the beam, but I may want to write about or at least refer to Mrs. Tilly often again and I'd appreciate it if you would have her check this piece for mistatements. I have a lot of data in file on her and there is nothing in it to show that anything I say here is untrue, but early in writing career I learned that no author should ever trust another author's"facts". Mrs. Tilly is often mentioned and probably a lot the dope I have is simply myth. Allow me a little leaway for dramatic license but don't let me get by with an untruth.

I do hope that somewhere along the line of the unusually hot summer you will get a really nice vacation.

June 28th

The Journal and Guide is running a piece about me as well as a quote from me, so I hear. I'm hold my breath. I wonder how much of that will be myth. And what kind of myth!!!

I'm sorry to bother you so often, but if I sell the Digest piece I intend to do a little something for the Southern Regional Council's always empty coffers. I could never pay for the kind of cooperation your office has given me, of course, even if you were doing it for a fee. But I shall feel better if I can help a little with some of your problems, too. You have been very swell.

Remember me to Dr. Mitchell.and Mrs. Tilly.

Cordially,

Patty

MRS. ROGER BOYLE
BOX 1183 UNIV. STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Please return
June 14, 1952

"the Tribune"

THE ONLY
Negro Newspaper
PUBLISHED IN S.W. VIRGINIA

SINGLE COPY TEN CENTS

MRS. ROGER BOYLE
BOX 1183 UNIV. STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Facts and Figures Of Good Will

By A WHITE SOUTHERNER

alias, Sarah Patton Boyle

The person credited with being the greatest single influence in the sharp reduction of lynching in the South is not a transplanted Yankee social reformer, as one might suppose. It is Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a southern lady, born and raised in Georgia.

Mrs. Tilly's method was one which had not occurred to northern social reformers. For it was based on the assumption that most white southerners would do anything they could to stop lynchings if they only knew how.

She merely distributed leaflets telling people what to do when rumors reached them that a lynching might occur. The leaflet contained a list of people who should be telephoned at once with the demand that they take action in the name of the community. These included the local sheriff, the state patrol, the local and state newspaper editors, the ministers and civic leaders and last, but not least, Mrs. Tilly hersellf.

She has received calls from all parts of the South at all hours of the night. On receiving one she gives instructions as to how to get the decent citizens in the trouble area into action. Then she gets to the spot herself as quickly as possible.

Once there, she acts entirely through the good white people of the community, simply telling them of the danger to one of their colord citizens, and what action to take for his protection. They not only listen but quickly do what she suggests.

Mrs. Tilly is also the author of an organization called The Fellowship Of The Concerned. Its aim is to end all forms of court injustice. Like her other work, it is based on her faith that most whites would resent injustice to Negroes if they knew about it, and would stop it if they knew how.

One learns about it, she says simply by

SINGLE COPY TEN CENTS

MRS. ROGER BOYLE
BOX 1189 UNIV. STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

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Mrs. Tilly is also the author of an organization called The Fellowship Of The Concerned. Its aim is to end all forms of court injustice. Like her other work, it is based on her faith that most whites would resent injustice to Negroes if they knew about it, and would stop it if they knew how.

One learns about it, she says simply by sitting in on trials. And one stops it by informing other decent citizens and making a joint protest. Over 3,000 white southerners, distributed throughout five southern states, are now pledged to carry on this work.

Mrs. Tilly served on the President's civil rights commission. She holds out for equal rights on every count and proclaims that segregation in all forms is perfect nonsense.

Has she been opposed, criticized and persecuted by other Southerners for her always unwavering and often successful attack on inequality? Listen to this:

A group of southern women's organizations named her Woman of Achievement in Social Welfare; the North Georgia Methodist Woman's Society gave her its highest award; the Atlanta Women's Chamber of Commerce gave her a chest of silver; the Pi Sigma Alpha fraternity at "lily white" Emory University, in Georgia, made her an honorary member.

Could there be more substantial proof that she isn't much ahead of her time? The South is whole heartedly backing up her faith that southerners are ready and eager to change for the better, and await only leaders who will help them and show them how.

o

July 23, 1954

Mr. A. Dudley Ward
Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ward:

Here are a couple of copies of Answers for Action.

I thought the Druid Hills meeting was a very useful one, and I greatly appreciate your letting me be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. (sent under separate cover)

This letter sent to people whose names are on the attached list.

July 23, 1954

Dear_____:

After the Conference of the Board of Christian Social Relations of United Church Women in Atlanta last month, I was asked to send to those who had been present a copy of the Southern Regional Council's new pamphlet, Answers for Action. Here it is! I do hope that it will be useful. Available in quantities at $15.00 per hundred or individual copies at $.20 apiece.

We would greatly like to have you as a member of the Southern Regional Council, and then our things would reach you regularly. Here is a blue blank with this letter.

Everyone was delighted with the meeting, and you are all to be praised for working it out in that way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls:
Blue membership blank
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.

File - Mrs. Stamps

Mrs. I. A. Newbold Box 1296
Rocky Mount, N.C.

Mrs. F. C. Fewindell
404 N. Santa Fe, Tulsa Okla

Mrs. Lawrence A. Ashley
1611 Drake, Ocala, Fla

Mrs. J. Floyd Cole
1176 Morgantown Ave.
Fairmont, West. Va.

Mrs. C.H. Leutermayer
516 Lone Oak Rd.
Paducah, Kentucky

Mrs. C.F. Goldthwait
6101 Lamsville,
New Orleans, La

Yes

Mrs. Henry E Detherage
148 Boonville Rd
Jefferson City, Missouri

Mrs. E.M. Doggett
4612 Government Rd.
Richmond, Va.

Mrs. Dean King
132 W. Hill St.
Decatur, Ga

Mrs. Leon Ellis
331 Kennington Rd
Syracuse, N.Y.

New Smith

Mrs. Spann Milner, # (?) 400
1109 W. Peachtree St. Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams Jr -
R 7 D # 4 - Annapolis, Md.

Mrs. C.R. Nolle
State College, Miss.

Miss Elizabeth W. Tarrn
1005 Battlefield Drive
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. A. A. Stern 4 ds
132 Westminster Dr. Atlanta, Ga.

~~Mrs. L L~~
Mrs. C. A. Tatum 2422 15 Ave. So.
Birmingham, Ala.

Mrs. Tommie Strand 4 ds
Waco, Texas
(Do not have address, but believe she is SAL member

July 23, 1954

Mr. Paul B. Wilson
300 Hort Building
Pennsylvania State University
State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Nice to have your letter of July 12th.

Maybe you can help us push around in your circles this new pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Answers for Action
Under separate cover.

July 23, 1954

Mr. R. L. Hunt
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U. S. A.
79 East Adams Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Lanier:

Here's the new pamphlet. Do help us push it around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
(sent under separate cover)

July 26, 1954

The Right Reverend C. Alfred Cole
P. O. Box 447
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Bishop Cole:

Here is a useful new pamphlet. I hope you will have time to read through it.

If you could send us the names of appropriate people in the Diocesan Department of Christian Social Relations within the Province, I will be happy to send copies to any persons you suggest.

And how should I approach the Southwestern Province?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/ signed in his absence

Diocese of Upper South Carolina
OFFICE OF THE BISHOP
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

RT. REV. C. ALFRED COLE, D.D.
P. O. BOX 447

July 24th, 1954.

The Rev. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your kind letter.

I want to thank you for your help at our Conference on Christian Life and Work in All Saints', Atlanta. It was most appreciated by the group. I hope that each Diocesan Department on Christian Social Relations will plan a Conference some time this Fall.

Thanking you again, I am,

Sincerely,

C. Alfred Cole

CAC:DVC

C. Alfred Cole.

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

July 26, 1954

Miss Esther C. Stamats
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America
Department of United Church Women
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Stamats:

Here are two copies of the new pamphlet (under separate cover) which contains the map. We are disappointed somewhat in the execution of the color print job, but it was done before we saw the proof. We will get the colors built up tone-wise in a further printing when, as and if.

I do hope you will consider ways in which the pamphlet can be made widely known and widely used within all, at least, of the Southern Boards of United Church Women.

If this map isn't useable enough for you I will be glad to get another copy made for you.

We have sent a copy of Answers for Action to each of the ladies on the list you gave me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/
signed in his absence

July 26, 1954

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

The Southern Regional Council would be delighted to join with the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in sponsoring the workshop proposed for early next June.

Let me know from time to time of what you may need from us.

Here's a helpful new pamphlet, the use of which I hope will spread.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Copy to: Harold C. Fleming - orig to H Fleming

July 28, 1954

Mr. Wallace F. Nelson
Inspiration House
1867 Kalorama Road, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nelson:

Here's a copy of our new publication which may be helpful to your workshop.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.

RECEIVED
JUL 27 1954
Southern Regional Council

1954

SUMMER INTERRACIAL WORKSHOP

SPONSORED BY
C.O.R.E. & F.O.R.
AD 4-6377

INSPIRATION HOUSE
1867 Kalorama Rd. NW
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

July 24, 1954

Dear Friend:

The purpose of this letter is to put before you the Workshop's financial situation. As has been the case in past years, when possible, participants, mostly students, pay part or all of their expenses. Need I explain that most of the students who attend such a project as this, are not able to support themselves while here. To take the month off without pay proves to be a sacrifice, and understandably so.

We are operating in the red. Each Workshopper's living expenses are figured at $85 for the month. Postage, paper, and other office supplies will cost about $250. Added to these is the transportation cost (i.e. travel cost to and from various projects here in the city). A fair approximation would be that our total expenses for this year's project will run around $1100. Our income has been less than half this amount.

While our activities have been less dramatic than some of the years before, I believe that the members of this Workshop are having a most significant experience. Furthermore, there are good reasons to believe that this year's July project is having a positive effect upon the whole community of Washington, D.C.

Currently the group is working out in the Anacostia area, in the Southeast section of the city, on the school integration problem. In cooperation with a newly formed temporary community organization -- The Anacostia Emergency Education Committee (AEEC) -- we are working to get all students in the area admitted to the high school which serves that section. Negro high school children are required to travel from seven to nine miles to school now. Most of these pupils live within a mile or two of the exclusively white Anacostia High School.

You have no doubt received our first bulletin. It mentioned other areas in which we have worked in the early part of the month; namely, the YWCA and the YMCA and the 5-&-10¢ stores. Our second bulletin has just been mailed. It will bring you up-to-date on all of our activities.

Will you consider our needs, and in keeping with your interest in the cause of brotherhood, and to the extent of your ability to give, send us a contribution? Please make all checks payable to Summer Interracial Workshop. Send remittances to 513 West 166th St., New York 32, N.Y.

Sincerely,

Wallace F. Nelson

Wallace F. Nelson,
Director

July 28, 1954

Miss Josephine C. Norwood
Associate Secretary
Woman's Missionary Association of
Virginia
Box 625, 1 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Miss Norwood:

Here's an even better one than Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, which the Woman's Missionary Association of Virginia very kindly got 50 of a year ago. This one compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report called The Negro and the Schools; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells things to do; and carries a map showing population ratio by counties.

It goes for $15.00 a hundred and if fifty would be enough for the WMA, they would be at $7.50 plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 29, 1954

Reverend Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
109 West Grace Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Emerson:

I think the Virginia Council of Churches will want this new one. Really a honey! $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 29, 1954

Dr. A. C. Miller
Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
Room 414
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

Here's our newest pamphlet. Reminiscent of last year's Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, but entirely new. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report, called The Negro And the Schools; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the footnotes; suggests workable things to do; and then prints an invaluable map showing distribution of the white and Negro population by counties.

I do hope you will go through it with care and decide whether the Christian Life Commission can get a goodly supply of it. It goes for $15.00 a hundred.

You and Mrs. Miller were exceedingly kind to come over to the Institute the other evening.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 29, 1954

Miss Beth Macklin
Tulsa Council of Churches
17 West Tenth Street
Tulsa 14, Oklahoma

Dear Miss Macklin:

About this time last year, when we put out Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, the Tulsa Council of Churches, through you, ordered one hundred copies. Here's a new one. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells things to do; and carries a map which will be particularly valuable in Oklahoma.

They go for $15.00 a hundred. I do hope the Council of Churches will want some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 29, 1954

Mr. G. K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council of New
York, Inc.
20 Vesey Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Here's a new one and a honey. I won't go through the rigmarole of describing its contents to you. The Q and A one the Catholic Interracial Council got 40 of. We could send you 40 again at the quantity rate of $15.00 per hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

July 29, 1954

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U.S. A.
Division of Christian Life and Work
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

Here's our new pamphlet. It quickly re-states the main findings of the Ashmore Report; reprints the Supreme Court decision; and gives things that people in the South can do toward implementation.

I do hope that you will like it and that the National Council will get a good big block of them. They go at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 29, 1954

Mr. H. H. Barnette
Southern Baptist Theoligical Seminary
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Barnette:

When about a year ago we put out Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, you were kind enough to get a goodly number for use at the Seminary and otherwise. Here is another -- fresh and helpful.

It reviews the main conclusions of the Ashmore Report; carries the Supreme Court decision in toto; and tells things to do. Additionally, there is a most helpful -- though in this edition ill printed -- map. I do hope you will want some of this. It goes at $15.00 a hundred and we could send you fifty for $7.50 plus postage.

I was in Louisville last week and sought, in the library, for a potrait of my grandfather. Said the first young lady I asked, "Try public relations," but we found a potrait and photographs galore!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 30, 1954

Mr. C. H. Hamlin
Department of Social Science
Atlantic Christian College
Wilson, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Hamlin:

We are very sorry that we cannot let you have the June-July issue of NEW SOUTH, Answers for Action -- Schools in the South for 10¢. In quantities of 50 the price would be $7.50, plus postage of 73¢.

We are, however, sending two complimentary copies to you under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
for
Dr. Mitchell

Atlantic Christian College
Wilson, N. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
C. H. HAMLIN

July 28, 1954

S.R.C.

If the price would not be over 10¢ each kindly rush me fifty (50) copies of June-July issue "Schools in the South" for use with my summer school class of teachers.

Hastily
C. H. Hamlin
Atlantic Christian College
Wilson,
N.C.

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Postage 73¢

August 2, 1954

The Right Reverend Alfred C. Cole
Trinity Parish House
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Bishop Cole:

Here's a pamphlet newly done on the whole business of the Supreme Court and the schools. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore report, called "The Negro and the Schools," gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; suggests workable things to do; and gives (I regret in dimmish inks) a map showing population ratio county by county.

I am sure it would be invaluable to the people in the Diocesan Departments of Christian Social Relations throughout the Province, who will be giving study to the whole problem.

I will write something about the pamphlet and send a copy to each of the Bishops in all of the South, but only a scattered one here and there will get some in. Is there some device by which the Provincial Department could get copies of it out to appropriate people?

It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 2, 1954

The Right Reverend Randolph Claiborne
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Claiborne:

Last year at about this time our Council published Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts. You were so kind, on, I believe, Mrs. Sterne's suggestion, as to get in forty-five copies for distribution to people in Christian Social Relations in Churches in the Diocese.

Here's a new one which we think is even better. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore Report on "The Negro and the Schools"; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision with instructive footnotes; suggests things to do; and gives an invaluable map showing the population ratio county by county.

It goes for $15.00 a hundred and half a hundred or a few less at the same rate.

I warmly hope that you will find it worth getting out to the right people.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 2, 1954

Mrs. John C. Lee
League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1026 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Lee:

Nice of you to write. I greatly enjoyed the meeting.

I have written Mrs. Pauley and have asked her to help me get your League in the South interested in some copies of Answers for Action.

Your people can be extremely helpful in the whole matter. You are quite right that they are not going out for the spectacular, but quietly they can do a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - 2 copies Answers for Action

August 2, 1954

Mr. Maurice Weston
The National Council of the
Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weston:

Enclosed is what I wrote Mrs. Webb. The pamphlet is really a most useful job, and I think the Church would be missing a bet if it didn't use it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls - 2 copies of Answers for Action
Copy of ltr to Mrs. M. S. Webb

Copy to: Mr. Maurice Weston

August 2, 1954

Mrs. M. S. Webb
Associate Secretary
The National Council of the
Protestant Episcopal Church
Department of Christian Social Relations
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Webb:

Last year when about this time the Council brought out Questions and Answers: The Schools and The Courts, the Department of Christian Social Relations very kindly bought 200 of them. This one we think is even better. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report, called "The Negro and the Schools," gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the important footnotes; suggests workable things to do; and gives an invaluable map showing population ratio county by county. It goes at $15.00 a hundred.

I do greatly hope that the Department will get in a hundred or two and send them out to appropriate people.

The Department's people for the Province of Sewanee, meeting here in Atlanta a few weeks ago under Bishop Cole, instructed each Diocesan Department of Christian Social Relations to make up its mind where it stands on these matters before the meeting of the Synod this Fall. This pamphlet can be particularly helpful on the problem not only in this Province, but elsewhere. And it isn't bad material for Christians any where.

I do greatly hope that you will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab
Encl.

August 2, 1954

Reverend Lewis Deer
The United Christian Missionary Society
Department of Social Welfare
Missions Building
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

Here's a new honey! Compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court's decision; tells things to do;and gives a most helpful, though in this edition not too well printed, map.

Eleven hundred of them is a heap, but we would be delighted if you would get in some of this one. They go at about $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

I have had a telephone call or two from Sam Freeman who, to his surprise, found low-Country South Carolina more amenable than Eastern North Carolina. He must be a mighty fine fellow. We are all grateful to you and to his Church for lending him to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Mrs. H. V. Shank
2704 University Drive
Ft. Worth, Texas

August 3, '54

Dear Mrs. Shank,

Lewis Deer wrote and asked me to send you a copy of SRC's new pamphlet, Answers for Action: Schools in the South, with his compliments. I've mailed it, separately.

It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report, reprints the decision in toto, tells things to do, and has an invaluable map at the end. Goes for $3.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

This letter sent to Bishops on the attached list.

August 5, 1954

The Right Reverend Theodore N. Barth
692 Poplar
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Bishop Barth:

Here's an excellent new pamphlet on the whole matter of the schools and the courts. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells things to do; and gives a most helpful map.

We think it could be extremely helpful to people in the Diocesan Department of Christian Social Relations who will have a particular concern about this subject.

The National Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches aids our Southern Regional Council quite substantially each year, and we feel a particularly close relationship to the Church's work in this field.

The booklet goes at $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope that you will find it helpful and that it may be possible for your Diocese to lay in a supply to be sent out to appropriate people.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

Do you suppose I might write to some head person in each Southern state League and suggest that they, or certain of their branches, stock in a supply of the pamphlet Answers for Action which I passed out at the meeting last week in Atlanta?

If you think it all right, do let me have names. I will be glad to write each lady. Or, if you would prefer to send each of them a copy, let me know and I will supply them to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Mrs. Frances Pauley
League of Women Voters
78 Marietta, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: Rabbi Jacob Rothchild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Road, N.W.
City

August 9, 1954

Mr. Meyer Passow
Synagogue Council of America
110 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Passow:

May I claim your thoughts for a few minutes on this pamphlet?

It is a sober, careful effort to get facts rather than emotion into the present controversy about complying with the decision of the Supreme Court. It compresses into a few pages the main conclusions of the great report that Harry Ashmore did for the Fund for Adult Education, called The Negro and the Schools; it reprints the whole of the decision of the Supreme Court and its footnotes; it gives a number of workable things for people now to do; and it carries at the back a map showing the population ratio by counties, which is the readiest key to the degree of difficulty likely to be encountered area by area within the South in the process of desegregation of the schools.

We have framed it, intending that it be used mainly by local discussion groups. I have written about the booklet to the appropriate Boards in all of the leading denominations. Most of them made effective use of a not entirely dissimilar pamphlet we got out last year, called Questions and Answers: the Schools and the Courts, and I expect that this one will be more popular than that one.

Will you be so good as to consider closely the best method of getting it into use within the components of the Synagogue Council of America? The Questions and Answers one, typically, was sent by the Methodist Church to each of their district superintendents in the Southern states; the Southern Presbyterians sent it to each of their nearly 4,000 members; the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention got 250 copies; etc. etc., denomination after denomination.

I would hope for some such circulation within Jewish congregations. Perhaps only, or mainly, in the Southern (though goodness knows circulation elsewhere would assist public understanding of the whole matter) states.

Our Council would be praised by many of your acquaintences. I think of John Slawson, or Oscar Cohen. Incidentally, I write at the suggestion of Rabbi Jacob M. Rothchild here in the city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encl.

August 9, 1954

Mr. George Guernsey
C.I.O.
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

Do you suppose I can get your busy eyes for four consecutive minutes on this new pamphlet?

It covers, in a few pages, the substance of what is in Harry Ashmore's great report on the Negro and the Schools; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the squabble about footnotes; and recommends things for people in Southern communities to be busy about. Also, the map in the back is most instructive. It is a discussion group document, and ought to go over well with your people.

The 1700 that was ordered of Questions and Answers last year was a mighty boost to our pride and our purse. This one, I admit, costs $15.00 a hundred but I do hope you will want a lot of them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Miss Irene Osborne
American Friends Service Committee
104 "C" Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Osborne:

How about this new one! Could you scrape up enough for 250 copies of it too? Or have you got Washington so near settled that you don't need anything else?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

The Commission on Christian Social
Action
Evangelical and Reformed Church
2969 West Twenty-Fifth Street
Cleveland 13, Ohio

Dear Sir:

I do hope that the Commission will want some of the new SRC pamphlet. You got in a goodish stack of last year's one called Questions and Answers.

This one compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; recommends things to do; and gives a map of population ratio, county by county.

It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage. We covet for it circulation in your local Churches and to hope you will be concerned to help with that. I think Zwingli, himself, would have approved the spirit of this pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Reverend Harold C. Letts
Board of Social Missions of the
United Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue at Thirty-Seventh St.
New York 16, New York

Dear Reverend Letts:

We still remember with appreciation the order last year for 750 copies of Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts.

We have done another one this year, which we think is even better. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the Supreme Court decision; suggests workable things to do; and gives a population map.

I do greatly hope that your Board will get in some of these. It is, again, a reasonable and workable set of suggestions.

They go for $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

DIOCESE OF SOUTH FLORIDA
228 EAST CENTRAL AVENUE
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

THE REV. LOUTTIT, D. D.
BISHOP

THE RT. REV. MARTIN J. BRAM, D. D.
SUFFRAGAN BISHOP

THE REV. WILLIAM L. HARGRAVE, S. T. M.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MR. NORMAN H. BUNTING
TREASURER

Promotion

August 9, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August the 5th with the pamphlet on "Answers for Action in Schools in the South" came to Bishop Louttit while he is away from the office attending the Pan Anglican Congress and the World Council of Churches. I know that soon after they are over he will make a trip to Japan in the interest of the Armed Forces and will not be able to be at his desk until the end of September.

I write you this so you will understand why you do not hear from him directly at this time.

However, I am quite certain that this book should be of great help to all of us in the South, and I myself will read it with a great deal of interest.

Thank you again,

Cordially,

+ Martin J. Bram

Suffragan Bishop

August 9, 1954

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caliver :

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to reply to your letter of August 4.

We are sending you, under separate cover, 15 copies of Answers for Action. We are trying to encourage purchase of the pamphlet in quantity lots by organizations like ATA and other teacher organizations and community groups who are able to encourage consideration of the question.

They are available at $15.00 per hundred, and we hope very much that the ATA and the other groups for whom you are preparing the packets may be able to buy at least 100 copies. We will be grateful for whatever you can do to encourage its use.

With all good wishes,

Yours truly,

(Mrs) Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/eab

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 4, 1954

AIR MAIL

RECEIVED
AUG 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just received and read your new pamphlet on Answers for Action. This is a magnificent job, and I am sure it will do a great deal of good. I am very anxious to have a few copies for circulation among the staff of the Office of Education. If you can send me 12 or 15, I would appreciate it.

Another question in connection with the pamphlet. As you know, we are preparing a packet of materials on intergroup education for leaders of adult community groups as outlined in the enclosed statement. This project, as you will note, is a joint enterprise between the National Education Association, American Teachers Association, and Office of Education as was the previous kit for teachers, and the packet will also be distributed on a loan basis. I am raising the question with you as to whether it is possible for you to give us a hundred copies of this latest pamphlet of yours for inclusion in the packet. So you see I am asking two things. If you cannot comply with both, I hope at least you can comply with one of them.

done RBA

Please let me hear from you without delay.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner

Enclosure (1)

STATEMENT PERTAINING TO PACKET MATERIAL AND GUIDE
ON INTERGROUP EDUCATION BEING PREPARED IN THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

****

Under joint sponsorship of the National Education Association, the American Teachers Association, and the U. S. Office of Education, a packet of materials on intergroup education is at present being prepared. This packet is designed for leaders of adult lay-community groups, and individuals concerned with the general problems of effecting improved group relations in the United States. It is the second such packet which has been prepared under the auspices of the agencies referred to above. The first packet was designed for teachers.

In addition to the purposes indicated above, it is felt that this present packet of materials will be of especial help to all individuals, agencies, and groups concerned with the wholesome transition from segregated to integrated schools and community life generally throughout the country. This is in line with the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. As presently conceived, the guide to the use of these materials will serve as an outline for discussion and action by groups and individuals concerned or interested in general problems of human relations.

These materials will provide information and insights relevant to the basic questions with which citizens obviously are concerned in the broad field of improved human relations and the question of school integration particularly. It will contain in broad outline the following approaches:

1. Background information (relevant to democratic principles and the detrimental effects of prejudice and discrimination).

2. Techniques and suggested ways of achieving improved intergroup relations.

3. A statement of promising practices in intergroup relations in a wide range of activities in the country.

4. Groups and organizations actively working in the field of intergroup education. In addition there will be a rather complete bibliographical section, from which additional information bearing on all of these above topics may be obtained.

The packet will be distributed to interested individuals and groups on a loan basis. It may be obtained from the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Attention: Mr. R. B. Marston. (Approximately September 1, 1954)

August 9, 1954

Reverend J. H. Jackson
National Baptist Convention, Inc.
30 First Street and South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Reverend Jackson:

Last year I tried very hard to get your interest in sending out to local churches copies of the booklet which we called Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts.

This year we have done another which is even better. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report, called The Negro and the Schools; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision; suggests things to be done in the South; and gives an instructive map of population ratio.

We think it is bold enough and reasonable enough. I do greatly hope you will like it and will find some way to get some in for broad distribution within the National Baptist Convention. Local people could give invaluable aid by arranging, wherever possible, local interracial discussion groups on this whole matter. It is just these first little logs across the creeks which will be the basis for understanding and implementation in local communities.

Chicago seems a long way off, and I don't know how to convey to you the urgency and the importance of the request that you do get the booklet used within the Church. But it is really a matter of moment.

It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
cc: Mr. Walter Offutt

August 9, 1954

Mrs. J. A. Burt, Jr.
Clarkdale,
Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Burt:

Last year when we got out Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts you were kind enough to get in 400 copies.

This new one is better still. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; gives workable things to do; and prints a map, in colors, of the population ratio by counties.

I do hope you will like it and will want to send for some. It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Reverend Stephen B. Mackey
104 Line Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Reverend Mackey:

When we did Questions and Answers you very kindly got a hundred of them. Here's another and a better one which compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; recommends things to do; and gives a map of population ratio, county by county.

I do hope you will want some of these. It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Mrs. N. R. Kennedy
Little Switzerland Road
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Kennedy:

Last year when we did Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, you very kindly got in 40 copies.

This one is really a pretty job. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; suggests things to be done in the South; and gives an instructive map of population ratio.

The booklet tries to be reasonable, and its recommendations are workable.

It goes at $15.00 a hundred, $.15 apiece in any reasonable quantity. I do hope that after you have gone through this, you will think it worthy of getting out to your friends again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Miss Thelma Stevens
Woman's Division of Christian Service
of the Board of Missions of the
Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Thelma Stevens:

This new one is pretty good. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the whold of the Supreme Court decision; recommends workable things to do; and gives, in color, the population map by counties.

Do you think the Woman's Division of Christian Service could get in a goodish supply and send them out? It goes for $15.00 a hundred.

It is your particular local people who can do the most good on this whole matter, and we earnestly hope that you can find a way to get it around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Mr. John Q. Schisler
The General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Schisler:

We all rejoiced in your decision last year to send out copies of Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts to District Superintendents in Southern States. Now, here comes the new one even better. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the controversial footnotes; recommends workable things to do; and gives, in color, the population map by counties.

We contrived it, again, to serve best for use by local discussion groups. It is reasonable, but forthright too.

I do hope you will see whether the Board can send this one out also.

I am writing similarly to nearly all the denominations, and we would feel that we had failed with it unless the Methodist Church cared to use it appropriately.

It goes for $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Mr. J. Marvin Rast
Methodist Board of Education
South Carolina Conference
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Rast:

We were all greatly pleased with the use by the Board of Education of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church bought 400 copies of Questions and Answers: The Schools and The Courts last year.

This one, we think, is even better. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; suggests things to be done in the South; and gives an instructive map of population ratio.

The booklet tries to be reasonable, and its recommendations are workable.

I do hope that your Board will want some of this one. It goes at $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Desired Letters - Associate Director
Washington Div.
of Prudential
Council of
Churches

August 9, 1954

Mr. Walter P. Offutt, Jr.
Church Secretary
NAACP
20 West Fortieth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Offutt:

You very kindly told me at Dallas that you might be able to get Reverend Jackson to move. Will you try this time?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.
dd: ltr to Reverend J. H. Jackson
copy of Answers for Action

August 9, 1954

Reverend W. Russell Daniel
St. Peter's Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 742
Rome, Georgia

Dear Reverend Daniel:

When we did Questions and Answers you very kindly got seventy-five of them. Here's another and a better one which compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; recommends things to do; and gives a map of population ratio, county by county.

I do hope you will want some of these. It goes at $15.00 a hundred plus postage, and the same price for slightly lesser numbers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 9, 1954

Mr. Gaston Boyle, Jr.
Johns Island
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Boyle:

Last year when we did Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, you very kindly got in 45 copies.

This one is really a pretty job. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; suggests things to be done in the South; and gives an instructive map of population ratio.

The booklet tries to be reasonable, and its recommendations are workable.

It goes at $15.00 a hundred, $.15 apiece in any reasonable quantity. I do hope that after you have gone through this, you will think it worthy of getting out to your friends again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Roy Wilkins
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Roy:

Last year when we got out Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, Mr. Charles McLean, for the NAACP, very kindly stocked in fifty copies.

Here's a new pamphlet now which we think is better. It puts together in brief form the main findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells people things they can start doing; and gives an instructive map at the end.

If widely used, it can be really helpful in building a constructive Southern public opinion.

I am doing my best to get it out through Church and organizational channels, and I think we will succeed.

Do you think the NAACP could afford a stack to be mailed around? Your people could get local interracial discussion groups going on the basis of the pamphlet. It goes at $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Samuel Speigler
NAIRO Reporter
P. O. Box 163
Cathedral Station
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Speigler:

This one we hope will be listed in the Reporter. For price, $.30 apiece, $15.00 a hundred.

Observe that it compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; tells things to do now; and carries an instructive map. It is a bargain at any price.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mrs. Anita W. Robinson
1925 Madison
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

Last year when we did Questions and Answers you very kindly got in 400 copies. Will you look through this one and see if you think it is as good? We think it is.

Puts together, quickie style, the best of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole decision; gives perfectly workably things to do; and gives a map which shows Kentucky, in particular, what an easy job it has.

This one costs $15.00 a hundred plus carriage. I don't know whether you can stand last year's 400 copies or not, but it really is a good thing for local use, and I hope you will stretch to get it into your program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Galen Weaver
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weaver:

This new one is a honey. Squeezes the juice out of the Ashmore report and prints it in a few pages; gives the whole of the Court's decision; tells workable things to be done now; and has an instructive map.

Costs $15.00 a hundred plus postage. Won't you put on your thinking cap and figure out some way to get it distributed in the Congregational Church.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Henry Toy
National Citizens Commission for
the Public Schools
Two West Forty-Fifth Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Toy:

I do hope you will like this new pamphlet and will get in a stack for distribution to local school officials. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; recommends workable things to do; and gives an instructive map at the back.

The next phase of this whole problem is one of reaching public opinion. It could be exceedingly useful for local discussion groups, and I covet help from you in reaching community people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Dr. E. C. Peters
President
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Peters:

This one is a honey! Says what is in the Ashmore report, and says it in about four pages (!); gives the wholeddecision; tells workable things to do; and gives an instructive map.

You very kindly got in 40 copies of last year's Questions and Answers. Here comes the answers. Could we sell you 40 copies at $.15 apiece? Maybe even more copies than 40?

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. L. E. Neece
Kentucky School Boards Association
College of Education
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Neece:

Last year when we got out Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts you very kindly took 235 copies for distribution to your people. We have followed that one up now with this.

It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Decision; tells workable things to do; and has a most instructive map in the back.

I do hope you will like it and will think it worthy of being sent out. It costs $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

We all count on Kentucky to lead the way. I think you would find this pamphlet helpful for local use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Riley B. Montgomery
The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

This new publication from SRC can be quite useful in this next period in the South. The pamphlet compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole Decision; tells workable things to be doing now; and carries an instructive map.

May I rely on you for advice as to how to get it known and bought in goodly stacks within the Christian Church?

It costs $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab
Encl.

3 copies

August 10, 1954

Mrs. ~~Clyde~~ Louis Jaffe
Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
~~2545 Cottage Fall Road~~ 7440 Pinecrest Lane
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Jaffe:

Here are three copies of a new pamphlet.

Will you, through your people in the WCIC, work and see if they would get some in? It really ought to reach each of your members.

It puts together the juice of what is in Ashmore's report; gives the whole Supreme Court decision; tells things that are workable for us hereabouts to do; and gives an instructive map.

The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation got a hundred of last year's Questions and Answers, and I hope you can do that well again. This one costs $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

2 copies

August 10, 1954

Mr. Elmer Henderson
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Every now and then when we get out a good one I write you and ask you to get it to your people. This one is a honey!

It compresses the Ashmore report; gives the whole Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; tells things to do; and gives an instructive map.

Again, it is your people in local communities who can help mightily to build the needed cooperating public opinion in the South.

Though the budget creaks and screams, do see if you can't twist it a little and get in 100, 200, 500, to go out. It costs $15.00 a hundred. But I promise you it is worth it.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

August 10, 1954

Mr. William H. Gremley
Kansas City Commission on Human Relations
City Hall, 25th Floor
Kansas City 6E, Missouri

Dear Mr. Gremley:

You will like this new pamphlet. It is better than last year's Questions and Answers, which you thought was worth buying a hundred copies of.

It compresses the Ashmore report; gives the whole Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; tells things to do; and gives an instructive map.

I do hope you will like it and will want some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Mr. Lester B. Granger
Executive Director
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Lester:

Can you figure some way to help us get this into local use? It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; prints the whole Supreme Court decision; tells things to do now; and gives an instructive map.

The next stage in the whole business is clearly to reach local public opinion. Could the Urban League get enough to send one to each local Urban League and/or Board members? It is really a good and careful job; forthright but not squabbly.

Sells at $15.00 a hundred.

I dearly want the aid of the Urban League, and any little branches in the South, in getting it out, and it would hurt nobody North of the Line.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Green copy

August 10, 1954

Mr. P. H. Eason
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Eason:

I send you this new one, hoping you can find three or four minutes to go through it. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision, with the footnotes; recommends workable things to do; and gives an instructive map at the back.

The next phase of this whole problem is one of reaching public opinion.

I remember the very considerable stack you took last year of Questions and Answers, and dare to hope that you could contrive this same sort of thing again.

This one goes at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eqb

August 10, 1954

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

This little booklet ought to be gotten out in A.M.E. Zion circles. I have written letters on earlier pamphlets to bishops and asked them to get them out until I am blue in the face.

Do you think you could write to someone appropriate who would act? They go at $15.00 a hundred. I have written to almost every denominational group anybody could ever think of and urged them to get it out. And most of them respond well.

I would like the A.M.E. Zion Church to make use of this one. The next stage in this matter is one of reaching local public opinion, and the churches can get this done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Miss Lillian Cohen
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

Can a busy lady stop for minutes enough to look through this new pamphlet with some care?

Puts together in a few pages the juice of what is in the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; says things to do; and gives an instructive map.

I greatly covet for it wide distribution through the NCCJ channels.

It is intended for local discussion group use, and your people could make a real dent with its ideas.

It goes for $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

Do please read it and take it up in staff conferences and see what will be said.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10, 1954

Bishop J. W. E. Bowen
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Bowen:

This is one which I think could be very helpful to the people in your area. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells workable things to do now; and gives an instructive map.

It goes at $15.00 a hundred.

I have written to many people urging them to buy copies for distribution. But it ought to have distribution to many local churches. The truth is that the next stage in all these matters is one of reaching public opinion, and of reaching it in local communities. You could help greatly on that if you could get two or three hundred and mail them out to local Church groups.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 10,1954

Mr. Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Samet:

How about this new one? We think it is a honey. Squeezes together most of what is in the Ashmore report; gives the Decision; says what to do; and prints a map.

We did our best to make it instructive and not squabbly.

Do you think that your Southeastern Area office could afford a stack. It costs $15.00 a hundred plus postage. I would be mighty pleased if you could get some out to your people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 12, 1954

Mrs. Ruby L. Stroman
President, Delta Theta Sigma Chapter
111-59 179th Street,
St. Albans 33, New York

Dear Mrs. Stroman:

Your letter addressed to our President, Mr. Marion A. Wright has been forwarded to us for reply.

We will be happy to furnish you with as many copies of our two pamphlets - Answers for Action - The Schools in the South and The Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court Decision as you may want. The price of the Answers for Action one is 20¢ per single copy or $15.00 per hundred. Fifty copies may be had for $7.50 plus postage. The price of the other is 10¢ per single copy, or $7.50 per hundred or $3.75 for fifty.

I am sorry that we do not have any free material to send you. However, we might send you sample copies of some of the recent issues of NEW SOUTH, our monthly publication, for your information.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, INC.

National Headquarters • 1814 M Street • Washington, D. C.

Grand Chapter
CONVENTION COMMITTEE

111-59 179th Street
St. Albans 33, New York
August 6, 1954

Miss Marion A. Wright
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Wright:

The National Convention of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority is being held in New York City August 16-20 at which time a member of your staff, Mr. Harold C. Fleming, is appearing on "Town Meeting of the Air". We would like to have on hand some literature pertinent to the Supreme Court Decision on segregation in schools. Inasmuch as I have seen some of the literature published by the Southern Regional Council on this subject, I volunteered to write to you for copies of Schools in the South and The Christian Conscience, by Mrs. M. E. Tilley. Would you let us know as soon as possible any free literature you might have available and also the cost of the two mentioned above. You will find enclosed a stamped self-addressed envelope for your prompt reply.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby L. Stroman

(Mrs) Ruby L. Stroman
President - Delta Theta Sigma Chapter

rls

Geo: Please rush this material to Mrs. Stroman. Letter went to Atlanta & forwarded here, so time is short. Thanks.

M.A.W.

ofa

Diocese of Upper South Carolina
OFFICE OF THE BISHOP
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

RT. REV. C. ALFRED COLE, D.D.
P. O. BOX 447

August 17th, 1954.

The Rev. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your pamphlet which you sent me.

I would suggest you write to Mrs. Henry Havens, 2845 Corinthian Avenue, Jacksonville 10, Florida, asking her to send you the names of the people who are members of the Provincial Department of Christian Social Relations, and, if she has them, the names of the Diocesan Department Chairmen.

One of the local Episcopal clergyman has the Episcopal Church Annual, in which you will find listed the Provincial Chairmen of the Departments of Christian Social Relations. I would suggest you get from that book the name and address of the person in the Province of the Southwest, and then open correspondence with him.

Hoping I can be of further help, I am,

Faithfully,

C. Alfred Cole

C. Alfred Cole.

CAC:DVC

August 18, 1954

Mrs. William C. Pauley
League of Women Voters of Georgia
78 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

Nice of you to say I might write out to your state and local League people. Have so done.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF GEORGIA

217 RHODES BUILDING
78 Marietta Street, N. W.

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Telephone WAlnut 0219

Affiliated with the
League of Women Voters of the United States

Mrs. William C. Pauley
President

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

August 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copy of Answers for Action. Indeed, the presidents of the other Southern state Leagues will be pleased to hear from you. There were many favorable comments about the pamphlet among the group the day after you met with us.

Our local Leagues in Georgia also would be most interested in this new study. I am enclosing a list of the presidents of the local Leagues and of the Southern states.

We greatly appreciate your contributions to the conference in July. The discussion on Tuesday certainly helped us to clarify our thinking.

Sincerely,

Frances Pauley

Mrs. William C. Pauley

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 18, 1954

Mrs. Winston Brooke
1120 Calhoun Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Brooke:

I enjoyed seeing you at the League's meeting here in Atlanta.

I send you, separately, another copy of the booklet, Answers for Action. Anything you can do to get it more widely used in your state? $15.00 a hundred plus carriage they come to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc; Mrs. William C. Pauley

August 18, 1954

Mrs. Frank Harris,
508 N. Slappey Drive,
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

Mrs. Pauley said I might write you and tell you about this new pamphlet. Good and popular. Aimed for use by local study or discussion groups.

Will you try to think of ways in which it might be helpful in your community? They go at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.
Encl.
cc: Mrs. William C. Pauley

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
Protestant Episcopal Church
CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

August 20, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sorry to be answering so late about our order for "Questions and Answers: The Schools and The Courts". We would like to have 250 copies of that. Will you please bill us for them. I judge the cost will be $37.50.

I should be grateful, in spite of the late answer, if you could mail them to us to reach here by September 10th. We plan to mail them with our September Bulletin. My response has been delayed by vacation.

We are also listing your new pamphlet in a bibliography for discussion groups on the Supreme Court Decision.

Sincerely,

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

Muriel S. Webb

(Mrs.) Muriel S. Webb
Associate Secretary

MSW/ch

August 23, 1954

Mrs. Muriel S. Webb
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
Church Missions House
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Webb:

Thank you for your letter of August 20 with its order. The letter said you wanted Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts, which was last year's pamphlet, done before the Court's decision. I judge from the price calculation that you really wanted this year's pamphlet called Answers for Action. It is considerably the better and I doubt if we have on hand as many as 250 of the old one.

We will get the Answers for Action: The Schools in the South off to you today, and it certainly will be well in hand before September 10th. Here's a bill for them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 23, 1954

Mrs. Henry Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Havens:

I wrote Bishop Cole and asked for advice on how to get members of the Provincial Department of Christian Social Relations, and Diocesan Chairmen, interested in the new pamphlet, The Schools in the South. Here is an extra copy of it.

Bishop Cole said to write you for names of appropriate people. If you will send me such a list, I will be glad to write each of them a letter and urge that the Provincial Department and the Diocesan Department each to get some copies for distribution and use -- if that seems suitable to you.

The pamphlet has been quite popular and should be very useful to the people in working out their positions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF ATLANTA
"EDUCATE FOR CITIZENSHIP"
415 HENRY GRADY BUILDING [redacted] WAlnut 6111
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 23, 1954

Mr. George B. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your recent letter about the pamphlets, Answers for Action. I regret, however, that we cannot help to dispose of these, the League having so much literature of its own to distribute.

Sincerely,

Anne Hart Equen

Mrs. Murdock Equen
President

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

August 24, 1954

Mr. Purser Hewitt
Managing Editor
Jackson Clarion Ledger
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Hewitt:

Dr. C. H. Parrish has spoken to us of the interesting report of an inquiry made by the Jackson Clarion Ledger of opinions about desegregation of the public schools which was carried in your paper on or about July 31. We will be most grateful if you will have two copies of the issue in which the news report was carried sent to us. Please find enclosed fifty cents (50¢) in coin to cover costs and mailing.

We are sending you under separate cover a copy of our recent pamphlet Answers for Action, which is concerned with the same subject. We will appreciate your attention and any comments which you care to make upon it.

Yours very truly,

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/a
Enclosure (50¢)

August 24, 1954

Mr. George W. Rabinoff
National Social Welfare Assembly
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Rabinoff:

Thank you for the Bulletin on Intergroup Relations for social welfare agencies, and for the report of the May 18th Conference on School Desegregation.

We are sending you under separate cover a copy of the Southern Regional Council's recent pamphlet, Answers for Action--Schools in the South. We believe that the Assembly's Committee on Prejudice and Discrimination will find this useful and may wish to suggest it to agencies with local programs in the southern region. It includes a map of the southern region showing racial population distribution by counties, and the complete text of the Supreme Court's decision. It is available in quantity orders for fifteen dollars per hundred.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/a

of a promotion

August 24, 1954

Mr. John S. Chambers
Kentucky Council of Churches
152 East High Street
Lexington 1, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Chambers:

I gave myself the pleasure of a brief visit with you when I was in Lexington during July. Since that time we have got from the press our new pamphlet which, perhaps, I described. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore Report, called The Negro and the Schools; gives the whole text of the Supreme Court's decision; recommends useful things for people in local communities to do; and carries a valuable map of population distribution.

It is really made for use by local and, preferably, interracial discussion groups. It has been quite popular with Church bodies. I am in hopes that the Kentucky Council of Churches will obtain a supply and will get it out and in use by local friends and members. They go at $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 25, 1954

Dr. Margaret J. Butcher
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Butcher:

Mr. Roy Wilkins asked that we send a copy of this new pamphlet to you. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report; reprints the Supreme Court's decision; tells things to do; and has a useful, if in this edition not too well printed, map. It has proved quite popular in the South as a textlet for local interracial discussion groups on how to bring about unsegregated schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover this date.

cc: Mr. Roy Wilkins

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Conference on School Desegregation, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., May 18, 1954

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Associate Director g T. H.

We are sending you under separate cover a copy of Answers for Action--Schools in the South. We believe you will find this useful for board, committee, conference and staff discussion in the months ahead. It suggests next steps for constructive action, the complete text of the Supreme Court's decision and lists suggestions for further reading. It includes as an insert, a colored map of the southern region showing racial population distribution by counties. Answers for Action is available from the Southern Regional Council at twenty cents a copy, or fifteen dollars for one hundred.

We will appreciate your help in calling attention to Answers for Action.

August 25, 1954

August 26, 1954

Dictated August 25

Mr. Claude Reed
~~Social Action Committee~~
Second Presbyterian Church
~~Candler School of Theology~~
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Reed:

Here's a copy of our best and current publication called Answers for Action. It condenses the Ashmore Report; contains the whole of the Supreme Court decision; tells things to do; and gives a map of population ratio county by county. I can't supply it for free, but we could send you any reasonable number of copies at the quantity price which is at a rate of $15.00 a hundred.

I will have back from the printer in a few days a new leaflet on the Southern Regional Council. And that I could supply you with in quantity for free.

Also we could supply a limited number of copies of recent issues of our magazine, New South -- samples enclosed. Eight or ten of each of these issues I could supply for free.

We are handy to you when you get to Emory and if you will give us a call, somebody from here will be glad to go out and talk with the incoming students. And we are at your service during the year for anything helpful we can do.

I am convinced that it is up to the churches to persuade the South to behave rightly in the matter of the schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
WEST SEVENTH AND PINE STREETS
CHATTANOOGA 3, TENNESSEE
DONALD A. SPENCER, MINISTER

CLAUDE A. REED, JR.
DIRECTOR, YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK
MISS ELIZABETH SLIGER
CHURCH SECRETARY
MRS. MAREA RANSOM
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

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CHURCH HOSTESS
MRS. L. A. HILLIARD
DIRECTOR, STIMSON WEEK DAY BIBLE SCHOOL
A. P. PORTER
CHURCH TREASURER

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

August 24, 1954

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 2, Georgia

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

It is my privilege to have been elected Chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Candler School of Theology Student Body.

It is vitally important that young men preparing themselves for the Christian Ministry be informed about those agencies to which they can turn for information and help on current social issues. My intention this coming year is to make available literature from these agencies to these men. During the orientation program of new students September 14 through 17, I would like to present a display of such sample pamphlets and other information that you might be able to send me. At a later date, I shall be ordering specific pamphlets and booklets.

If at any time during the coming year, you have representativies in or around Atlanta and their schedule can be arranged in order for them to visit the School of Theology; I would be happy to arrange forums, discussion groups, or perhaps assembly meetings for these representativies. I would appreciate your putting the Theology School in your date book for these occasions.

Please write me at the above address, and I thank you very much for your assistance. I pray that God shall bless us in our efforts to resolve these social problems.

Very sincerely,
Claude Reed, Chairman
Social Action Committee
Candler School of Theology

Claude Reed

August 27, 1954

Dictated August 25

Reverend Beverly M. Boyd, D.D.
Chairman, Christian Social Relations
330 North Getty Street
Uvalde, Texas

Dear Reverend Boyd:

Here's a copy of a pamphlet which could be quite useful for the Diocesan people in Christian Social Relations in the seventh Province. I bespeak your care in looking through it, and your cooperation. It would be well for you or for me to send copies of it to the Diocese chairmen in Christian Social Relations in those of your Diocese which fall below the line, and in the Western Texas and Eastern Oklahoma areas. Our Council is an independent, non-denominational, and non-political organization, but we have had the friendship of the Protestant-Episcopal Church from our beginning in 1944 (and earlier for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which preceded us), and Bishop Panick and retired Bishop Clingman are members of our Board. Also, it is the case that the National Council of Churches customarily gives the Southern Regional Council $1,000 a year.

The pamphlet is soberly done and is constructive. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report on The Negro and the Schools; gives the whole of the Supreme Court's decision; gives useful things to do; and prints a map showing population ratio by counties. We prepared it hoping that it would find use by local and often interracial discussion groups in which local citizens would work together, usually as church people, with the view to finding a meeting of minds; working with the facts on the local schools, and approaching some kind of plan for how to go about the change in the local community.

A copy of the pamphlet has been sent already to each of the Bishops in your Province and in the Province of Sewanee.

We can supply in quantity the pamphlet at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover

to: HTH
to write Southern leagues

of a promotion

August 28, 1954

Mr. Lester B. Granger
National Urban League, Inc.
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Lester:

We'll write to each Southern League, and send a copy of Answers for Action and urge them to buy them. Hope they will. And meanwhile, when Parris is available you and he have a session and figure out how to get a hundred and get them out.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

1133 BROADWAY WATKINS 4-0505 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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•

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LESTER B. GRANGER
Executive Director

R. MAURICE MOSS
Asso. Executive Director

August
Twenty-fifth
1954

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I have your letter of the 10th regarding distribution of the pamphlet SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH. I had received a copy earlier, and thought so well of it that I recommended it to readers of my Amsterdam News column a couple of weeks ago.

When Guichard Parris finds a breathing spell, after his Annual Conference chores are over, we'll get together on the possibility of getting a supply of the pamphlet. Guichard works under a starvation budget, as you know, and he will have to decide whether we can find even the small amount involved for League distribution. My guess is that his answer will be unfavorable, since I've already turned down a number of his requests along this line -- purely for budget reasons.

It might be a better idea for you to address a letter to each local Urban League direct. Some of them may wish to place an order.

At any rate, I'll be talking with Parris.

Sincerely yours,

Lester B. Granger,
Executive Director.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Affiliated With National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference of Social Work, United Community Defense Services

August 28, 1954

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

I am very sorry that we overlooked sending you the two copies of Answers for Action, as promised in our previous letter. They are going forward to you today under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

eab/

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

5-6700
5-2431

OP 20 21

20 August 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are glad to have your prompt response to our request for recommendations. Already we have been in contact with Dr. Trenholm and we shall pursue your other suggestions.

Answers for Action did not come with your letter as indicated, so we anticipate two copies by separate mail.

Send two copies of Write-Ups

On this and other matters we shall continue to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

ofa

August 28, 1954

Reverend Beverly M. Boyd, D. D.
Chairman, Christian Social Relations
330 North Getty Street
Uvalde, Texas

Dear Mr. Boyd:

Here's a copy of a pamphlet which could be quite useful for the Diocesan people in Christian Social Relations in the seventh Province. I bespeak your care in looking through it, and your cooperation. It would be well for you or for me to send copies of it to the Diocesan chairmen in Christian Social Relations in those of your Diocese which fall below the Line -- in the Eastern Texas and Eastern Oklahoma areas. Our Council is an independent, non-denominational, and non-political organization, but we have had the friendship of the Protestant-Episcopal Church from our beginning in 1944 (and earlier for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which preceded us), and Bishop Penick and retired Bishop Clingman are members of our Board. Also, it is the case that the National Council customarily gives the Southern Regional Council $1,000 a year.

The pamphlet is soberly done and is constructive. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore Report on The Negro and the Schools; gives the whole of the Supreme Court's decision; gives useful things to do; and prints a map showing population ratio by counties. We prepared it hoping that it would find use by local and often interracial discussion groups in which local citizens would work together, usually as church people, with the view to finding a meeting of minds, working with the facts on the local schools, and approaching some kind of plan for how to go about the change in the local community.

A copy of the pamphlet has been sent already to each Bishop in your Province and in the Province of Sewanee.

We can supply you with the pamphlet in quantity at $15.00 a hundred plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover

September 9, 1954

Mr. Paul B. Wilson
Room 400-C Hort Building
Pennsylvania State University
State College, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wilson:

You were a good egg to send us the extra $16.53, and we do appreciate it. I had my qualms, naturally, about asking for it.

Do hunt up my friends Mitchell Morse, and his wife. I have written to Emerson Smith who is Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, that you are a good guy and quite possibly would be available for whatever turns up in Virginia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Room 400-C Hort Building
Pennsylvania State University
State College, Pennsylvania
August 27, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In submitting my expense account to you, I listed the expenses incurred in my round-trip from State College to Montreat, North Carolina; at the same time, however, omitting some costs (telephone calls, taxi service, etc.) which I took upon myself. It was my belief that you would make payment in the amount you considered appropriate - not necessarily the total expense incurred by me.

Had the necessity for the trip arisen under different circumstances, that is, at a time when I could have made reservations and better connections, the cost of transportation would have been less. I admit I was rather taken aback also by the cost of the trip and was embarrassed when I had to telephone my mother-in-law to wire me additional funds in Asheville. The method of travel employed seemed the most timely at the time I received your letter. If there were misjudgment on my part it was not intentional, and I shall gladly pay the price of it.

The figure you quoted seems fair. You will find my check in the amount of $16.53 enclosed. I sincerely hope this refund is agreeable with you. RHA

Very truly yours,

Paul B. Wilson

Paul B. Wilson

PBW/sw
Encl: Check

ofo

September 9, 1954

Mr. J. H. Jackson
National Baptist Convention, Inc.
3101 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Back in August when our booklet was newly out, I sent you a copy or two of it and hoped you would give careful thought to ways it could be got out through the channels of the National Baptist Convention. Your secretary was good enough to reply that you were away at the time, but that she would bring the letter to your attention later on. I do hope that now you are in harness and can try to work something out.

Your people could serve invaluably all over the South in getting going the kind of tiny local discussion meeting which the booklet advocates and assists. It has been bought in good quantities by the Methodist Church; by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; by the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.; by various Episcopal Bishops; and by other Church groups. I particularly want it to reach the Baptists.

I am helpless in the matter without your cooperation. But truly the National Baptist Convention has a noble opportunity to be of service in a just cause and in this way.

We can supply Answers for Action in quantity at $15.00 a hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

copy to Emory Via

Dear Mr
2 signatures
8/17

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Office of the President

3101 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

L. H. JACKSON, A.M., B.D., D.D.
President

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1954
Regional Council

August 12, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Jackson is out of the office at this time, but when he returns, I will call his attention to your communication of August 9th.

Yours truly,

Naomi Butler

Naomi Butler,
Secretary to Dr. Jackson

nb/

Ltr re
A J A

a. for a.

September 9, 1954

Mr. John R. Bross
Division of the Social Sciences
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Bross:

You are so right about the map. The truth is that we gave them copy to go by which carefully built up the color tones, and the printer, being unfamiliar with that technique of map making with the color prints, allowed the 20,000 copies to be printed without showing us the proof. We were distressed, but didn't have the heart to make them do over the 20,000. We will correct it in the next edition.

We will need your help in the coming months in Alabama.

If I get invited to come over to Talladega again you know I am always ready.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dept. of Psychology & Philosophy
26 August 1954.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

RAZ

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I find your last copy of New South - Answers for Action quite helpful, comprehensive, and thorough. I desire 5 more copies, so I can distribute it on campus and in the community. I might want more later, but suppose you send me 5 now and bill me for them. I have not been able to find out from the pamphlet itself whether it costs more than the usual issue of the New South.

One discouraging feature of the issue is the practical impossibility of distinguishing colors on the map at the end. It is very difficult to distinguish the 2 reds - for 6%-15% and 34% to 49%. I wish you had found it possible to use a green or blue or some other color. I suppose the price would have gone up prohibitively and that you did the best you could. Nevertheless I find it just about impossible to distinguish the areas mentioned.

In the community NAACP we have been pushing this summer to get people to sign a retainer - which is what the Alabama NAACP wants them to do to try to get Negro children into white schools all over the state. We think we have succeeded in getting several families, but the president of the NAACP is the one who knows definitely. It seems that this is one way to try to crack the nut in Talladega, though perhaps not the best. We have not been able to precede this move by discussions with interested "liberal" white people, because of the difficulty in finding such in town. Time will tell what will happen.

Perhaps you will be able to visit our chapel again sometime this coming school year and follow up your successful last year's trip.

Good luck to you in your work, especially what you will conceive to be your new work with the grant of funds from the Ford Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

(Sd). John R Bross

John R. Bross, Prof.
Psychology & Philosophy

Sent 5 copies
8/30/54
RAZ

File

ofa

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

2825 LEXINGTON ROAD • LOUISVILLE 6, KENTUCKY

September 9, 1954

Henlee H. Barnette
Christian Ethics

RECEIVED
SEP 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for the copy of "Schools in the South." As soon as our school gets underway here in the latter part of September we will want to make a study of this pamphlet.

Regret that I did not get to see you when you were in Louisville. I note that you were referred to Public Relations when you asked to see a portrait of your grandfather, Dr. John A. Broaddus. Just another example of the rapid development of the centralization of authority and omniscience within academic and ecclesiastical circles.

Cordially,

Henlee Barnette

Henlee Barnette

HHB:fd

Ga - personal

THE METHODIST CHURCH

ATLANTIC COAST AREA

250 AUBURN AVE., N. E.

ATLANTA 3, GA.

J. W. E. BOWEN
RESIDENT BISHOP

MRS. V. G. DICKERSON
SECRETARY

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 10, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copy of the booklet on the situation of education in the south particularly as the recent decision of the Supreme Court relates to it.

I am going to put forth effort to get distribution of copies of this through churches because I feel that many of our people should read it. You will hear from me concerning ordering these books and how I plan to do so.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. E. Bowen

J. W. E. Bowen

JWEB:VD

ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH
DIOCESE OF WEST TEXAS
UVALDE, TEXAS

REV. BEVERLEY M. BOYD, D. D.
339 NORTH GETTY

September 20, 1954

RECEIVED
9/23/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter unto date of August 28. I have been out of the city; hence, delayed in acknowledging your communication.

Thank you for sending me the pamphlet, "Answers for Action." I will take the case of the distribution of the pamphlets up with the Department of Christian Social Relations at their next meeting.

I have read the pamphlet and feel that it meets a real need. I am confident that our board will make use of it.

Sincerely,

Beverley M. Boyd

Beverley M. Boyd

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
48 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

September 22, 1954

RECEIVED
9/23/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thank you so much for taking some of your busy time to stop by to see me. I had read with interest the announcement of the change and organization and also the booklet entitled, Answers for Action. Keep me in touch with what goes on. My business has tied me tight for the last two or three years, but I do appreciate being kept in touch and hope to have some part in helping.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

GMS/j

This ltr sent to Negro Teachers' Associations

October 5, 1954

Dr. Robert C. Hatch
The Alabama State Teachers Association
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Hatch:

You may perhaps have seen this new pamphlet in the course of the ATA meeting at Nashville, July 26th. It comes out at a time when it can be particularly useful in reaching public opinion in the South.

It compresses the key conclusions of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the footnotes; suggests things to do now; and gives an informative map.

We can supply it at $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope your Association will seriously take up the opportunity to get it used in large numbers by your members. Your teachers, strategically placed over the South, can be of infinite help in getting local people to understand the issues and to prepare themselves for the changes to come.

Perhaps I am ambitious, but I hope that your Association will get many hundreds and maybe several thousands and get them out. Read it and I believe you will agree.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 6, 1954

Mr. Richard L. Tobin
Director of Public Affairs
New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tobin:

We are pleased to learn that you are considering distribution of "Answers for Action" at the opening session of the Herald Tribune Forum.

We have only about 2,000 copies left from the first printing, and, though a second printing is in the works, it would not be completed in time for the Forum. That means that we could supply a maximum of about 1500 to 1700 copies.

Unfortunately, we are not well enough off to supply them free, much as we would like to. We would have to charge $15.00 per hundred, which is the cost of the pamphlets to us.

As a small matter of information, I should make it clear that the fold-out map is an integral part of the pamphlet, prepared and printed by us. The "Bureau of the Census" label was erroneously carried over from the blank, outline map to which we added the population data and colors.

Let me know what you decide and I will see that any order you place is promptly filled.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000

230 West 41st Street, New York 36

October 4, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mrs. Waller tells me that you know as much or more about "Answers for Action - Schools in the South" than any other person. We are toying with the idea of distributing copies of that excellent pamphlet, containing the Bureau of Census map inside the rear cover, at the first session of the Herald Tribune Forum, October 18th at Hunter College. As a preliminary do you know if we could lay hands on about 2200 copies of this booklet (map included)?

Perhaps the Southern Regional Council would feel it important enough to furnish these for us and it would certainly be wonderful orientation for our proposed integration session.

Your early reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Tobin.

Richard L. Tobin
Director of Public Affairs

October 6, 1954

Rev. Harold C. Letts
Secretary for Social Action
Board of Social Missions, United Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Letts:

Thank you for your recent order for "Answers for Action." It has had an excellent response from church groups, and we are glad to be able to add the Board of Social Missions to the list of those making some use of it.

As well as we can foresee, once the Court has handed down its decrees, we will do a thoroughgoing revision of the pamphlet, incorporating the text of the decrees and discussing their implications for community action. If and when the revision is done, we will send you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

Mr. Harold C. Letts, Secretary for Social Action
The Board of Social Missions of the United
Lutheran Church in America, Inc.
231 Madison Avenue at 37th Street
New York 16, New York

September 30, 1954
Letter 9/27
9/30/54

10 - ANSWERS FOR ACTION--Schools in the
South @ 20¢ per copy $2.00

Parcel Post Book Rate. .12

Total amount due . . . $2.12

THANK YOU

THE BOARD OF SOCIAL MISSIONS OF THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

INCORPORATED

REV. OSCAR W. CARLSON, D. D.
President

MR. THOMAS P. HICKMAN
Vice-President

REV. HERMAN S. KEITER, Ph.D.
Secretary

MR. WILLIAM H. PATRICK, Jr.
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231 MADISON AVE. AT 37TH STREET

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

PHONE LEXINGTON 2-3411

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REV. LLOYD E. JACOBSON, S.T.M.
Director of Evangelism

REV. CLIFTON M. WEIHE
REV. E. DALE CLICK
Associate Directors of Evangelism

September 27, 1954

RECEIVED
9/30/54
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Kindly send us ten copies of your pamphlet "Answers for Action", the follow-up of your pamphlet "The Schools and the Courts".

Sent 9/30/54

Please bill us for the same.

Will you be preparing a new pamphlet of a similar sort once the Supreme Court has rendered its decision about implementing the desegregation of the schools decision? If so, I believe it would be a very useful pamphlet indeed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Letts

Harold C. Letts
Secretary for Social Action

HCL:npb

October 8, 1954

Mr. Oran C. Zaebst
Christ Church
P. O. Box 2179
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Zaebst:

We have sent off the fifty copies of Answers for Action, for your Department of Christian Social Relations.

We think of fifty copies as a quantity order, and price them at $7.50 plus postage.

If we can help you in any way, we wish to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Bill sent under separate cover.

afr orders

Christ Church
P. O. BOX 2179
GREENVILLE, S. C.

RECEIVED
10/7/54
Southern Regional Council

October 5, 1954

The Rev. Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Will you cause to be shipped to the writer, who is Chairman of the Department of Social Relations for the Episcopal Church Diocese of Upper South Carolina, 50 copies of "Answers for Action". These are for distribution for members of the Department and for all Clergy in the Diocese.

Send R HA

In your letter you state the price is $15.00 a hundred plus carriage or $.20 apiece. One-half of $15.00 is $7.50 and $.20 times 50 is $10.00. Please send me a bill.

With kindest personal regards to you, I am

Cordially yours,

Oran C. Zaebst

Oran C. Zaebst

THE REV. MR. ORAN C. ZAEBST
RECTOR

MRS. J. EARLE BOMAR
CHURCH SECRETARY

Sure return

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000

230 West 41st Street, New York 36

October 8,1954.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I'm afraid the $15.00 per hundred is too rich for our blood, too, at around 2,000 copies. Helen Waller suggests, however, that you people might wish to sample the top 100 experts in this field who are having an off-the-record, closed session on Tuesday morning, after the first session of the Forum. These people might be the very ones you'd wish to supply sample copies of your work, in this case a veritable casebook, with map. I think the suggestion is a good one, and might appeal to your promotion manager. We haven't any interest, alas, in buying the pamphlets, in the sense that we have no budget for it. But you might indeed consider supplying one copy for each of these top experts to whom Helen Waller sent the attached letter a few days ago. The list of acceptances is the cream of thought in the integration field and the sort of small audience that, at a policy-making level, can do you a world of good.

Cordially yours,

Richard L. Tobin.

Director of Public Affairs

October 11, 1954

Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy
Office of Law Development
Loyola University
School of Law
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city and will not return until Wednesday, October 13th. I am, therefore, sending you separately two copies of Answers for Action, which contains the map you refer to in your letter of October 6.

Answers for Action sells at 20¢ apiece, and in quantity at $15.00 a hundred plus postage. The charge for these two pamphlets will be 40¢ only, as we do not add postage for so small a quantity.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

eab/

afa promotion

RECEIVED
OCT 1 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS
LAW DEVELOPMENT

October 6, 1954

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Office of Law Development of the Loyola Law School is interested in obtaining copies of the Council's maps showing the distribution of Negroes in the South, and of the manuals for action prepared by the Council, if they are available.

It would be greatly appreciated if two copies of each could be sent. Will you please let me know the cost, if any.

Yours very truly,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy, Director
Office of Law Development

JBO'S:cn

*State Superintendents of Schools (can be checked against educational directory, published by U. S. Office of Education.

Dear Mr. _____

Your Department may find this new publication of interest.

It compresses the Ashmore report; gives the Supreme Court decision; suggests things that Southern communities may do; and gives a helpful population map, county by county.

Twenty cents apiece, $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope you will like it and will find ways of getting it into further circulation.

Sincerely,

*Do not send to State Superintendents of schools in Georgia -- include Missouri, Delaware, Arizona, and Oklahoma, along with other southern states.

Sent 10/13/54

Various Negro state teachers organizations secretaries.
(list is to be brought up to date -- check with
C. L. Harper)

You may perhaps have seen this new pamphlet in the course of the ATA meeting at Nashville, July 26th. It comes out at a time when it can be particularly useful in reaching public opinion in the South.

It compresses the key conclusions of the Ashmore report; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court decision with the footnotes; suggests things to do now; and gives an informing map.

We can supply it at $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope your association will seriously take up the opportunity to get it used in large numbers by your members. Your teachers, strategically placed over the South, can be of infinite help in getting local people to understand the issues and to prepare themselves for the changes to come.

Perhaps I am ambitious, but I hope that your association will get many hundreds and maybe several thousands and get them out. Read it and I believe you will agree.

Sincerely,

State Agents - (Do not send to Eason in Mississippi)

Dear Mr.

This new one can be quite useful.

Condenses the main findings of the Ashmore report; gives the Supreme Court decision; tells things to do; and has a helpful map at the end.

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

Twenty cents apiece, $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope you can find ways to make it useful in quantity.

Sincerely yours,

(Names to be ~~obtained from S. E. Juridition office~~ - heads of each Southern state Council of Churches i.e. Kirk, Emerson Smith, etc.)

Dear Mr:

Helpful new pamphlet. Timely, topical, factual, truthful, reasonable, and constructive. Can do a lot in building public understanding of school issue.

It compresses the main findings in the big Ashmore study of the Negro and the schools; gives the whole of the Decision; suggests things to do nowabouts; and gives an invaluable map showing population ratio by county.

Twenty cents apiece, $15.00 a hundred.

Can you not, through your Council, get it out to people who help shape opinion in your state?

Sincerely,

not sent to Atlanta or Decatur

to City Superintendents of Schools in all cities of 100,000 population.

Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Birmingham, Alabama
Charlotte, North Carolina
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Corpus Christi, Texas
Dallas, Texas
El Paso, Texas
Fort Worth, Texas
Houston, Texas
Jacksonville, Florida
Knoxville, Tennessee
San Antonio, Texas
Shreveport, Louisiana
Little Rock, Arkansas
Louisville, Kentucky
Memphis, Tennessee
Miami, Florida
Mobile, Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama
Nashville, Tennessee
New Orleans, La.
Norfolk, Virginia
Oklahoma City, Okla
Richmond, Virginia
St. Louis, Missouri
Tampa, Fla.

October 12, 1954

Superintendent of Schools
City of Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Sir:

This is a helpful and topical new pamphlet. It compresses the main findings of the Ashmore report, gives the Supreme Court decision, suggests things that Southern communities may do, and gives a helpful population map, county by county.

Twenty cents apiece, $15.00 a hundred.

I do hope you will like it and will find ways of getting it into further circulation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 14, 1954

Mr. William H. Oliver
U.A.W. - C.I.O.
Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Mr. Oliver:

Fine! We do appreciate the order for 200 copies of Answers for Action. Shipped today with the bill.

Do send them out; they will do good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN W. LIVINGSTON..VICE-PRESIDENT

UAW·CIO

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

RECEIVED
10/14/54
Southern Regional Council

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

October 11, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks immensely for the copies of "Schools in the South." It is a very attractive and informative piece and its publication is most timely.

Would you send me 200 copies of this pamphlet? Please bill the UAW-CIO Fair Practices Department. I think it will make a good reading piece for our local union presidents in the southern areas.

O.K.
RKA
Pay Employee

Sincerely yours,

William H. Oliver

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
FAIR PRACTICES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION
DEPARTMENT, UAW-CIO.

WHO/rd
liu-72-cio

State of Mississippi

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

JACKSON

J. M. TUBB
SUPERINTENDENT

October 15, 1954

RECEIVED
10/18/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We appreciate your sending us the publication Schools in the South. I have not yet had time to make a study of it but I hope to do so in the near future. If members of the State Department desire to get a supply of this bulletin, they will communicate with you.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tubb

J. M. Tubb
State Superintendent of Education

JMT/bws

H.7 — Refer to G.S.M.

Ofa-promotion

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY

AUSTIN, TEXAS

• STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
• STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
• STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

October 16, 1954

RECEIVED
10/20/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges your letter of October 13 and the enclosure entitled, "Schools in the South".

I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in sending this publication to us, and I am making it available to members of our staff.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Edgar

J. W. Edgar
Commissioner of Education

STATE OF LOUISIANA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
BATON ROUGE 4

SHELBY M. JACKSON
STATE SUPERINTENDENT

October 18, 1954

RECEIVED
OCT 21
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge your letter of October 13, 1954, and a copy of the publication entitled Schools in the South.

Thanks for the information.

Sincerely yours,

Shelby M. Jackson

Shelby M. Jackson
State Superintendent

SMJ:sbk

KONSULAT
DER
BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
CONSULATE OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
1026 HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA.

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, October 20th, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

After my return from two months in Peru I find your most interesting little booklet "Schools in the South" containing the map which you once showed me in your office. It will be most valuable for a supplementary report which I am planning to make towards the end of the year.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Yours sincerely

Dr. W. Brueckmann
German Consul

Dr.B/AM

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
MONTGOMERY 6, ALABAMA

October 22, 1954

RECEIVED
10/29/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you for sending me a copy of your recent bulletin, THE SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH. I hope to read this with care, and I am glad to know that it is possible to obtain additional copies for distribution.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. Terry
State Superintendent of Education

WJT:rbp

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER
NASHVILLE 3

October 22, 1954

RECEIVED
10/25/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dr. Cope has asked me to reply to your letter of October 13.

I have not had an opportunity to study what appears from a cursory examination to be an excellent and much needed publication. When Commissioner Cope and others here have studied the publication, you will hear from us again.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Turner

W. E. Turner, Director
Division of Negro Education

WET:nh

October 25, 1954

To: KS

Emerson Smith told me that the man who had promised to distribute the copies of Answers for Action to Presbyterian Elders seems to be welching on the deal. But Emerson is distributing them vigorously to other persons, and is about to run out. He hoped he could obtain further supply at 10¢ apiece, and I told him "no soap," that the new supply was coasting us 15.5¢ each, and the best we could do would be 15¢. I think he will order some more.

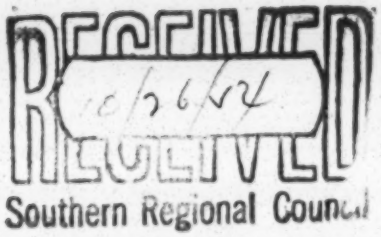
October 25, 1954

To: KS

Emerson Smith verbally ordered through me 35 copies of the October issue of New South. He will pay for them — so send them up with a bill.

City Public Schools
NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

October 25, 1954



Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your letter of October 12 and also for the pamphlet which you enclosed. I have not had opportunity as yet to read it, but I assure you I will do so.

Yours very truly,

W. A. Bass

W. A. Bass
Superintendent of City Schools

WAB:vh

Ofa pronadum

October 27, 1954

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Relations Division
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Emory:

You were a good egg to worry yourself in all that busy time about Mr. Jackson. And, also, a good egg to send us ten whole dollars, which we appreciate.

Jackson has come to life just a little with asking us to send him some copies for his Hot Springs gathering forthcoming. But he ought to do a whole lot more than that, and if you can get to him I think he will realize its importance.

We are all devoted admirers of all the Vias.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 23, 1954

RECEIVED
10/26/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Your letter requesting that we see J. H. Jackson of the National Baptist Convention came at one of the worse possible times. I was trying desperately to finish things up at Roosevelt, get moved, get baby, name of David, from hospital, get wife started to work, and myself begeinning to think on things academic at the University of Chicago.

I have started towards getting an appointment with Jackson. If his secretary is a fair sample, pleasant as she was, he may consider himself a little remote from ordinary contact.

I take it that I am supposed to see him next week. Of course, by this time you may have had a response from him.

I am very sorry that we were not able to give a timely response to a simple request, but on a timely issue.

Tell the Asst. Director that he acquitted himself ably and to the pride of Northern Georgians on the Town Meeting of the Air program.

I have a few more clips from Chicago papers to send but I want to use them with Jackson.

Margaret joins me in sending our best to you, staff, and family.

Sincerely,

Ernie

Jan 15 '85
tickler

Phone Victory 2-1081

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Office of the President

3101 South Parkway

Chicago, Illinois

J. H. JACKSON, A.M., B.D., D.D.
President

October 28, 1954

RECEIVED
11/1/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please send the literature requested to the National Baptist Bath-House, 501 Malvern Avenue, Hot Springs, Arkansas.

Yours truly,

J. H. Jackson

J. H. Jackson,
President

JHJ:nb

Check for date

of a - pamphlet

October 14, 1954

Reverend J. H. Jackson
National Baptist Convention
3101 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Many thanks for your letter of October 7.

I think the Arkansas plan will get things going. We will ship 100 copies to you January 15. Please let us know the appropriate Hot Springs address to which to send them.

Kind of you to be willing to receive the bill for the 100 copies.

I greatly want the active cooperation of the National Baptist Convention in bettering public opinion in the South and elsewhere on this matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Office of the President

3101 South Parkway

Chicago, Illinois

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1954
Southern Regional Council

J. H. JACKSON, A.M., B.D., D.D.
President

October 7, 1954

have made tickler ed. for this

Rev. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I regret that absence from my office delayed my answering your letter of August 9th.

Our Board Meeting is called to meet the latter part of January, in Hot Springs, Arkansas. I would suggest that you would mail to me there for distribution, a hundred copies of the booklet you have in mind, in time for that meeting, and bill me for the same. Or, would you have a better suggestion?

Yours truly,

J. H. Jackson

J. H. Jackson

JHJ:nb

Ofa - Jranatin

October 28, 1954

Mr. Robertson Sillars
Publication Coordinator
"Adult Leadership"
743 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Sillars:

We are sending to you under separate cover a copy of "Answers for Action - Schools in the South" because we believe that many of the readers of "Adult Leadership" and the membership of the Adult Education Association may find it helpful. It's purpose is to aid and encourage constructive consideration of the implications of the Supreme Court decision on public schools by community groups, particularly those in the Southern region. You will note that the copy includes a map of the region which, we are happy to say, will be improved in its color in the second printing which is now under way.

This pamphlet is available at $.20 per copy or $15.00 per hundred from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Assoc. for Program Planning

GTH/rf

LOUISVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
506 WEST HILL STREET
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

OMER CARMICHAEL
SUPERINTENDENT

October 29, 1954

RECEIVED
11/1/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for copy of the pamphlet giving the main findings of the Ashmore report on desegregation of public schools. If we find in our work with the problems in Louisville that we need copies for use, we will order whatever number we require.

Sincerely yours,

Omer Carmichael

Omer Carmichael
Superintendent

OC:ms

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Original of this ltr to:

Harry S. Jones
Milton Vigo
N. A. Dickson
Mrs. Lyells
Mrs. Spearman
Guy Wells
Tom Sutherland
F. Woods Beckman
Hugh Brimm (January 11, 1955)

Robert Hughes

Davisson Dunlap
Fred Darragh
C. H. Parrish
Dr. Elsie Lewis
Rev. C. C. Walker (January 12, 1955)

All copies of AFA sent January 12, 1955

1955
AFA - promotion

January 11, 1955

Mr. Harry S. Jones
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

We've got eight or ten thousand copies of the reprinted (improved map) form of Answers for Action: the Schools in the South. Perfect for discussion-group use, and helpful to many groups.

We need to sell them, and soon, before they get out of date.

Churches and Unions and various bodies did well last Fall in getting them by hundreds. Now the sale needs to be localized.

Will you try earnestly to help us get them out?

They cost us 16¢ apiece to print. Retail is 20¢; in batches of 25 up, they can go at 16¢ plus postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
AFA sent under separate cover this date.

Promotion - Answers for Detail

January 11, 1955

Dr. H.H. Giles
Center for Human Relations Studies
Press Annex - Washington Square
New York University
New York, New York

Dear Mike:

I thought I ought to drop you a note and bring you up-to-date on what I have been doing. You will redall that we have been seeking to set up in the twelve Southern states ongoing race relations agencies and thus far I have toured as far north as Kentudky and Virginia, as far South as Mississippi and Florida, and as far West as Texas. We now have paid staff in the following states -- North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas. In Kentucky we have a special arrangement where instead of having an Executive Secretary we have ten consultants, five of them Negro and five of them white, who are working for the Kentucky Council on a parttime basis. The states of Arkansas and Tennessee are well activated but have yet to hire professional staff. The two cows tails involved are Virginia and Florida. In Virginia, however, we have a working relationship with a special commission of the Virginia Council of Churches which works in the field of race relations but we are creating there a Virginia Council on Human Relations too. This coming weekend I am going to Jacksonville for the Florida annual meeting in the hope that there we will create sufficient processes to shortly culminate in a fully organized state group capable of hiring and giving direction to an Executive Secretary.

I still enjoy the work very much and find working with George Mitchell and the other people here at the Council a real pleasure. Like most organizations which are rapidly expanding, we occasionally have growing pains but so far the patient has never been on the critical list. It might be described as only an occasional allergy.

I am enclosing a copy of our booklet Answers for Action which may be, I believe, of considerable use to all of the students at the Center. We would be glad to supply them to you in bulk numbers at sixteen cents per copy. You might also ask any of the other interested profs whether they could use this material. We believe the dissemination of such information and material to be of practical value to the practitioners in the field.

I have heard that Franklin Patterson, formerly with NCCJ, is now with the Central Staff and I am certainly pleased to hear this for I know that Pat will make a real contribution. Please give him my warm regards and tell him I highly approve of his new position. Give my regards to the rest of my friends there at the Center particularly Miriam, Chan, and Rhetta, not forgetting of course your good wife Mary and the children. By the by, where is Lawry now?

Take care of yourself, Mike, and drop me a note when you have time.

Your friend,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
encl. Answers for Action

February 9, 1955

Miss Mary Alice Baldinger, Ex. Dir.
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mary Alice:

Many thanks for the list of people on the Clearing House mail list which you sent me. We will mail them some of our promotion literature and pamphlets along the way. I would also appreciate it if you would send us your general list so that we too might send them informational mailings.

Please excuse my long delay in acknowledging the receipt of the list but we have been in a bit of a hassle getting the state organizations going. I am off this week for an organizational job in the state of Florida which will take me some 1500 to 2000 miles through the hinterlands.

It was surely good to meet you when I was in Washington and hope to see you again before too long.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf

National Civil Liberties Clearing House

1637 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • DUPONT 7 - 6300

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(Friends Committee on National Legislation)

ALAN BARTH

ELEANOR BONTECOU

•

Executive Secretary

MARY ALICE BALDINGER

January 15, 1955.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh,
Southern Regional Council,
2630 East Wesley Terrace,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred Routh --

Cleaning off my desk this afternoon, for the first time in a couple of months or more, I am appalled to see that I have never yet sent you the list-- promised so long ago -- of people on the Clearing House mail list who I think might most profitably receive the SRC's materials.

It is attached. — List in folder for Ch. Pat. promotion

There will undoubtedly be duplications with your own list, so it ought to be checked off before it's used. It may be too long for you, in which case you might either send it back to me for deletions or use your own best judgment as to what to drop.

If, on the other hand, you would like an even longer list, let me know, as our "general list" contains addresses of interested individuals who receive our informational mailings, but not notices of our meetings.

F.R. Please request of M.S. Funds 9TH

I deeply regret my delay in getting this too you, and solemnly promise to be faster from here on in.

I'm so glad that we had a chance to get acquainted when you were in Washington, and hope that we'll meet again before too long.

Best of luck to you in your so-important work.

Sincerely,

Mary Alice Baldinger

Mary Alice Baldinger,
Executive Director.

Phone Victory 2-1081

afa
ed

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Office of the President

3101 South Parkway

Chicago, Illinois

J. H. JACKSON, A.M., B.D., D.D.
President

March 21, 1955

MAR 24 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I regret very much that in our last committee meeting, we overlooked the bill of sixteen dollars and twenty-two cents ($16.22) due you.

Please do not be too timid to continue to remind us until such bill is paid.

Yours truly,

J. H. Jackson

JHJ:nb

generation —
aja

March 24, 1955

Mrs. Samuel Lemer
1402 Valley Court, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Lemer:

Mighty nice of you to take on the surviving four copies of Schools in the South.

I greatly enjoyed the group, and appreciate the opportunity to talk to them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MRS. SAMUEL LEMER 1402 VALLEY COURT, N. E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAR 24 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Again let me tell you how much we of the Smith Club enjoyed your visit and interesting talk.

After all the guests had left I found four of your booklets "Schools in the South" here. So I am enclosing a check for eighty cents to cover the cost of these booklets. Our group will enjoy reading them.

Sincerely,

Carol Lemer

80¢
ck rba

April 6, 1955

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Commission on Social Action
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

How very kind that is of you to order the 700 copies of Answers for Action. They are being sent up to you right away, in accordance with my letter to you of March 31st.

I expect to be in New York Friday April 15th, and if you have the time available in the afternoon, I would be glad if you would save me half an hour or so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Chairman:
L. Otsur Gordon
Executive Secretary:
Albert Vorspan
Director:
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman

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Atlanta, Ga.
Gabriel N. Alexander
Detroit, Mich.
Sidney Barrows
St. Paul, Minn.
Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom
Kingston, N. Y.
Herman Blumgart
Philadelphia, Pa.
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Rabbi Victor E. Reichert
Cincinnati, Ohio
Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
Atlanta, Ga.
Rabbi Byron T. Rubenstein
Duluth, Minn.
Rabbi Selwyn D. Ruslander
Dayton, Ohio
Robert Seltzer
University City, Mo.
Rabbi Samuel D. Soskin
Brooklyn, N. Y.
J. Jacques Stone
New York, N. Y.
Solbert Wasserstrom
Kansas City, Mo.
Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein
Chicago, Ill.

Commission on Social Action

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200
3017

April 4, 1955

APR 6 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of March 31st.

Will you consider this an order for 700 copies of "Answers for Action". Please make the bill out as per your letter to the Commission on Social Action, attention myself. OK

There are a number of matters relating to desegregation that I would like to discuss with you at some time. If you should be in New York, I wish you would give me a call, and I will certainly do the same next time I am in your part of the country. I have been deeply impressed with the job that your council is doing and should like to arrange effective cooperative relationships both on the national level and among our constituent groups.

Thanks again for your kind cooperation.

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan

Albert Vorspan
Executive Secretary

AV:vrm

March 31, 1955

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Commission on Social Action
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

Answers for Action we think is still the best item out. It skillfully compresses the findings of the Ashmore report; carries the whole decision and the footnotes; answers a lot of questions; tells what to do; and has a valuable map at the back.

We have done since then a quite different booklet -- Changing Patterns in the New South. Read through the contents and read the very last sentence in the book, and you will have the flavor of it. It certainly does a broader job than Answers for Action in painting in the background in the South. But it is more limited to the Southern scene than Answers for Action. Also, we suppose that its cost would make it prohibitive for wide circulation. But it may well be that some few especially responsible people ought to have it.

In a quantity of five hundred or a thousand we can send Answers for Action at 15¢ apiece, we to pay the motor freight charges. That is even a bit less than it cost us to print them.

We do hope you will get some. We would be honored, and the cause would be helped if it reached your people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Changing Patterns under separate cover

Chairman:
I. Cyrus Gordon
Executive Secretary:
Albert Vorspan
Director:
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
Morris Abram *Atlanta, Ga.*
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Irwin M. Flaster *Newark, N. J.*
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Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn *Boston, Mass.*
Harold K. Goldstein *Cincinnati, Ohio*
Philip B. Heller *Roslyn Heights, N. Y.*
Jacob Levin *Chicago, Ill.*
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Hon. Abraham Multer *Washington, D. C.*
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Rabbi Sidney L. Regner *New York, N. Y. - Ex Officio*
Rabbi Victor E. Reichert *Cincinnati, Ohio*
Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild *Atlanta, Ga.*
Rabbi Byron T. Rubenstein *Duluth, Minn.*
Rabbi Selwyn D. Ruslander *Dayton, Ohio*
Robert Seltzer *University City, Mo.*
Rabbi Samuel D. Soskin *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
J. Jacques Stone *New York, N. Y.*
Solbert Wasserstrom *Kansas City, Mo.*
Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein *Chicago, Ill.*

Commission on Social Action

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200
3017

March 29th, 1955

MAR 31 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism is now preparing a mailing to every Reform synagogue containing materials for action and study on the issues of de-segregation.

We are familiar with your excellent pamphlets, including "Answers for Action." What pamphlet would you recommend for inclusion in this kit which gives comprehensive documented material on the whole issue? If you believe that the "Answers for Action" lends itself best for this purpose, would you be good enough to let me know what the cost would be for a quantity order of 500 or 1000?

I should very much appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

With every kind wish, I am

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan

Albert Vorspan
Executive Secretary

AV:em

RABBI JACOB M. ROTHSCHILD
THE TEMPLE
1589 PEACHTREE ROAD, N. W
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 12, 1955

APR 25 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am delighted to know that our Joint Commission on Social Action is going to use the material prepared by your Southern Regional Council. I know that they are preparing a kit to be sent to all our member congregations and presume that "Answers for Action" will be included with it.

I am glad also that you will have the opportunity to meet Mr. Vorspan. I am sure that each of you will enjoy the chance of getting to know each other.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jacob M. Rothschild

JMR/eks

April 6, 1955

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

This mornings mail brought a letter from Mr. Vorspan ordering 700 copies of Answers for Action. We are delighted.

In his letter he said he hoped that there would be early opportunity when he and I could confer on problems about the schools. I have written him that I expect to be in New York about April 15th, and will pay him a visit.

We continue in gratitude for your kindness in helping to work this out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
bc: Mr. Morris Abram

April 1, 1955

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

We had a cordial letter a day or two ago from Mr. Albert Vorspan, of the Commission on Social Action, saying they were thinking of a mailing on the problems of school desegregation, and wondered whether Answers for Action were still our best recommendation, (or what otherwise) and what would 500 or 1000 A for A cost?

We said A for A is still the best, and quoted as reasonable a price as we could contrive.

Many thanks to you for your interest. And we will be hoping that the Commission will get some!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 7, 1955

HCF

Shortly after we got out Answers for Action, I wrote each state outfit in the South and urged them to get some. Maybe now they will. Would you consider the wisdom of writing them again? If you like the idea, do whatever you want about it or do nothing about it.

eab/

Promotion —
afa

September 26, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The Fund's Annual Report reminds me that we were the recipients in January, 1954, of a most helpful grant of $5,000 for the preparation and distribution of a summary of the book, The Negro and the Schools. I am further reminded that we have thus far not sent in to you any final summary report on that project.

The publication issued in July, 1954 as Answers for Action: Schools in the South, a thirty-two page pamphlet, with a map in colors. The contents did in fact report the main findings of the Ashmore book, and in addition gave a program of local community action toward implementation of the decision of the United States Supreme Court. The first printing was 20,000 copies. for which the printer billed us $2,919.40. The balance of the grant of $5,000 we regard as absorbed into editorial and distribution costs, plus the cost of our second printing.

The publication was so successful that by October, 1954, we had sold out all but a few hundred copies, and in the next month we reprinted 11,000 copies, (with a sharp improvement in the map and minor textual revisions). Thus the total printing cost of the two issues (making up 31,000 copies in all), was $4,735.44.

At this writing we are down to fewer than a thousand copies of the pamphlet, and it is still in some demand. We have no doubt that virtually all remaining copies will be sold.

As to distribution, the pamphlet went out to all subscribers to New South (about 4,000), to many hundreds of individual purchasers, and to a long list of organizations which bought it in quantity for distribution to their members. A sampling of these organizations is given in our quarterly report to the Fund for the Republic, for the quarter ending September 30, 1954. The list is impressive in the form there given, and it could be extended to include a large number of later group orders.

In summary, the grant neatly covered the editorial and printing costs of the publication, and got into an especially penetrating kind of circulation a notably temperate and factual statement of a workable course of action for Southern communities. And the ultimate popularity of the pamphlet enabled the Southern Regional Council to realize from sales income which probably exceeded $3,000.

So we are grateful all around; the South for some helpful guidance, the Council for the aid without which the guidance could not have been put out; and our budget for help in a time of much need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. List of purchasers of AFA as shown in SRC quarterly report 9/30/55.

cc: RA

Copy also in "Promotion - Answers for Action" file folder

September 23, 1955

FROM: HCF

TO: GSM

RE: "Answers for Action"

Printing History

First Printing, July 1954: 20,000 copies (with maps)
Total cost: $2919.40

Second Printing, November 1954: 11,000 copies (map revised)
Total cost: $1816.04

Both Printings Combined: 31,000 copies at a total cost of ~~$7~~ $4735.44

Distribution and Sales

(1) To all state members and New South subscribers.

(2) Individual sales.

(3) Quantity orders. (See list in Oct. 1954 report to the Bd.)

April 17, 1956

To: HCF

From: GSM

Yes, I think after brief further use of the gray leaflets we should withdraw them. Perhaps the right thing to do would be to ~~seize~~ cease to use it as soon as we can replace it, ~~but~~ with a corrected edition.

I think the Hodding Carter one would stand up, and I don't expect him to withdraw it.

GM

eab/

Provenance

April 25, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Letter from Fay Bennett

I think we ought to do something by way of direct mail appeals. That means getting up a mailing piece and laying hold of appropriate mailing lists of persons likely to be friendly to us. Father Shean, who knows something about this, is supposed to advise with us on it when he is in Atlanta early in May.

After you have written Miss Bennett, I would like to get this material back for more careful scrutiny.

Promotion

June 12, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: RHA

FROM: GSM

I delivered the package of pamphlets to the Methodist Book Store at Junaluska and the one at Blue Ridge, and the rest I brought back.

At Junaluska people said the store is a mere branch of the Methodist Book Store in general and they had no device for keeping accounts, and further they had no authorization to stock books unless so directed by their superiors, the Methodist Book Store, I think, in Atlanta. So I ended with the Methodists by just leaving the pamphlets (as someone else had lately done with some others) and saying sell them if they could, all benefits accruing to the book store, and give them away if they could not.

Blue Ridge was friendly as I know the people. They took the twenty on consignment and understood the memo and will comply. But the Junaluska experience was so little promising that I had not the courage to attempt Ridgecrest and Montreat, and in any case I landed miles from Kanuga. So the only people we have any follow-up with are the Blue Ridge people.

eab/

Dear Lester,

We'll write to each Southern League, and send a copyxx of ANSWERS FOR ACTION and urge them to buy 'em. Hope they will. And meanwhile when Parris is available, you and he have a session and figure ou how to get a hundred, and get them out.

Cordially,

etc etc

Then pleasem'm, send incoming fmxx from Granger and copy of answer to GTH, who said she's write the local leagues. GSM

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Airplane to AV

7/22/54

GSM--

I have sent 20 copies of the pamphlet to Freeman, but have not written him, if you feel that's called for. Have also sent copies to the following; without accompanying letter:

Frank Loescher (Phila.)
Phil Coombs
Harry Ashmore
Nat'l Citizens Comm. for Public Schools
Lambert Davis
Miss. Economic Council
Sam Freeman

HCF

~~Texas~~ Sent to State Secretaries - Disciples of Christ

Dear:

I wrote my friend, Mr. Montgomery, at the College of the Bible at Lexington, and asked for advice on how to get this little new booklet known and used by the Disciples. He said to write to the State Secretaries -- which now I do.

We prepared it for use, hopefully, by small local, and wherever possible, interracial discussion meetings -- six, eight, or ten people.

It compresses the findings of the Ashmore Report on The Negro and the Schools; reprints the Supreme Court decision; suggests things for people in the South to do; and gives a helpful, if in this edition ill-printed, map of population ratio by counties.

We can supply it at $.20 apiece post free, or in quantity at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage. It has been widely used by various denominational bodies over the South and in many local church groups. I cite substantial orders from the Board of Education of the Methodist Church; the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; the Catholic Committee of the South, etc.

I do hope you will like it and will consider ways of gettinh it known and used by your people throughout the state.

We all have a tremendous job to do in ~~[illegible]~~ bringing people in local communities around to a positive attitude on the Supreme Court decision.

Oct. 25. 1955

Mrs. A. H. Sterne
132 Westminster Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Sterne:

Here's a copy of the new pamphlet. I do hope that the Council and others of your friends will like it and use it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. (sent under separate cover)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

January 18, 1954

KS--

I have this date had the following quotation for a 4-page promotion leaflet on the forthcoming booklet, folded in thirds for open mailing:

3,000 copies on 70 lb coated stock

$ 63.00

I will proceed on this basis.

HCF

cc: GSM ✓

February 9, 1955

TO: RHA

I sold at a meeting of the Bicker Club at Georgia Tech last night $4.00 worth of Answers for Action and Changing Patterns in the New South. I don't at all know how much was for which. So here is $4.00 for miscellaneous literature.

February 10, 1955

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

This new publication is really a honey. Ought to be used as a text. Can you not ask some of your people at Gammon to explore getting goodies out of it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under Separate Cover this date.

Orig & 1

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 11, 1955

Mr. Forrest La Violette
University of California
Los Angeles, California

Dear Forrest:

Too many people write you and say that their books are honeys and you ought to use them. This one is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FEB 25 1955

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

George:

Your ad caught me! Let's do business. Enclosed is an order.

I am home now, at Tulane, so ask your ~~your~~ secretary to change my address, please. Things are fine here: out of town during the three days of Mardi Gras.

Cordially,

Forrest

CR 4/50
5 - Changing Patterns
1 - New Paul Dubscription
Rha

February 11, 1955

no answer

Mr. Samuel Spiegler
NAIRO REPORTER
P. O. Box 163
Cathedral Station
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Spiegler:

This one is a honey for a text. And for all kinds of background uses. I hope it achieves a preferred listing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig + 2

February 11, 1955

Miss Margaret Garrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Maggie:

I send you a honey! It ought to be used by people that need to know. If you like it please help us get it used.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Orig + 1

February 11, 1955

Mr. Cullen Gosnell
Professor of Government
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Cullen:

Belatedly, and in a way accidental, a good part of what you and I thought of years ago Harold Fleming up and did.

Most people merely get a circular, but I send you a sure 'nuff one for free.

Put on thy thinking cap and see if thee can find ways to get it sure 'nuff bought.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Quiz & 5

February 11, 1955

Mr. Harry Roberts
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Harry:

How about trying to move this around for a text? It is Harold Fleming's new job. Coming at you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Reing 4 5

February 11, 1955

Mr. Guy Johnson
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

We think Harold Fleming's new job is a honey.

Will you try to get it known and maybe bought for a text here or there?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig + 5

February 11, 1955

Mr. A. Stephen Stephan
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Stephen:

This new job that Harold Fleming did is a honey. You and all your sociology associates should use it for a text.

Will you help get that done at any rate in your end of the woods?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Orig & 3

February 11, 1955

Mrs. Broadus Mitchell
49 Barrow Street
New York, New York

Dear Louise:

Honey of a job which the editor here at SRC did. Will you try to interest anybody thereabouts in using it as a text?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

5 circulars
Recd. Brooke
2/11/55

February 11, 1955

Mr. Warren R. Cochrane
Young Men's Christian Association
22 Butler Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cochrane:

You have been mighty nice to us in the past about helping us get rid of pamphlets.

Would you take an interest in trying to get rid of some of these?

I send a few of the circulars about it and would be glad to put a stack of real pamphlets with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

orig'd

February 11, 1955

Professor Broadus Mitchell
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Broadus:

This is a honey of a job. I send you some circulars about it and a complete one.

Will you make some slight effort to interest any of the teachers thereabouts in using it textwise?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Circular only

February 11, 1955

Mr. Morris Mitchell
Graduate School
Putney, Vermont

Dear Morris:

This is a honey of a job. See if some of your people would want some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl - Circular re Changing Patterns in the New South

pus & 2

February 11, 1955

Mr. Hal G. Lewis
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Hal:

This one is a honey and ought to be used for a text. Will you try?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

owing $1

February 11, 1955

Mr. H. B. Sissell
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Sissell:

We think this one is a honey. If you like it and will help us get it around, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig +1

February 11, 1955

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

You have a good keen sight for useful publications. I submit this one for inspection.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

to all ex-[illegible] schools
during [illegible]

February 11, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This new publication called Changing Patterns in the New South should get very widely picked up as a text in schools and colleges and for distussion group use. We are trying to promote it from here.

Will you try to promote it from yonder?

Here are fifteen circulars to promote it with.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South and 15 promotion circulars under separate cover this date.

Orig only

February 11, 1955

Miss Ellen Mitchell
Box 2448
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Miss Ellen:

Here is SRC's fancy new booklet. Very instructive.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Orig & 2

February 11, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Letts
United Lutheran Church
231 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Letts:

Here's a nice new one that is a good job. Most useful as a textlet for study and discussion meetings.

I don't expect it to be bought in whopping quantities, but if you can think of ways to work it into spots where it will be helpful, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig & 1

February 11, 1955

Mr. Richard Bennett
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

This one is a honey. We stuck out necks out by printing a 50¢ job and we have to sell everyone we printed.

I bespeak your kind words for it wherever they will count.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Keep #1

February 11, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

We think this one is a honey. If you can help us move it around, we would be grateful. We rather stuck our neck out with a 50¢ publication, and we have to sell all we printed.

If you are pressed for time read the Table of Contents and the last sentence in the book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 11, 1955

orig & 1

Miss Louise Young
Scarritt College
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Louise Young:

This one is really a honey. It ought to be very widely used for a text and for background for anybody fussing with these matters.

Verbum sap.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

any 45

February 11, 1955

Mr. Mozell C. Hill
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mozell:

Harold Fleming did a sweet job. I do hope that you will agree.

It ought to be used textwise.

Will you contrive that in any way you can?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

file 8 2

February 11, 1955

Mr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I suppose everybody on the Lord's green earth asks you to look at their new book. But do please look at this one.

It ought to get widely used textwise.

I have told Herman Long so.

Will you carry a note or two in its place in whatever ditty you may be asked to sing?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig + 2

February 11, 1955

Mr. Lewis Deer
220 Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

A honey! Should move! Can you help?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig. + 3

February 11, 1955

Professor W. E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cole:

A honey! Should be used! Please help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

orig & 2

February 11, 1955

Miss Rachel Henderlite
Assembly's Training School
Brook Road vicinity Laburnum
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Miss Henderlite:

I think you will see the quality and usefulness of this new SRC job.

We hope it can get used textwise.

Will you think about it some?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 15, 1955

Dictated February 9

AIR MAIL

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I really don't have to write you this letter because you are for certain sure coming to the Executive Committee meeting February 17. But I write you anyway. We will have mailed you a copy of a new pamphlet called Changing Patterns in the New South. It is a honey.

Please consider ways to help us get it sold. We stuck our necks out with a 50¢ job and we have to sell all we got. But it can be useful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 16, 1955

The Right Reverend Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
512 Ebeneezer Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Maurice:

The man Harold Fleming has done another nice job.

I expect you are too busy to do more than dibble dabble at reading it. Best way to dibble dabble is to look down the Table of Contents and read the last sentence in the book.

Mighty useful job for study and discussion meetings, or for school and college or for seminar texts.

We stuck our necks out by printing a 50¢ book. To get our neck back in we have to sell all the books we print.

I know it is not going to be sold in great whopping lumps at 50¢ apiece, but I would be grateful if you would try thinking of ways in which it could be got into spots in which it can do the most good. We did the enclosed leaflet along with it as a circularizing device.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl - Promotion leaflet
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 16, 1955

Miss Thelma Stevens
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Thelma:

I know you are too busy to read people's new pamphlets. But do look through the contents of this and read the last sentence.

I don't expect it to sell in great batches at 50¢. But anything you can do to help us get it into spots where it will be serviceable, we will be grateful for.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 16, 1955

The Right Reverend Alfred C. Cole
Christian Social Relations
Province of Sewanee
Protestant Episcopal Church
Upper Trinity Parish
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Bishop Cole:

I send you separately a useful item called Changing Patterns in the New South. It reprints the best of what has been in our magazine for the last six or eight years. And as the Table of Contents will show, the material falls into neat and useful patterns.

The last sentence in the book is a good piece of South Carolina language.

I don't expect it to be ordered in great blobs because it costs 50¢. But I do think it ought to be read by conscientious people interested in Christian social relations.

If you would speak a good word for it as occassion may present, we would be very grateful.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover.
10 Promotion leaflets

February 16, 1955

Bishop J. W. E. Bowen
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bishop Bowen:

This is a really useful new publication. I know you are too busy to do more than thumb through it, but I wish you would look through the Table of Contents and read the last sentence in the book.

Then, if you can help us get it into places where it will be serviceable we will be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.
Encl - Three promotion leaflets

February 16, 1955

To: HCF

You could do some helpful promotion work with the new guy running the Atlanta office of the National Council of Churches on getting the Changing Patterns in the New South pamphlet known by and often noticed by church publications. I am not sure I want to waste a free one on every dinky little church publication there is, but some judicious use might be made of that channel.

For instance, I have written to the Religious Herald in Richmond as attached.

GSM/eab
Encl.

February 16, 1955

Mr. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield and Beaubien Streets
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. White:

You will enjoy this new publication that we have just got out.

Will you put your thinking cap on and write me and tell me how best to get it known and used in the right spots within the Congregational Church?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 16, 1955

Miss Betty Schneider
Editor
The Catholic Interracialist
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Schneider:

Your magazine has been nice to us. Here is a new publication we have done, and we think it is a honey. We thought that maybe it would deserve some small mention.

We did it hoping that it would get used by local study and discussion meetings. Also, mighty good for texts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 16, 1955

The Right Reverend William R. Claiborne
2744 Peachtree Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Claiborne:

This is a useful item for bringing together the background of present Southern controversy on matters of race.

If after a few minutes of thumbing through it you can praise it to interested people in Christian Social Relations in the Diocese, we would be grateful.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 16, 1955

Dr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

You will have been sent a copy of our new publication, Changing Patterns in the New South.

Please let your secretary dig it out of the stack and lay it in your hands. Look through the Table of Contents and read the last sentence in it.

Then see if there is some way you can help us to get it moving around quite widely. It ought to be a textlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 18, 1955

Miss Barbara Mitchell
Admissions Office
Bard College
Annandale-on-the Hudson,
New York

Dear Barbara:

This is a nice job. Tell somebody about it and maybe it will get picked up for a textlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 18, 1955

Mr. J. Curtis Dixon
The Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Curtis:

Very nice of you to help us in that way. We will be certain that all of the listed people receive Changing Patterns in the New South.

The Jeannes Teachers very kindly asked me to talk to their Tuskegee meeting April 28th, and I am, of course, going.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

List given to HCF by GSM

C.P mailed 3/2/55 to persons on list

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
(PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS)
811 CYPRESS STREET, N. E., ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

FEB 18 1955

J. CURTIS DIXON
VICE-PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FRED McCUISTION
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

February 17, 1955

Mailed 2/25/55 - list in "Lists- General" file.

EAB

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Your last Bulletin is a good one. The title struck me since I used an almost similar title in the talk I made to the Southern Association in Louisville the last of November. My title there was "Changing School Patterns in the South".

I called you yesterday and you were out. My idea was to get copies of the Bulletin sent to the State Agents. Harold told me that he thought this would be done anyhow, so I am enclosing herein a current listing of Negro and white personnel in State Departments of Education as we have it at present. I think a copy of the Bulletin should go to each of these people.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis

JCD:vk
Enc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Ruth — check against mailing list

February 14, 1955

TO: GSM

Curtis Dixon called to praise Changing Patterns and to inquire whether all Southern state agents for Negro education and their assistants (who are Negroes) would receive copies. He is especially anxious that they do and if need be would take it on himself. But I said we would do it if he would send us an up-to-date list. He asked me to tell you he called.

Pencil

HCF

Aug 8 '0

February 11, 1955

Mr. Curtis Dixon
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Curtis:

This one is a honey. If you can help us make it move, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

LAW OFFICES
LIPSHUTZ, MACEY & FRANKLIN
HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

R. J. LIPSHUTZ
MORRIS W. MACEY
A. DE JONGH FRANKLIN
SAMUEL J. ZUSMANN, JR.

TELEPHONE
LAMAR 5661

February 18, 1955

FEB 19 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for sending me the new pamphlet (Changing Patterns in the New South).

I will be very much interested in looking it over.

Sincerely yours,

DeJongh

DEJONGH FRANKLIN

DF:fb

February 16, 1955

Mr. A. DeJongh Franklin
American Jewish Committee
1415 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear DeJongh:

Maybe our new pamphlet will come to you anyway, but I write especially to send you a copy.

I think you will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

2/21/55

Circulate

KS

HCF

GTH

RETURN TO

HCF
KS
Line
" 92 [illegible]

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

February 18, 1955

FEB 19 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks a great deal for sending me a copy of CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH. This was quite a useful idea. The materials are excellent for getting a perspective on changes which have transpired over recent years. I certainly do think that it would form a very reference book for classes in sociology and intergroup relations. Of course we are planning to use it one of the enclosures for our Race Relations Institute packets this summer. You will be receiving an order from us a little later.

Best of wishes and congratulations on another excellent contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

Recy & 3

February 11, 1955

Mr. Herman Long
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

We think this new job of Harold Fleming's ought to get out for a text.

Will you spread honorable idea?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

① 7HCF
② Files

THE General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
THE DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
1001 NINETEENTH AVENUE SOUTH
TELEPHONE NUMBER: 7-6400

JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

February 21, 1955

FEB 24 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 23 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I thank you for sending me a copy of Changing Patterns in the New South. I have run through it and find a great deal of helpful information. I am bringing it to the attention of the executive secretaries of our Conference Boards of Education. I hope some of them may be interested enough to order it and read it.

Cordially yours,

J Q Schisler

JQS:S

John Q. Schisler

THE General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
THE DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
1001 NINETEENTH AVENUE SOUTH
TELEPHONE NUMBER: 7-6400

JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

February 17, 1955

FEB 18 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to thank you for your letter to Dr. Schisler under date of February 15 and for the book, Changing Patterns in the New South. These have been received in Dr. Schisler's absence from the office because of illness. They will be brought to his attention at the earliest date possible.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Talbot

(Miss) Elizabeth Talbot
Secretary to Dr. Schisler

February 15, 1955

Mr. John Q. Schisler
General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Schisler:

This is a nice new job. Most useful for filling in background facts.

At 50¢ it obviously is not going to be broadcast. But it ought to be picked up for study and discussion group use.

We would be extremely grateful if you would thumb through it for a couple of minutes and think about ways to work it into the places where it can do good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 23, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Frank:

Since I fell by the roadside temporarily again and George Mitchell picked up on the various matters we had talked about, I have never acknowledged the copy of your letter to Mr. John Howard and the appended note.

I needn't tell you that we were very pleased that you thought well enough of the booklet to propose its use by the USIA and Ford Foundation representatives overseas. Even if nothing comes of it, we rejoice over the proposal.

A proposal for Southern groups to receive Changing Patterns went forward to you yesterday. Any or all of that distribution would be helpful.

Our feeling was that Lillian Smith's book should go to pan membership under our aegis, and that others should receive it through the normal organizational channels. If you decide on a wide distribution of Now is the Time, we will be glad to suggest organizations with Southern constituents that should distribute it.

Again thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

CC: Harold Fleming

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

February 10, 1955

Mr. John Howard
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Howard:

David Freeman has suggested that I share with you an idea of Philip Coombs concerning a new publication of the Southern Regional Council, Changing Patterns in the New South. Phil believes this pamphlet would be very useful in the hands of the United States Information Agency, Ford Foundation representatives in Asia and Europe and foreign press people.

Enclosed is a copy for you to look over. I shall be glad to have your reactions.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher
Intergroup Relations Consultant

Harold,
1 You may be hearing from Howard.
2 Phil Coombs says S.S. Viens has a policy of not allowing other groups to use its list.
3. Dave Freeman is reading Lillian Smith. We may have some word on distributing it and Changing Patterns next week.

Best regards
Frank

Enc.
FSL:jrf

OVER

According to Who's Who, Robinson, publisher of Charlotte News was born in Massachusetts. Doesn't that rule him out? We have Marcus. Wiggins will give an answer on Monday (Feb 14) but we think he will decline. We ought to have another person from the South. Should it be Robinson, Palmer, Edens? Or some one else?

Frank

① MCF ✓
② Files

The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
ROOM 414, 161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 23, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FEB 24 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have received your Changing Patterns in the New South and like it. I plan to figure out a way we can get it used and ask our leadership to send you their order. A little later we will need some on hand here.

I regret very much I cannot attend the Women's meeting in Atlanta on February 24-25. I will be enroute for appointments in Texas.

We are having today at Scarritt College Cafeteria a small group of people in a sort of exploratory conference on procedures toward social integration in Nashville.

Best of wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

ACM:RC

A. C. Miller

orig + 5.

February 11, 1955

Mr. A. C. Miller
Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

This is a nice new job. The facts in a way that people ought to be willing to read.

I know that at 50¢ it isn't going to be broadcast. But if you could praise it in spots where it might be used textwise, we would be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

February 23, 1955

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you for your very kind letter about Changing Patterns in the New South. It has been very well received and the time for it looks promising. The two copies which you requested have been mailed to you.

Thanks again for your own contribution to the booklet, which greatly enhances its usefulness.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

15 February 1955

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

$1.00 Cash
given to RA
for 2 booklets.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Alban Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The December-January special issue of the New South is especially noteworthy. You and your associates are doing a wonderful job in bringing the facts to permanent record.

For the enclosure please furnish us two (2) additional copies. Our regards to Dr. Mitchell.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Executive Department
Atlanta

MARVIN GRIFFIN
GOVERNOR

BEN T. WIGGINS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

FEB 26 1955

February 24, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of February 23, 1955.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness of sending me your book on "Changing Patterns in the New South", and you may rest assured that I will read it with interest.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Marvin Griffin

Marvin Griffin

MG:ep

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

February 23, 1955

An original of this ltr and a

copy of <u>Changing patterns</u> sent to:

Marvin Griffin - Georgia
Hugh White - Mississippi Jackson
Robert Kennon - Louisiana, Baton Rouge
James Folsom - Alabama, Montgomery
Frank Clement - Tennessee, Nashville
Allan Shivers - Texas, Austin
North Carolina - Luther P. Hodges Raleigh
Columbia
George B. Timmerman, Jr. - South Carolina
Raymond D. Gary - Oklahoma, Okla. City
Thomas B. Stanley - Virginia, Richmond
Lawrence Wetherby - Kentucky, Frankfort
Leroy Collins - Florida, Tallahassee

Orval E. Faubus - Ark., Little Rock

February 23, 1955

The Honorable Robert Kennon
Governor of the State of Louisiana
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

I send separately a recent publication of our Council, called Changing Patterns in the New South. It is a handy summary.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DRAFT:

To each Governor of twelve Southern States in which we have state organizations, and include Oklahoma.

I send separately a recent publication of our Council called, Changing Patterns in the New South. It is a handy summary.

OK GM.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director.

Georgia - Marvin Griffin

Mississippi - Hugh White

Louisiana - Robert Kennon

Alabama - James Folsom

Tennessee - Frank Clement

Texas - Allan Chivers

North Carolina - Luther P. Hodges

South Carolina - George B. Timmerman, Jr.

Oklahoma - Raymond D. Gary

Virginia - Thomas B. Stanley

Kentucky - Lawrence Wetherby

Florida - Leroy Collins

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

Hc F to see
return to Sam

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 24, 1955

FEB 26 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Thanks for your letter and for Changing Patterns in the New South which has arrived. You are too modist with your requests. I have already read the index and the moving last paragraph of J. M. Dobbs' article which you mentioned. I am taking the book home with me tonight and I know there are some articles here that will help me very much in my speech preparation.

I have just returned from Houston where I had two fine audiences, the Methodist Men's Annual Meeting and the Houston Rotary. I made good use of two points you gave me: the "respect and rice " item and the suggestion that our Negro leaders participate more substantially in the decisions affecting the South's life. They were well received. See enclosed clipping.

With regards as ever,

Sincerely,

Brooks.

Clip re. Brooks Hays's speech Texas

2/11/55

The Honorable Brooks Hays
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I want you to look through the index and read the last sentence in a booklet I send you called Changing Patterns in the New South. That is not too much to ask you. I suggest that your secretary stick it on your desk and pin on something that says "Look at the index and read the last sentence." Then if you get a chance to speak well of the book in useful places, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

Mayesville, S. C. 2/24/55

Dear George,

FEB 25 1955

Thanks for the complimentary copies of Changing Patterns in the New South. Also thanks to Harold for including my piece, and in such a prominent place! Of course, I'm prejudiced, but it appears to me he has done a good job on the booklet.

We're trying to make financial arrangements here in recovery from the wallopping - you see, I can't spell after teaching English for 20 years - we took from the drought last year. But the pond is full of water now - the one Morris and his Putney crew chewed down one stump in. Better come by and see it and two years from now fish in it. Even this summer it will have shady banks for lounging.

Bob.

quiz 8 1

February 11, 1955

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

You get the little book called Changing Patterns in the New South. Ask your girls to dig it up and lay it in your hands.

Guaranteed to be a honey.

If you are busy, read the Table of Contents and the last sentence in the book.

Then figure some way to help us get it around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.

ticket for 6 or m

Phone VIctory 2-1081

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

Office of the President

3101 South Parkway

Chicago, Illinois

J. H. JACKSON, A.M., B.D., D.D.
President

Promoter

G S mtg to call Jackson 3/5 - 3/7 when he is in Chicago

February 25, 1955

FEB 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of February 16th, addressed to Dr. Jackson, has been received. However, at this time, Dr. Jackson is out of the city.

Yours truly,

Naomi Butler

Naomi Butler,
Secretary

nb/

February 16, 1955

Mr. J. H. Jackson
National Baptist Convention, Inc.
3101 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Kind of you to get a hundred copies of the booklet, Answers for Action, which we duly sent to Hot Springs.

Here's another. This one costs 50¢ and I don't expect anybody to buy big bunches. But it is a nice job, beautifully calculated to inform as to the background of the present controversy in the South.

If you can find ways to work copies of it into spots where it will do good, we would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate cover this date.
Three promotion leaflets enclosed.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND

THOS. B. STANLEY
GOVERNOR

February 28, 1955

MAR 4 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your publication entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South", which I know I will enjoy reading.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thos. B. Stanley

Thos. B. Stanley

jeb

February 28, 1955

TO: KS

Will you look up the history of the contributions to us from the Board of Women's work in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. I believe that if we write them and ask for $25.00 or $50.00 (which?), we will get it this year.

GSM

GSM/eab

MRS. J. H. DALTON
729 N. E. 18TH STREET
OKLAHOMA CITY 5, OKLAHOMA

March 1- 1955

Dr George Mitchell- Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3 Georgia.

MAR 2 1955

Dear Dr Mitchell

At the request of Margaret Degen Louisville Ky. you sent me two booklets from your office. Changing Patterns in the New South and the answers to questions pertaining to the Supreme Courts decision on segregation in public schools.

Thank you for them. enclosed is a check for a year's subscription.

2.00 CR

Very Sincerely
Mrs. J H Dalton

rha

February 9, 1955

Mrs. J. H. Dalton
729 Northeast Eighteenth Street
Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Dalton:

Margaret Dagen wrote us that you are working at good causes in the Oklahoma City area.

I would like you to have two of our recent publications which could be helpful to you and to others thereabouts. They come along separately.

The Southern Regional Council considers Oklahoma to be within its territory, but we think Oklahoma is strong enough to do the needful, and we are so far away that we have never felt that we could influence the state much. But we do have O. D. Duncan at Oklahoma A. & M. as a Board member of the Southern Regional Council. And we have nine or ten members in the state.

Personally, I look often to Jimmy Stewart in Oklahoma City for understanding support.

We would like to be friendly with whatever you do, and would be helpful in any way that you can see that we can be so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under Separate Cover This Date:
1. Changing Patterns in the New South
2. Answers for Action: Schools in the South

cc: Margaret Dagen

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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SOUTHERN AREA COUNCIL
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TREASURER
JOHN C. BARBER
RECORDING SECRETARY

March 2, 1955

MAR 4 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Just a note to congratulate you on the book "Changing Patterns in the New South". This is a good compilation of some of the best articles that have come out of the Council, and I hope it gets the sort of distribution that it deserves, and that a lot of us need.

Virle and I have not forgotten the pleasant visit we had with you and your wife quite awhile ago. We hope to do it again sometime.

Sincerely,

Al

Alfred C. Payne
SECRETARY FOR STUDENT WORK

ACP:mt

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

RALEIGH

LUTHER H. HODGES
GOVERNOR

March 3, 1955

MAR 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of February 23 and for sending me a publication of your Council called, Changing Patterns in the New South. I am sure it will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Luther Hodges

LHH:ed

STATE OF LOUISIANA

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

BATON ROUGE

ROBERT F. KENNON
GOVERNOR

March 3, 1955

MAR 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Governor Kennon is presently out of the state and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of your February 23 letter and your publication "Changing Patterns in the New South."

We know the Governor will appreciate your thoughtfulness and courtesy in providing him with the publication.

Please accept the good wishes which we extend in Governor Kennon's behalf.

Sincerely,

Charles M. Hargroder

Charles M. Hargroder
Executive Assistant

CMH:S

March 11, 1955

Mr. C. Emerson Smith
The Virginia Council of Churches
109 West Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Emerson:

I think you will successfully sell all or most of the thirty copies of Changing Patterns in the New South. So I send them up. And some fliers along with.

Sincerely

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Ruth Alexander (along with incoming correspondence from Emerson Smith)

Copy of Changing Patterns and this letter sent to:

Dear Bishop _____

This is a really useful new publication. I know you are busy, but I wish you would look down the Index. Then if you can help us get it into places where it will be serviceable, we will be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns under separate cover this date.

Bishop S. L. Greene
Bishop Frank M. Reid
Bishop Joseph Gomez
Bishop C. A. Gibbs
Bishop W. R. Wilkes
Bishop John C. Claybourne
Bishop H. Bonner
Bishop T. Primm
Bishop H. P. Porter
Bishop W. Y. Bell
Bishop Luther Stewart
Bishop F. L. Lewis
Bishop B. W. Doyle
Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr.
Bishop Willis J. King
Bishop Edgar A. Love

Per "lists general" folder for addresses

March 11, 1955

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 18, 1955

MAR 21 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Governor Folsom has received the copy of Changing Patterns in the New South, a collection of articles from New South. He asked me to express his appreciation to you and to the Southern Regional Council for making this volume available to him.

Sincerely,

O. H. Finney, Jr.

OHF:k

O. H. Finney, Jr.

Promotion

March 21, 1955

Bishop Bertram W. Doyle
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
1702 Heiman Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Bishop Doyle:

Many thanks for your note of March 17th.

What would you think of sending out some copies of the promotion leaflet to your clergy?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. I mail you some separately.

Sixth Episcopal District
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
BERTRAM W. DOYLE, Presiding Bishop
Telephone 6-2419
1702 Heiman Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

March 17, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your recent letter, and accompanying copy of CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH.

I not only cast my eye down the table of contents, but have almost read every word.

Other than recommending to acquaintances who will be interested, I do not know of any other device,- unless you can recommend one, or some,- to secure a wider circulation for it. However, I would very much like to help.

Faithfully yours,

Bertram W. Doyle

Bertram W. Doyle

MAR 19 1955

FROM THE DESK OF BERTRAM W. DOYLE

Sixth Episcopal District
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
BERTRAM W. DOYLE, Presiding Bishop
Telephone 6-2419
1702 Heiman Street
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

March 30, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of March 21, and a later packet of promotion leaflets, have both been received.

I would be glad to distribute the leaflets to some of the clergy of our 6th District. However, the packet arrived with only TWO remaining. With the railroad strike and the difficulty we have getting mail, I am certain that the OTHER copies of the leaflet were lost.

Will you please send some more? Thank you.

Yours very truly,

Bertram W. Doyle

Bertram W. Doyle

Sent 25 leaflets 4/5/55 nha

APR 1 1955

FROM THE DESK OF BERTRAM W. DOYLE

Air Mail April 19, 1955

Mr. Roy Peters
75 Alma Road
Bristol 8, England

Dear Mr. Peters:

I send you separately our most comprehensive publication "Changing Patterns in the New South." A complete list of our publications is now being printed; I will send you a copy when it is available.

Pub List
mailed 4/25/55

As you will see, the Southern Regional Council's main focus is on race relations in the Southern states. I know of no single organization that is concerned with all the other aspects, but if you will write me of your special interests I will be glad to suggest possible sources of information.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

23 Mar 55.

75 Alma Rd.,
Bristol 8,
England.

Dear Sir,

As a 27-year-old Englishman, and an admirer of your country and people, I spend a large part of my leisure time studying American affairs, and I am very eager to collect all the information I can concerning the South.

Have you published booklets or reports of any kind which give information on the activities of your council, and on life and trade in the Southern states? If you have, I would certainly be very grateful if you could send me any that are in circulation at the present time.

I would particularly appreciate anything illustrative or statistical.

Cordially yours,

Roy Peters

ROY PETERS.

The Director of
Information,
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
Atlanta.

June 7, 1955

Mr. W. W. Law
2009 Florence Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Law:

Changing Patterns is 50¢ flat. In quantities of 50 or more, 42¢ each plus carriage.

It has been a popular and useful publication.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC Publications List
Promotion Leaflet, CPNS

JUN 2 1955

2009 Florence Street
Savannah, Georgia
May 30, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Heard about the SRC pamphlet entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South," and would like to know how I can obtain this pamphlet, both in single copies and in bulk.

My address is:

Mr. W. W. Law
2009 Florence Street
Savannah,
Georgia

I would appreciate a reply.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Law

W. W. Law

July 11, 1955

Mr. Miller A. F. Ritchie
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

We hope Changing Patterns will catch on for text use. Anything you can do to further that will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HARTWICK COLLEGE
ONEONTA, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

July 6, 1955

JUL 8 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted to learn that you will be at the Conference of Human Relations leaders in New York at the N Y U Workshop. I expect to be there and look forward with great eagerness to hearing of your current experiences in the South in exerting a wholesome influence toward integration.

I have enjoyed very much the copies of the New South as they have come to me. Just at the present time I am using in a conference class I am teaching your very fine booklet entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South". I think it will help open the eyes of a school teacher who is reading it at the present time. She is from Arkansas and has been teaching at Miami for the last year. She is doing a project on the problem of integration in the public schools.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:b

August 15, 1955

Mr. H. Clayton Waddell
4209 Seminary Place
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Waddell:

Enclosed is a copy of our publications list and a pamphlet concerning "Changing Patterns in the New South."

If we can be of further aid to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the Changing South. Will you please send a copy of your catalog or a list of the available materials.

Very truly yours,

H. Clayton Waddell

H. Clayton Waddell
4209 Seminary Place
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

August 29, 1955

(Dictated 8/19)

HCF:

Paul Christopher made a suggestion during the Executive Committee meeting that we develop a debate manual with arguments pro and con. I am not much for it, but I note his suggestion.

There was discussion of the old idea of ads in church papers. Do we change our minds on that or not? If you could give me briefly in writing the plans for promotion of the new edition of Changing Patterns, I would be grateful. Conversations would provide an adequate substitute.

GSM/eab

August 29, 1955

(Dictated 8/19)

HCR:

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GSM/eab

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Human Relations Problems in Administration,
Supervision and Instruction
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is sending you, under separate cover, sample copies of our publications "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court Said..."

We think these two publications would be of value to you in your summer Intergroup Relations Workshop, and they can be made available to you on a consignment basis. Charge is fifty cents (50¢) for "Changing Patterns" and ten cents (10¢) for "What the Supreme Court Said..."

If you desire any of these publications, on a consignment basis, please let us know.

With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is sending you, under separate cover, sample copies of our publications "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court Said..."

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Fifty Annual Institute in Human Relations
and Group Guidance
St. Louis University
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is sending you, under separate cover, sample copies of our publications "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court said..."

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Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

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The Southern Regional Council is sending you, under separate cover, sample copies of our publications "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court Said..."

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Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Sir:

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Florida Southern College
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Sir:

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We think these two publications would be of value to you in your summer Intergroup Relations Workshop, and they can be made available to you on a consignment basis. Charge is fifty cents (50¢) for "Changing Patterns" and ten cents (10¢) for "What the Supreme Court Said..."

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Seventh Institute on Human Relations &
Intergroup Understanding
American University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is sending you, under separate cover, sample copies of our publications "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court Said..."

We think these two publications would be of value to you in your summer Intergroup Relations Workshop, and they can be made available to you on a consignment basis. Charge is fifty cents (50¢) fpr "Changing Patterns" and ten cents (10¢) for "What the Supreme Court Said..."

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio, Texas

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

May 24, 1956

Director
Intergroup Workshop
Statesmanship in National Crisis -
The Moral Challenge in Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

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We think these two publications would be of value to you in your summer Intergroup Relations Workshop, and they can be made available to you on a consignment basis. Charge is fifty cents (50¢) for "Changing Patterns" and ten cents (10¢) for "What the Supreme Court Said..."

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With all good wishes for a successful workshop.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 1, 1956

"Changing Patterns in the New South" is available to conference book stores on a consignment basis. These booklets may be sold for fifty cents (50¢) each with thirty-five cents (35¢) for each booklet to be returned to the Southern Regional Council. The book store will retain fifteen cents (15¢) for each copy sold.

Accompanying packages contain twenty copies (20) of said publication. For further information or for payment contact:

Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

GSM -

Talked to Loescher. The proposal on Changing Patterns is dead — likewise Gillian Smith's book.

Loescher said Freeman had no misconceptions about our role in the business — just didn't like the idea.

HCF

Ch. Pub.
Broadmoor part

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . RNF . . . . . .

Fish Conference List
Arkansas Bd.
Alabama Board
Mississippi "
Texas "
N.C. "
Ky. " & const
La. "
Tenn "
Ga. "
SRC - Board
Library List

S.C. Bd.
Fla. Bd.
Va. List (GSH's ltr to Emerson Smith - 12/27/54)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

Make labels for

Conference Book Store

at

Ridgecrest
Lake Junaluska
Kanuga Lake
Blue Ridge

1 unlabeled -

give to Ruth, please

For your file info, Dr. Mitchell will take one unlabelled package.

Thanx

"Changing Patterns in the New South" is available to Conference Book stores on a consignment basis. These booklets may be sold for fifty cents (50¢) each with thirty-five cents (35¢) for each booklet to be ~~retxxxxx~~ returned to the Southern Regional Council. The book store will retain fifteen cents (15¢) for each copy sold.

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Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Same letter: Attached list of editors

September 8, 1953

Mr. Alfred Mynders
CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

This we have just got out. We've had many calls for the background on the school cases before the Court. We've tried to put it in clear language.

Fundamentally, our effort is to get the whole matter discussed by broad groups of citizens, so that it becomes a thing on which the people know the main facts.

We have hoped that some papers would pick up good stretches of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

x nonetheless -
Schools texts

✓ Mr. Alfred Mynders
Chattanooga Times
~~Nxxx~~ Chattanooga, Tenn.

✓ Mr. Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Bert Struby
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

✓ Mr. Harry Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

✓ Mr. Reed Sarratt
(& Chester Davis?)
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N. C.

~~Mr. Paul Harding~~
~~Greensboro News~~
~~Greensboro, N. C.~~

✓ Mr. Herbert Davidson
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

✓ Mr. Don Shoemaker
Citizen-Times
Asheville, N. ~~E~~ C.

Mr. Robert Brown
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Ga.

Mr. Lenoir Chambers
Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

✓ Mr. McClellan VanderVeer
Birmingham News and Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
News and Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Nelson Poynter
St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. William Hines
Washington Star
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ben ~~Gilbert~~ Gilbert
Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Mr. William Shands Meacham
1132 Graydon Avenue
Norfolk, Va.

✓ Mr. Carter ~~Wxx~~ Wesley
Houston Informer
Houston, Texas

Mr. Frank Winn
United Automobile Worker
411 W. Milwaukee St.
Detroit, Michigan
S. L.

? Mr. ~~Sam~~ Latimer, Jr.
Columbia ~~Record~~ State
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. George Buchanan
Columbia Record
Columbia, S. C.

✓ Mr. Cary Robertson
Sunday Editor
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

✓ Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss.

New Orleans

✓ Nashville

Louisville

H. Carter Miss

Texas

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

Brownson:
"School cases"

September 14, 1955

Dear George:

It was good to hear from you. I think this is a very useful booklet you have gotten out on the school cases before the Supreme Court. I know it will be useful to me.

I hope it won't be long before we get a chance to talk again.

Sincerely,

Jonathan

RECEIVED
SEP 15

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FILE COPY - [illegible]

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to stream the search research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
SEP 23
Southern Reg

753 Highland Ave.
Eau Gallie, Fla.
September 21, 1953

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The pamphlet on the schools is splendid. Wish every teacher and board member in the state could have a copy. Am writing Mr. Dunlap about it. My schedule through the middle of November is packed tight. I shall only be home week-ends. Have had to refuse dozens of invitations to speak or teach. That's not bragging but just to explain why I may not reach Jacksonville unless we can possibly get together on a week-end.

Again I'm worried about Annual Meeting. No date set so far.

Most cordially,
Amy White
(Mrs. Wm. C.)

September 21, 1953

Mr. Henry Lee Barnett
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Barnett:

I send you separately four or five copies of a new booklet we have just done.

We want it to be used in getting local discussion groups to inform themselves on the issues involved in the forthcoming Supreme Court decision. The chance of calm, tolerant acceptance will be stepped up a lit if quite a number of everyday citizens know the facts ahead of time. Incidentally, we will be putting out in another couple of weeks a follow-up one giving a check-list to reveal the differences between white and Negro schools in local communities.

I have sent copies to Dr. A. C. Miller at Nashville and asked his advice on ways to get in use by the various State Associations.

Meanwhile, there is doubtless a good deal that you and others at the Seminary could do in getting the availability of the pamphlet known.

I am writing similarly to Professor Ralph A. Phelps at Fort Worth and Clayton Waddell at New Orleans and Dr. McDowell at Wake Forest asking them to interest themselves in doing what they can.

If you have suggestions to make on how the booklet can reach the whole Denomination, I would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

September 22, 1953

Dr. Henry M. Bullock, Editor
Church School Publications
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Here is a pamphlet we have just got out. It ould be used quite helpful in getting across the South, understanding of the issues involved in the forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court. We hope that it will be widely used by local discussion groups to that end.

Sorry not to have you on our Board, but we will hope that some day, that will be possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

September 24, 1953

Editor The Arkansas Baptist
Baptist Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir:

Here's a pamphlet we have just got out. Its purpose is to help in the tremendous task of informing the Southern public on the issues now before the Supreme Court. It is a calm, balanced treatment.

We want it to be helpfully used by small informal local discussion groups.

It has been widely noticed in the Southern daily press.

I hope that editorially you will agree that the Arkansas Baptist could properly make some reference to the pamphlet and its timeliness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 24, 1953

The Baptist Standard
Box 688
Dallas, Texas

Dear Sir:

Here's a pamphlet we have just got out. Its purpose is to help in the tremendous task of informing the Southern public on the issues now before the Supreme Court. It is a calm, balanced treatment.

We want it to be helpfully used by small informal local discussion groups.

It has been widely noticed in the Southern daily press.

I hope that editorially you will agree that the Baptist Standard could properly make some reference to the pamphlet and its timeliness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 24, 1953

Mr. F. E. Bass, Executive Secretary
Tenn. Education Association
Nashville 3, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Bass:

Our Council has just published this booklet.

We want to get it widely used by local discussion groups, biracial wherever feasible. Object: To build locally an informed citizen-body able to help resist confusion when the Court makes its ruling. We will follow it with another in a couple of weeks giving a check-list for finding present differences between white and Negro schools. It is a balanced and temperate bulletin asking only that people be informed and open-minded.

I have sent it about variously to church leaders and to people in the Labor Organizations. We would be most grateful for anything your Association would care to do to help in getting the pamphlet widely distributed and used.

We can supply it in bulk at 12¢ apiece.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 25, 1953

Rev. J. P. Barbour
National Baptist Voice
412 4th Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Barbour:

This is an obviously useful pamphlet.

I do hope that on looking through it you will think that it merits some mention in the National Baptist Voice. It is of the greatest importance at this junction for the people of the South to understand the issues involved in the whole matter of the schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

Rev. J. P. Barbour
National Baptist Voice
412 4th Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

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I do hope that on looking through it you will think that it merits some mention in the National Baptist Voice. It is of the greatest importance at this juncture for the people of the South to understand the issues involved in the whole matter of the schools.

I have sent copies on to Mr. Jackson in Chicago, and President Benjamin Mays has written Mr. Jackson in praise of the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

FILE COPY
RECEIVED
SEP 29

promotion

Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 25, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have read with interest the new pamphlet "The Schools and the Courts."

I think it should sent to each member of State Boards of Education throughout the South and to the Staff of the Attorney General in each State.

At the present moment, there seem to be no organizations other than Churches in the neighborhood who could handle the pamphlet in large quantities. There are officials in Conferences and Dioceses who could make recommendations as to specific groups to receive these pamphlets. For example, Mrs. U. T. Holmes, Jr., President, 102 Pine Lane, Chapel Hill, N. C., of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council in the Diocese of North Carolina, might be interested in reading it herself and recommending it for use by members of the Auxiliary who are usually strategic people in a community.

I think everybody in the South should read it.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

September 26, 1953

Mr. James L. Patterson, Manager
The Holston Methodist
Box 582
Johnson City, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Here's a pamphlet we have just got out. Its purpose is to help in the tremendous task of informing the Southern public on the issues now before the Supreme Court. It is a calm, balanced treatment.

We want it to be helpfully used by small informal local discussion groups.

It has been widely noticed in the Southern daily press.

I hope that editorially you will agree that the Holston Methodist could properly make some reference to the pamphlet and its timeliness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/alo
enclosure

RECEIVED
OCT 2
Southern Regional Council

FILE COPY

September 30, 1953

Mr. W. L. Greene, Executive Secretary
N. C. Teachers Association
125 East Hargett Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

COPY

Dear Mr. Greene:

I am sure you have seen the recent Southern Regional Council pamphlet entitled "The Schools and the Courts." There was an excellent article on this pamphlet in the New York Times on September 27.

It would be of tremendous value if we could get one of these in the hands of every principal and supervisor in our schools. The SRC is going to distribute the pamphlet to School Boards all over the State.

Would it be possible for the NCTA to make certain that each principal gets one of these by paying for the distribution of this from your office or from the SRC office in Atlanta?

An accurate knowledge of the situation will do much to allay fears and suspicions.

I would like to talk to you about this when you return to the City.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

promotion -

FILE COPY

RECEIVED
OCT 2
Southern Regional Council

September 30, 1953

Dr. Leon Russell, Pastor
Jarvis Memorial M. E. Church
Greenville, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Russell:

I am very grateful for the opportunity to talk to you this morning about the SRC pamphlet entitled "The Schools and the Courts".

I agree with you wholeheartedly that this pamphlet would do much to enlighten members of School Boards beginning with the State Board itself. It would be a distinct contribution if the N. C. unit of the SRC would pay for the distribution of the pamphlet to the Boards of Education in all the cities and counties in addition to the State School Boards.

I am also grateful for your promise to authorize Dr. Mitchell to mail these out to the agencies named above. I have not seen you in a long time and hope that the Executive Committee of the North Carolina SRC may get together at some time in the not too distant future.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

COPY

October 1, 1953

Mr. Maurice E. Bennett, Editor
The Southern Churchman
101 North Jefferson Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bennett:

This new pamphlet could be quite helpful of getting Southern opinion informed on the issues now before the Supreme Court. We most hope that it will be picked up by informal local discussion groups, some of which could be inter-racial.

Both the National Council and the Province of Sewanee give our Council welcome support. We suppose that the subject of the pamphlet is a proper concern of Christian Social Relations, and greatly hope that the booklet, itself, can win some mention in the Southern Churchman.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 28, 1953

Mr. Maurice E. Bennett, Editor
The Southern Churchman
101 North Jefferson Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bennett:

This new pamphlet could be quite helpful of getting Southern opinion informed on the issues now before the Supreme Court. We most hope that it will be picked up by informal local discussion groups, some of which could be inter-racial.

Both the National Council and the Province of se wanee give our Council welcome support. We suppose that the subject of the pamphlet is a proper concern of Christian Social Relations, and greatly hope that the booklet, itself, can win some mention in The Southern Churchman.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

October 13, 1953

Bishop A Frank Smith
1049 Kirby Drive
Houston 19, Texas

My dear Bishop Smith:

Most kind of you to write October 2d about the Questions and Answers pamphlet.

It has been our feeling that the pamphlet will be of greatest use in these particular weeks before the Supreme Court gives its decision. People now have open minds; and as soon as the Court has spoken partisanship will appear on each side. So I bespeak your interest in getting the pamphlet out ahead of rather than after the decision.

We do not suppose there is anything in the pamphlet which could be interpreted, in any way, as lacking in respect for the Court's judicial function.

In any case, we are grateful for your interest in it.

For your information, I am sending a copy of still another pamphlet intended to be a follow-up for the first.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure

THE METHODIST CHURCH
BISHOP A. FRANK SMITH

HOUSTON-SAN ANTONIO
AREA

1049 KIRBY DRIVE
HOUSTON 19, TEXAS

RECEIVED
OCT 7
Southern Regional Council

October 2, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the phamplet you have issued relating to the matters now before the Supreme Court which will have such a vital bearing upon our educational situation in the South.

I shall be meeting my Area Cabinet shortly and will take up with them, the matter of distribution of this phamplet. It is altogether possible that we may find it more profitable to distribute the phamplet following the Supreme Court decision than at present.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

A. Frank Smith

AFS/gr

A. Frank Smith

November
seventeen
1953

Miss Gladys Boone
Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Virginia

Dear Gladys:

Very nice to see you although I am sorry the visit was so short and we had so little opportunity to put together what both of us know about these parts of the world.

Think seriously about some way of getting me to Sweet Briar and I will expound endlessly and valiantly!

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

November 10, 1953

Miss Gladys Boone
SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE
Sweet Briar, Virginia

Dear Miss Boone:

Dr George Mitchell is out of the city this week. He is to return to Atlanta on Saturday, November 14, and I am sure he will be delighted to have you call him at home - DEarborn 5961.

When Dr Mitchell returns to his desk, your letter of November 9 will have his attention.

Sincerely yours

Secretary to Dr Mitchell

gsm-t

GLADYS BOONE
SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE
SWEET BRIAR, VIRGINIA

Nov. 9-1953.

Dear George—

The unexpected is always happening in this INSTITUTION. Just as I was about to write you for more copies of The Schools & the Courts, my darlings informed me

the Debate - without

the kind of preparation

I should have liked.

But the meeting wasn't

too bad -

I'm sending this

note now because I'm

wondering whether you

will be in Atlanta

2/

that they were having a Debate on the issue involved within the next 3 days - instead of in Semester 2, as originally planned. An "outside" speaker had failed them - so they went ahead & staged

this coming week-end &
whether you are going to
any of the S.E.A. Meetings,
Friday - Saturday? If so,
I hope I may see you.
My present plan is to
arrive at crack of dawn
(perforce!) on Friday - &
have a reservation at the
Atlanta Biltmore for Fri-Sat
Au revoir! I hope —
Gladys Boone

g + n

December 16, 1953

Dr W W Boyce
Erskine College
Due West, South Carolina

Dear Mr Boyce:

Here is a good little pamphlet for which we covet some distribution within the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church.

You will see that it is done temperately and with a balance of the arguments on both sides of the question now before the South. It develops the cases and the precedents and discusses possible decisions or consequences one way or the other. It has been widely effective already in the South in building local public opinion disposed to be temperate and constructive.

We mostly hope that it will be used by local discussion groups. As a companion pamphlet, less important, for discussion groups to use if they go on to try to find out the differences between white and Negro local schools, we send you the CHECK LIST.

The QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS has had amazingly wide use. We have only had it in print two or three months. The Board of Education of the Methodist Church has sent both pamphlets to each of their District Superintendents from Virginia to Texas. The Southern Baptist Convention, Dr A C Miller, Christian Life Commission, has bought 250 copies and may get more. The Southern Presbyterian Church in the USA has sent a copy of all the ministers in the Denomination, and their Board of Women's Work has sent out three or four hundred to Church women leaders. The Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina has bought over 200 and two or three Episcopal Bishops have sent it out widely. It has been distributed also by the Catholic Committee of the South. Various State groups of Negro teachers have used it in large quantities. The Kentucky Press Association sent it out to all their papers. The YMCA and the YWCO have been using it for local discussion groups, and so on and so on.

I don't know whom I can claim in South Carolina as good friends of the Council's who will be closely associated with you and with Erskine College. Mr J M Dabbs was lately the Chairman of the South Carolina Division of the Council and his

Dr W W Boyce
Erskine College
Due West, South Carolina
Two
December 15, 1953

present successor is Judge Richard Foster of the Juvenile Court at Greenville.

We sell the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS at ten cents each in quantity and the CHECK LIST at eight cents in quantity.

It would be a very useful thing if the A. R. P.'s would sent it out in some suitable way.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 2

G+A

December eighteen, 1953

Reverend Carl Caughman
Lutheran Church
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr Caughman:

Here is a useful publication described in the attached letter to Dr Lets.

Mr Schaeffer said you would be interested in receiving a copy of it.

I do greatly hope that the Synod of South Carolina will lay in a goodly stack and get them out to local people who might help in the general movement to build a public opinion in the South temperate as well as constructive about whatever decision the Supreme Court may give.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 3

7 + A.

December eighteen, 1953

Miss W Butt
29 Warren Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Miss Butt:

Here is a useful publication described in the attached letter to Dr Letz.

Mr Schaeffer said you would be interested in receiving a copy of it.

I do greatly hope that the Synod of South Carolina will lay in a goodly stack and get them out to local people who might help in the general movement to build a public opinion in the South temperate as well as constructive about whatever decision the Supreme Court may give.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 3

December 23, '53

Dear Mr. Brokhoff,

That was as kind as could be of you to write so cordially to Dr. Koch about the Q and A booklet. We are much honored.

Mr. Letts wrote that he had listed the pamphlet through the "Pastor's Desk Book", and had urged use of the pamphlet. I'll continue to hope that Dr. Koch will make a direct effort!

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell

LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER,
731 Peachtree Street, N. E.,
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA.

RECEIVED
DEC 22
Southern Re

December 21, 1953

Dr. C. F. Koch,
231 Madison Avenue,
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Koch:

Earlier this month, Dr. George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council sent Pastor Letts a copy of "The Schools and the Courts." Perhaps he has shown it to you.

I have just read it and find that I was completely enlightened on the subject of segregation in the public schools. The Southern Regional Council has done an excellent job in gathering together the information and presented it in a totally unbiased manner.

I believe that pastors in states where this problem will be faced within the coming year would profit greatly by having a copy of the booklet. I hope the Board of Social Missions will find it possible to send a copy to every pastor.

With every good wish to you at this Christmas time, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

J. R. Brokhoff

J. R. Brokhoff

JRB:ms

cc: Dr. George Mitchell ✓

April 30, 1954

Professor John R. Bross
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Professor Bross:

Very nice of you to get some more Questions and Answers and Check Lists. They were sent out on the 27th.

Do get some people together in Talladega. It ought to be workable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dept. of Psychology & Philosophy

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

23 April 1954.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear sir:

Will you please send me 10 copies each of "Questions and Answers - The Schools and the Courts" and the Checklist which accompanies the above? *

I am still attempting to follow-thru on Dr. Parrish's idea of getting together a small group of white and Negro leaders in our local community.

We were unable to get such a group together before I had to go on an extensive field trip with my Psychology majors. Now that I am back and settled again, I should like again to attempt such a meeting. As you know, Talladega is a pretty hard nut to crack - at least it seems so when you are so close to it. One of our students has been doing a survey in connection with a project - a senior project and seems as though many in the white community are not nearly so opposed to integration as the politicians want us to believe.

But I thought that if we did have such a meeting, it would be good to have copies of your two pamphlets plus a copy of the excellent pamphlet put out by the AMA and written by Margaret McCulloch - "Integration." We could distribute those and base that discussion on them or base future discussions on them.

I'll be looking forward to receiving them as soon as you find it convenient to send them. I will pay for them, so please bill me. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

John R. Bross

John R. Bross, Prof.
Psychology & Philosophy

P.S. Congratulations on the sum of money you got from Fund for the Republic. All I saw was a rather scanty news item in the Courier.

* sent 4/27/54 (15)

8-P

June 9, 1954

Mr. Charles L. Carrington
Baltimore Area Pastors School
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Carrington:

We are sending, under separate cover, fifty-five copies of the only pamphlet immediately available on the Supreme Court's decision -- Questions and Answers. The Southern Regional Council has in process a pamphlet suggesting areas for action in communities. We regret that it will not be available by June 14.

For such use as they may be to you, I enclose a set of summaries from a workshop on Integration in Education held at the Highlander Folk School the Summer of 1953. You, perhaps, will find suggestions for consideration by the members of your group.

You may also find useful a pamphlet prepared by the American Friends Service Committee, entitled "Integration of Washington Schools." You, perhaps, can secure this from the American Friends Service Committee's office in Greensboro.

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton

GTH/eab
Encls.

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

Baltimore Area Pastor's School
Bennett College
Greensboro, N.C.

June 8, 1954

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am interested in data which may be shared with a group of ministers, (mostly rural) concerning the role they may take in guiding their communities in resolving any conflicts which may arise as effort is made to implement the Supreme Court's decision regarding segregated public schools.

There are about 55 ministers in our short-term school.

Please select and send any materials you have which may be of help to us. We would like to have them by June 14. You may send them C.O.D.

Very sincerely,
Charles L. Carrington, Dean.

March 22

Please send "Questions & Answers" — and further essays of Max Scheler

to: Max Rosenthal
44 East 67th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Sept. 26, 54

Having fine trip — Dorothy Mitchell as like an old friend! All prospects here look good. Wish you were with us — Greetings to all — Grace

March 4, 1966

Mrs. Adele Braude
Director of Education
Public Affairs Committee, Inc.
381 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mrs. Braude:

Your invitation to Mr. Dunbar to attend your luncheon meeting on March 24 has come to my attention, since Mr. Dunbar is now Director of the Field Foundation (250 Park Avenue, New York). I regret that because of a meeting scheduled here on that date we will be unable to send a representative to that meeting. However, I feel Mr. Dunbar could make a significant contribution to the meeting and, perhaps, if he can attend he would be willing to represent the Southern Regional Council.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC. ■ 381 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 ■ 212 MU 3-4331
PUBLISHER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

February 25, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On Thursday, March 24, 1966, the Public Affairs Committee will celebrate its 30th year of activity and the distribution of 40 million Public Affairs Pamphlets. Our plan is to observe this occasion at a luncheon and discussion sessions that can help give us guidance for the years ahead. We would like you to attend as our guest.

Publishing popular pamphlets on critical issues of the day was the task set for the Public Affairs Committee when it was set up during the depression days of the thirties. And that remains the major effort of the program today, with subjects reflecting current concerns. (The enclosed catalog indicates the wide range of topics.) The focus at our 30th anniversary will be on key social and health issues -- stressing frank talk on vital problems that need greater public understanding.

We hope you can be our guest at the luncheon (March 24, at 12:15 at the Americana Hotel, here in New York), and, during the afternoon, at one of the discussions. The luncheon speaker will be Philip M. Hauser, on the gap between the social sciences and public attitudes and action. Dr. Hauser is the eminent director of the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago.

Discussion sessions, which will run from 2:30 to 3:45, will cover these subjects:

I. Environmental Pollution -- "dirty water, fouled air, excessive noise, and junkyards"
Speaker: to be announced

II. Civil Rights and the Fight Against Poverty
Speaker: William Booth, Chairman, New York City Commission on Human Rights

III. The Rights of the Accused in a Democratic Society
Speaker: Monrad G. Paulsen, Professor, Columbia School of Law

Attendance is being kept small in an effort to encourage full discussion at the afternoon sessions. A brief closing session (4:00 to 4:30) will hear reports from the three discussions.

To a great degree the unique success of Public Affairs Pamphlets is a tribute to the interest and advice of organizations like yours. That is why we look forward

MAXWELL S. STEWART, Secretary and Editor ▪ ADELE BRAUDE, Director of Education ▪ ALICE SHILLER, Managing Editor
WELLMAN J. WARNER, Chairman ▪ TELFORD TAYLOR, Vice Chairman ▪ HOWARD HENDERSON, Treasurer

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Clifford C. Nelson ▪ Justine Wise Polier ▪ Philip E. Ryan ▪ Mark Starr ▪ Murray S. Stedman, Jr. ▪ Adolph S. Tomars ▪ Lenore Turner ▪ Harold N. Weiner ▪ Anne Winslow ▪ Belle Zeller

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar February 25, 1966

to having you with us on March 24 -- to greet the beginning of our 31st year and to participate in the discussion of important issues of the day.

We would appreciate your returning the enclosed reservation card by March 9.

Cordially,

Adele Braude

Adele Braude (Mrs.)
Director of Education

AB:vm
enc.

P. S.: If you can't be with us on March 24, you may extend this invitation to an associate who is concerned with one of the three discussion topics.

____ Please reserve a place for me at the PAC 30th Anniversary luncheon, Thursday, March 24, 1966.

_____ I plan to attend Discussion Session
(Check one)
____ No. I ____ No. II ____ No. III

_____ Sorry, I cannot attend.

Name_____
(please print)

Organization_____

Address_____

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PUBLISHER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

Rec'd 3/14/66

March 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks for your note. We are sorry that you will not be represented at our 30th anniversary conference. Leslie Dunbar had already been invited but won't be able to make it.

Cordially,

Adele Braude

Adele Braude (Mrs.)
Director of Education

AB:vm

MAXWELL S. STEWART, Secretary and Editor ▪ ADELE BRAUDE, Director of Education ▪ ALICE SHILLER, Managing Editor
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THE SOVIET ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE IN WESTERN EUROPE

The Soviet Economic Offensive in Western Europe is the January, 1963, report of the Special Study Mission to Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a penetrating and significant case-study of Communist economic strategy in Europe. In addition to the findings, recommendations and country-by-country reports of the effects of cut-rate Soviet oil exports to eight Western European nations, this edition includes also a foreword prepared especially for The Document Press by Congressman Harris B. McDowell, Jr., a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the Special Study Mission.

The Soviet Economic Offensive in Western Europe is priced at $1.00 per copy. Discounts will be granted on quantity orders.

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for Ralph Purcell

THE DOCUMENT PRESS BOX 597, NEWARK, DELAWARE

THE DOCUMENT PRESS
BOX 597, NEWARK, DELAWARE

Publications of Significant and Enduring Public Interest

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:

PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOUTH IN 1970 - 71

Prepared for the School Desegregation Project

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

by

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

January, 1971

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:
PRESPECTIVES ON THE SOUTH IN 1970-71

This brief essay on the history and significance of public school desegregation in the South is aimed primarily at the young people who are most deeply involved in it. It is written at a time when many persons--young and old; conservative and radical; black and white--are dubious about both the prospects and the merits of an integrated society. But this is also a time when the chance for young people to promote equality of opportunity and contribute to the cause of human rights is perhaps greater than ever before.

I

Almost seventeen years have passed since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in the public schools. The high school juniors and seniors of today were born at about the same time the decision was made. There are today ten-and-a-half million public school pupils in the southern states; more than nine million of them were born after school segregation was declared unconstitutional.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that school desegregation, after all these years, is a new experience for the vast majority of the children of the South. We do not know yet just how many students are attending desegregated schools, but we do know that the number is very high, so high that desegregated schools are now the rule rather than the exception. This change has come about quite recently. Two years ago, during the 1968-69 school year, only one out of five black children attended desegregated schools. In 1965 the figure was one out of twenty; and in 1963, nine years after the Supreme Court decision, it was about one in a hundred. As late as 1962 there were no desegregated public schools to be found anywhere in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

What this means, among other things, is that the real challenge and responsibility of putting into effect the Supreme Court's 1954 decision rests with today's generation of public school students. These young people are to be the real pioneers of widespread public school desegregation. A small number of heroic youth pioneered in the era of tokenism, but it is today's youth who must demonstrate whether the principles established seventeen years ago are workable in society at large.

II

The history of the struggle for desegregated public schools is central to the struggle for human rights. Perhaps

more than any other single issue, school desegregation reveals the real nature of equal opportunity and human dignity.

Before World War II, only a small number of advanced civil rights leaders demanded an immediate end of the segregated public school system. Most of the people who worked for greater human rights skirted the issue of segregation. Instead of attacking it, they tried to broaden rights and opportunities within the Jim Crow system. In the South, they supplied legal aid to intimidated blacks, agitated for an end to police brutality, urged equal pay for equal work, tried to encourage greater and more accurate reporting of black accomplishments, and campaigned against the most blatant abuses of blacks, such as lynching. Some of the 1930's-type civil rights workers believed that the separate societies really could be equal. Others knew better but felt that an attack on segregation would endanger the few gains that had already been made, or were likely to be made in the near future.

World War II and its aftermath brought a change in this situation. Public opinion was altered by many factors, important among them being the war itself. Americans fought abroad against the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority, but they fought with a segregated army, navy, and air force; and, at home, they did little to change their own racist customs and institutions. This contrast was a strong influence in causing human rights advocates to press harder for fundamental changes. Black leaders, in greater numbers and with more force than ever before,

began to argue that no genuine progress could be made until segregation was destroyed. With black militancy rising, white civil rights workers were nudged into more forthright positions.

But a change in public opinion and a more determined civil rights stance were not enough to breach the walls of segregation. Something more direct and more powerful was required. That force was furnished by the legal arm of the N.A.A.C.P.

Since the 1930's, the lawyers of the N.A.A.C.P. had been taking cases to court that involved the old "separate but equal" ruling handed down in 1896. Through a series of brilliantly argued cases, each based on a solid factual foundation, the Association's attorneys forced the Supreme Court to do something it had never done before--to look closely at the real meaning of separate but equal. By 1950 the Court had made it clear that "separate" in practice meant "unequal."

It was against this background that the N.A.A.C.P. took to the Court the series of cases in the early 'fifties that came to be known as Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka. The Association knew that it would have no difficulty proving gross inequality in the physical facilities of the separate school systems, and its brief vividly portrayed the appalling discrimination of southern school boards. However, a decision was made not to limit the argument to mere physical inequality.

Thurgood Marshall, then general counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., was determined to show that the separation of the races (no matter how "equal" the facilities) made equal educational opportunity impossible. His elaborate brief showed that segregation

was unconstitutional, immoral, educationally self-defeating, and psychologically harmful to the children who were its victims. In essence, his argument stated that segregation was the most obvious and oppressive expression of white supremacy. Black children were separated from white children because whites regarded them as inferior human beings. The separate schools stamped on the black children a badge of inferiority that did them irreparable harm.

Finally, Marshall's argument had much broader implications. So long as American society permitted blacks to be treated as less than equal, there was no hope for them to attain a fair chance in areas other than education. Thus, the original argument for the integration of public schools was part of a larger demand for the ultimate destruction of all aspects of racist public policy.

The Supreme Court accepted Marshall's argument. On May 17, 1954, it held that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. The decision was a source of great pride on the part of American blacks. It had been a white man during a white man's war who had issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Now, it was the force of black men that had brought about a reinterpretation of the Constitution, and the black pride in the school desegregation decision was coupled with an awareness that the new movement they had launched was to be part of a larger struggle for freedom.

The adults won the court decision, but the young people had to make it a reality. The young blacks who pioneered the

first stages of the desegregation era showed courage and cool heroism in the face of constant turmoil and danger. One black junior, for example, attended a high school basketball game. He was the only black in the gym (and only one of two blacks in the school). His white schoolmates showered him with insults and shocking abuse. A white friend, an adult who had gone with him, remarked, "I don't know how you can take such treatment." "You don't know how I can take it because you haven't ever had to take it," the student explained. And then he added: "I know that just by sticking it out I'm going to help end the whole system of segregation; and that can make you go through anything." There were many students like this one--those who braved the taunts of nearly insane mobs or were beaten by enraged ruffians; and those who endured daily slights and insults in a lonely and hostile white school.

III

The history of the struggle for public school desegregation since 1954 is too involved and complex to trace here. The essential part of the story, though, is that resistance in the South was so massive and so violent that the enforcement efforts of the federal government seemed feeble by contrast. Ten years were to pass before Congress backed up the Supreme Court with positive legislation. It finally passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that provided for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to establish guidelines for school desegregation.

The pace of desegregation picked up after this, but HEW did not act boldly, and southern schools were permitted to evade genuine compliance by a variety of means, the most common of which were so-called "freedom of choice" plans. Freedom of choice, in fact, meant that desegregation was carefully contained. This subterfuge was finally outlawed by the Supreme Court, when it reversed its own original "all deliberate speed" doctrine and said that full-scale desegregation could no longer be delayed. It was this recent court decision, Holmes v. Alexander (October, 1969), that was primarily responsible for the great increase in desegregation in 1970.

The long and shameful history of evasion has done much to discredit desegregation. Disillusionment also stems from the way in which desegregation has taken place. In too many instances it has reenforced the existing racism, or at least failed to diminish it. In too many instances black people have been made to feel victimized by the very social change that was meant to free them from the degradations of a segregated system.

Examples of this kind of desegregation are all to plentiful. Sadly, they have multiplied alarmingly this year as Senator Walter F. Mondale wrote recently, "Segregated classrooms are replacing segregated schools. Five thousand black teachers have lost their jobs. The black child has been brought across town to the white school, but his athletic trophies have been left behind, and often he or she cannot play in the band or be a cheerleader or run for homecoming queen." What this kind of desegregation cruelly says, essentially, is that blacks should

be grateful to be admitted to white schools and should cheerfully put up with whatever deprivations and insults they may meet.

IV

As the history of the last seventeen years clearly shows, the job of dismantling the old system of segregated schools has been an enormously difficult one. Even more difficult, however, has been the task of creating truly integrated schools--schools in which blacks and whites join together in common enterprises, free of the schackles of racist customs and fears, bound by mutual respect and understanding.

From the beginning of the struggle, the goal has been to achieve integrated schools. Achievement of that goal has been made difficult by the struggle simply to get white and black students enrolled in the same schools. Now, however, the tide is turning in the battle for desegregation: mixed schools, however badly the "mix" has been brought about, are now commonplace. The task of the future--a task in which students themselves may play a major part--is to convert technically desegregated schools into creatively integrated ones.

Schools exist, or at least should exist, to serve students: to strengthen their characters, improve their minds, help them better to fulfill their own potential as human beings. The black and white people who began the fight for integration a generation ago had uppermost in their minds the physical, spiritual, and intellectual welfare of young people. That goal

needs to be reaffirmed and clarified today, and the new pioneers of integration--the South's present generation of young people--share with their elders the responsibility of making certain now that the desegregation of public schools is made to serve the needs of students and that the goals bravely set forth a generation ago are fully realized.

MARCH, 1956

FILE COPY

New South

GENUINE ADVISORY COMMITTEES CAN HELP

A. Lee Coleman

A REAL NEED FOR COMMITTEES

Harry Jones

MILITARY BASE SCHOOLS

Lee Nichols

MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT

AUTHERINE LUCY

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March 1956 **Vol. 11, No. 3**

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South NOTES

Sound advice and planning by representative community groups and policy making personnel is an important factor in maintaining the "American way of life."

This issue of *New South* presents several articles showing that planning by genuine representative groups can aid a community and what can happen when planning is lacking.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, who has worked extensively with citizens' advisory committees in Kentucky, tells how these committees should work and the advantages they can yield. Along the same line, Harry Jones tells why there is a need for such committees in his home state of North Carolina.

Two articles present the negative side of the picture. In strife-torn Alabama, both the University of Alabama and the City of Montgomery apparently are the victims of unwise planning. Both the university and Montgomery still could profit from sound planning and advice from genuine representative community groups; but in the absence of such, they can only expect worldwide criticism and subsequent irreparable damage.

Continued progress in the South can only come if Southern leaders recognize this great need of wise planning. If they fail to do this, the future of the South is indeed dim.

Rounding out the issue is a series by United Press correspondent, Lee Nichols, who writes on how integration is working in schools on military bases.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

Advisory Committees Can Help

By A. LEE COLEMAN

At its first meeting after the Supreme Court's decree of May 31, 1955, the Kentucky State Board of Education passed a resolution asking that local school boards desegregate as rapidly as possible and that each school district appoint a study committee to consider the issues and work out a plan for meeting the Court's decision. Up until this second ruling of the Court on the public school cases, Kentucky, although generally disposed not to "buck" the Court, had been maintaining a "wait and see" attitude.

When the State Board made its request for study committees a few had already been appointed in Kentucky, and some had been reported from other segregation states. Following the State Board's request, many other study committees were appointed throughout the state although not all of the 220 school districts accepted the idea (37 have no Negro pupils anyhow).

In some cases, no doubt, the appointment of a "study committee" was a delaying or evading tactic. In other cases the committees were or are mostly "on paper" and have not met or actually come to grips with the issue. But others have been real study groups and have had an important part in the decisions that have been made and in insuring the success of plans that are being put into effect. Still, a number of school districts have made successful beginnings of desegregation without having a committee, the school board acting as its own committee. In fact, the districts that were the first to desegregate have for the most part followed this plan.

Perhaps the model for the study committees the State Board had in mind was the Fayette County Advisory Committee on Housing, Transportation, and Desegregation. Appointed in the Fall of 1954, this was the first committee on desegregation in the state, so far as is known. The committee was appointed by the Fayette County School Board and its personnel and assignments were announced in the press. The Supreme Court's decision apparently was the principal reason for the appointment of the committee, but the problems of a fast-growing school population, an emergency created when the principal Negro elementary school burned and questions concerning the minimum distance for school bus transportation were related issues which the school board felt should be considered together.

The Fayette County School District includes all of Fayette County outside the City of Lexington. The independent Lexington city district includes about 55,000 people and the county district has about 50,000, most of them suburban residents. Each district has about 10,000 pupils. The Advisory Committee served only the county district.

The committee had approximately 15 members, chosen to include representatives of the county government, the

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teachers (white and Negro), the ministerial association, the P.T.A., the Chamber of Commerce and the general public (white and Negro). Two of the members were Negroes (only six per cent of the county's school population is Negro). The group met weekly for many weeks. They studied population and enrollment trends, distribution of white and Negro pupils, transportation routes, different plans of desegregation and the distribution of school population under each, building needs and the effects of desegregation on the building program. The administrative staff prepared charts and made special surveys for the committee. After several months of these basic studies, the committee began inviting in interested groups and asking them to make recommendations. Included among the groups invited was the N.A.A.C.P. The writer and other individuals were asked to sit with the committee from time to time as consultants. During the course of its deliberations the committee made several recommendations on specific problems as they came up. Finally, soon after the end of the school year, the committee presented its general recommendations on desegregation to the Board and retired to inactive but "on call" status. The Board followed up by adopting the committee's entire report as official Board policy. This policy calls for general desegregation in the fall of 1956, the retention of all qualified teaching personnel, and certain limited kinds of desegregation prior to fall, 1956. The committee report was publicized after it was adopted by the Board.

Quite in contrast with this was the experience in another county school district only a few miles away. The writer was asked to come to this county to help a newly formed advisory committee get started. The school principal who called said this was to be the second meeting of a committee of about 20 persons. The writer arrived to find that instead of talking informally with a committee he was to address a mass meeting of over 100 persons, many of them obviously hostile to disturbing the segregation status quo. It developed that a rumor had been circulating that there was to be a "vote" on desegregation that night. Although courteous, the crowd asked some very pointed questions and the school people present had rather inadequate answers for them. It turned out that only two of three members of the so-called committee were present; others apparently had left when they saw the crowd. The chairman (a school principal) had no list of the committee members and could not name them all. He wasn't sure whether the committee had been officially appointed by the Board. Some of the committee members were not residents of the school district. The school superintendent was conspicuously absent from the meeting. There had been no official publicity about the committee and rumors had filled the void.

This is enough to indicate that the citizens' advisory committee is no cure-all and does not automatically "work." Careful planning and good leadership are necessary; inept handling can be worse than doing nothing.

In the first place, there is no use having a committee unless the Superintendent and the majority of the Board are convinced that changes will have to be made or at least that there is an issue. The board, after all, is the only repository of official policy-making authority and there is no point in an officially appointed committee unless the Board intends, at least, to give careful consideration to the committee's recommendations. Of course there is nothing to stop a purely voluntary committee from constituting itself and making recommenda-

tions to the Board. In some situations such a voluntary group may do important work, but the chances of its recommendations becoming official policy are obviously less than for the semi-official group. And in any case it should be clear to all whether a committee is voluntary or officially appointed.

However the planning of local policy on desegregation is done, a basic idea is that this should be approached like any other community problem — the issues and alternatives should be considered as objectively as possible and the community should work toward a constructive solution, keeping down emotions as much as possible.

The citizens advisory committee would seem to have three principal functions: (1) To secure greater representation of the various groups and elements in the community. Most school boards are relatively small (in Kentucky they have five members) and thereby limited in their representativeness. Since relatively few Negroes are on school boards (in Kentucky there are none) an advisory committee may be the best way to give the Negroes of the district a voice in these decisions that so vitally affect them. (2) To force more of the responsible, respected people of the community to face the issues and share the responsibility for the decisions made. It is easy to criticize when one does not have official responsibility. Well-meaning people may refuse to face the facts and think through the issues unless they have to. Participation in an advisory committee may be a means of forcing a greater number of community leaders into facing the issues and alternatives and sharing in the decisions. (3) To help "sell" and carry out the policy that is adopted. People who have helped make a decision will usually be much more willing to help put it over.

If in a given situation or school district an advisory committee cannot be expected to serve these functions there may be considerable question as to the advisability of having one. The Board may be better advised to act as its own committee or appoint a subcommittee of its own members.

If a committee is to be appointed, here are some suggestions that may be useful:

1. Make clear its semi-official status — that it is appointed by the Board and its recommendations will be strongly considered, but only the Board has legal authority. Persons or groups that wish to influence segregation — desegregation policy should be channeled to the committee.
2. Give adequate but not excessive publicity to the appointment of the committee, its personnel, its status, and its assignment. During the course of its deliberations too much publicity may hamper the committee but complete secrecy would defeat the purposes.
3. The committee should avoid mass meetings or mass delegations but should give representatives of groups and interests a chance to be heard, at the proper time.
4. The superintendent will presumably recommend the persons to be included, after careful study and consultation, but the Board should appoint them. The persons to be appointed should represent different groups and interests in the community, but they should also be widely known and respected individuals. They should not include just those known to favor desegregation, but on the other hand there is no use including persons known to be violently opposed to changing the status quo. Rather, the effort

"The chief lawmakers in our country may be, and often are, the judges, because they are the final seat of authority. Every time they interpret contract, property, vested rights, due process of law, liberty, they necessarily enact into law part of a system of social philosophy; and as such interpretation is fundamental, they give direction to all law-making. The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy; and for the peaceful progress of our people during the twentieth century we shall owe most to those judges who hold to a twentieth century economic and social philosophy and not to a long outgrown philosophy, which was itself the product of primitive economic conditions." — President Theodore Roosevelt in his message to Congress on December 8, 1908.

should be to include people who are respected by the opponents. Persons who will be important in carrying out the decisions because of official positions they hold should be included. This would include local government and law enforcement officials, teachers, parent-teacher representatives, and others. Representatives of different segments and statuses in the Negro community should be included.

5. The superintendent, other administrative staff, and board members probably should meet with the committee at least a part of the time. They will need to keep in touch with the committee and know the basis for its conclusions, and they will need to supply information to the committee from time to time.

If the Board acts as its own committee it probably will want to go through much the same procedure as in the case of the advisory committee — study population distribution and trends, hear from interested groups, and help people face the issues and alternatives realistically. After a desegregation policy has been arrived at, whether through a committee or otherwise, there remains the task of planning for putting it into operation. If a committee has assisted in its formulation, the committee can help in preparing for and executing the plan. However, if there has been no committee up to this point, the Board will perhaps be best advised to rely on the PTA, teachers' organizations, and other existing organizations for help in "selling" and effectuating the plan.

If actual desegregation should begin without advance planning — perhaps by court order — the need for planning may then be even greater than before. But perhaps this can be handled through existing organizations. In some situations a citizens' committee of some kind might prove useful in making the transition as smoothly as possible.

In attempting to solve the current problems of desegregation planning in local communities we seem to be uncovering a broader problem of our public school systems — one of inadequate communication between school people and the public, poor public relations, and a lack of democratic participation in planning. It may be that the citizens' advisory committees on desegregation, if they are generally successful, will have some carry over and help set a pattern for the solution or amelioration of long-term educational problems.

Committees Are Needed

By HARRY JONES

Executive Director, N. C. Council on Human Relations

This is a portion of the statement made by Mr. Jones in answering the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education when that group called for discontinuance of advisory committees.

My contacts throughout the state lead me to believe that there is a willingness and a readiness on the part of many school boards to begin desegregating their schools in September, 1956. In many communities I have found interracial study committees hard at work on this problem. They are honestly and sincerely attempting to formulate plans which will meet the requirements of the Supreme Court, but which will cause the least amount of friction and dislocation in the operation of their schools. This they conceive to be their duty.

These study committees and the school boards which appointed them are conscious of their obligations to respect and to obey the supreme law of the land. They also take seriously their authority and responsibility for the assignment of pupils.

In the appointment of study committees, school boards have followed the advice and counsel of the Governor and his Advisory Committee on Education. But many have gone beyond that advice in appointing *interracial* committees, knowing that it is good sense and good democratic procedure to give Negroes representation and participation in the making of plans which will affect Negro as well as white children.

To call a halt to the activities of these study committees at this time would mean calling a halt to a significant progress which is being made in dealing with the current problem. It would also mean, it seems to me, undue interference in the exercise of the rights, and in the discharge of the responsibilities of local school boards.

The State Advisory Committee on Education is, as its name indicates, purely advisory. It may render a real service to local school boards in their efforts to comply with the Supreme Court decision. But it may also render a disservice . . . .

Delay in carrying forward plans for desegregation may mean that at some future date all schools in the state may be under compulsion to comply with the law all at once. This would be most unfortunate. Communities differ widely throughout the state. Problems are not the same . . . .

Much has been said of late about the preservation of states' rights. This is a sound principle. But what about the rights, and indeed the obligations, of local communities to use their own initiative and judgment in dealing with the current school problem?

Informed sources report that Charlotte's school desegregation committee will keep on working despite the advice of the state committee. It is hoped that many others will do so. Governor Hodges has admitted that the suggestion of the state committee may have been unfortunate. "Local committees," he said, "are needed because the whole thing is going to be settled on a local basis."

INTEGRATION IN MILITARY BASE SCHOOLS

By LEE NICHOLS

The following two articles, reprinted here by permission from the United Press, were written by Mr. Nichols while on tour of military establishments in the South. The first deals with schools on bases; the second concerns the relationship of a deep South community to a nearby military base which has integrated schools.

Eglin Air Force Base, Fla. — First grade students at the new brick-and-glass school listened as their pretty young Mississippi teacher counted three rabbits and wrote "3" on the board.

A blonde girl in a pink dress was summoned to the board and marked "2" after two houses. A dark-skinned Negro girl with pigtails marched up and scrawled a "3" after three apples.

Back at their shared table, the white girl hugged the Negro child in the spontaneous enthusiasm of childhood.

Across the South, where schools have been racially segregated for generations and many spokesmen loudly oppose any change, Negro and white children are sitting together in classrooms on military posts without fuss or fanfare.

The percentage of Negro pupils involved is tiny compared with most nearby communities. Their parents usually rank well above the economic and education levels of surrounding Negro cottonfield hands and laborers. Many of the white military personnel involved are from northern states where school integration is an accepted fact. Moreover, military people are accustomed to obeying orders.

But southern white civilian teachers are teaching voluntarily in the integrated post schools. Southern parents send their children off to school daily with Negro youngsters. And some southern educators and observers are watching the military experiment closely as a pilot operation that may help point the way to eventual compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation edict.

De-segregation of schools on southern military posts, begun during the Truman administration, was all but completed this fall under an Eisenhower administration order banning separate racial schools after Sept. 1.

Some 27 post schools, almost all at the elementary level, are now operating on an integrated basis in 10 southern and border states. Sole exceptions are at Army Posts at Fort Meade, Md., and Pine Bluff Arsenal, Ark., where the Government extended its deadline. All post schools in the "Deep South" are run by the Armed Forces since local officials refused to operate integrated schools except in states like Maryland and Texas.

This reporter visited four typical post schools. Two — in Florida and Texas — were integrated this fall, one in Alabama last fall and the fourth, in Georgia, in September, 1953.

Without exception post commanders, school officials, teachers and parents said the schools were working smoothly with but rare instances of minor racial friction. The small number of Negroes involved almost certainly had a bearing on this.

At this 800-mile-square Air Force

Proving ground on Florida's Gulf Coast, Dr. James N. Luton, Tennessee-born principal, had no racial breakdown on his pupils. He had to count faces to discover he had nine Negroes among his 802 students.

Orus Kinney, assistant principal fresh from segregated Alabama schools, said integration "is working fine here." He said neither he nor his wife, teaching at Eglin, had any hesitation about instructing Negroes and whites together at the Air Force-operated school.

"It doesn't matter who the child is," said Kinney. "The more people we educate the better off we are, particularly in the south."

He knew of but one teacher who turned down a job on the Post because of integration.

The sole Negro on the staff of 32 was the school librarian. Kenney said it was "right" to hire a Negro teacher. He said she was fully acceptable to the other teachers, nearly all southerners.

Miss C, a young white teacher born and educated in Mississippi, had taught a year in an all-white school in Meridian, Miss., before coming to Eglin. She said she was the envy of other first grade teachers because she drew the school's only Negro first grader.

"D - - - is very appealing," Miss C said of her pig-tailed pupil. "She was at the class average when school started and now is ahead. She dresses way above average. Her speech is funny. She said, 'Miz C, you fo-got yoah loon.' She had to point to a balloon before I understood. But she'll talk like the rest before long."

A white Mississippi mother, whose 11-year-old daughter attends Eglin's Fifth grade, said she is "not opposed to integration at all." She was against racial intermarriage but did not think an integrated school would lead her daughter to marry a Negro.

The Negro librarian, a native of South Carolina whose son attends the Eglin School, said the teachers and school officials were "wonderful" to her and there were "no references — none" to her race. Her husband, a sergeant from Mississippi, said their son was better off in an integrated school because he would progress faster and "know how to conduct himself with other races."

This general picture, with variations, was duplicated at the three other Posts. Here are thumbnail sketches of their integrated schools:

Fort Benning, Ga. — integrated in fall of 1953 . . . now has about 1,700 white and 35 Negro pupils in three Army-run schools covering grades 1-8 and kindergarten. . . . No Negro teachers on staff of 67 but may hire some in a year or two, possibly starting with kindergarten or art teachers. . . . Mrs. Hazel J. Scudder, Arkansas-born widow of decorated Korean war veteran, knew of no parents who withdrew children because of integration . . . two Georgia teachers declined to renew contracts due to desegregation but most teachers now are Georgians and Alabamans. . . . Negro sergeant reported white child called his son "Nigger" and the name-caller was shunned by white classmates. . . . Negro girl elected Queen of her 4th grade class . . . Negro boy won school marbles championship but couldn't compete in area match because of race.

Sheppard Air Force Base, Tex. — Local school district running post school on integrated basis for first time. . . . 484

white and 12 Negro children in grades 1-6. . . . No Negro teachers applied but principal Marcus Anderson willing to have them if qualified. . . . Anderson, native of East Texas, State's most heavily-Negro area, "glad" of integration "Because I believe all children should have an equal opportunity regardless of race.". . . Negro boy hurt because classmates didn't help him with Hallowe'en mask; white boy found out and tearfully told teacher; hands shot up all over room when teacher asked for volunteers to help Negro.

Military Base in Ala. — Name of base withheld because Commander concerned about local relations. . . . Military-operated post elementary school integrated in September, 1954 . . . two Negro children attended until father transferred overseas in January. . . . No Negroes among 200-plus white pupils but could be any time parents move into post quarters. . . . Principal, young native Alabaman, said no difficulty with two Negro students . . . at least one teaching applicant did not return because of integration. . . . Negro teachers applying were not qualified, no objection to hiring if were. . . . No trouble with nearby Blanktown, and complete though unofficial cooperation from local, county and state school officials on school matters.

WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Blanktown, Ala. — The speaker's voice rose and fell on the silent heads of the crowd that almost filled the big school auditorium.

"Integration of the races in our schools will lead to intermarriage and mongrelization of the white race," he said.

"My church, the Methodist Church, has endorsed racial mixing and I'm heah to tell you I'm ashamed of my church and the Democratic Party. They're acting like durned fools."

Laughter and applause broke out among the audience, chiefly neatly-dressed, gray-haired men with a scattering of women and younger men. They were attending a meeting of the Citizen's Council of this medium-sized city in Central Alabama's "Black Belt," one of a growing number of such groups dedicated to preserve school segregation despite the Supreme Court's integration edict.

Blanktown is not the real name of the city, of course. But this reporter was permitted to attend the "closed" meeting only on condition that he not name the city or identify the participants. They included the Mayor, a leading judge and other prominent citizens.

The speaker continued.

"We must educate our children not to be taken in by the propaganda of the Northern politicians and the Northern Press," he thundered. "Every day we can keep the Negro vote from increasing, keep down new petitions for integration, we are that much to the good."

No word was spoken of violence or economic reprisals, although several Negroes who signed integration petitions in Blanktown had lost their jobs. The speaker mentioned President Eisenhower's desegregation of military post schools but said nothing about the nearby military base whose elementary school had been integrated in 1954.

The chairman of The Citizens' Council and the judge talked freely after being informed they would not be named. Both said they had no concern about racial mixing at the base or its school.

The Chairman, an elderly professional man, said "our policy is to avoid fric-

tion with the Base. We're glad to have it here. It means a lot to us economically."

He said the base school, which had two Negro pupils last year and none now, was not an accurate reflection of the integration problem.

"In my opinion, if 85 to 95 per cent of the population of Blanktown were white and the rest Negro, we'd have no problem at all," he said. "We wouldn't think any more of Negroes going to school than Indians or Chinese."

But he said Negroes in that area, outnumbering whites 7 to 1, were mostly illiterate cotton pickers and cornfield hands, responsible for nearly all the area's crime, venereal disease and Welfare cases.

The judge, in a separate interview, said the city is spending millions to equalize Negro and white schools with a view to raising the standards of local Negroes.

"We've got to work it out over a long period of time," he added.

"I don't like to be defeatist, but I know integration is coming," said the Council Chairman. "The Northern magazines, newspapers, the Negro vote, the pressure will win in the end."

He said talk of racial intermarriage actually "doesn't count for much — there's too much pride of race for that." The threat of economic pressure, he added, has been "overstated — you can't do much with that."

Education Stressed

He stressed the goal of "educating" school children and the public against integration. He conceded the Council's "educational" work may have sparked the firing of the Negroes. But he said the group is opposed to violence or other unlawful measures.

"All we can do is delay it and every day we do I'm glad," he said. "The FBI asked me what would happen if Negroes were ordered into school with whites this fall and I told them a lot of people would be killed. I don't like violence, but we can't prevent individual violent actions."

No Pressure

The young principal of the military post school, a native Alabaman, said no pressure had been brought against him because of his job.

Although local officials refused to run an unsegregated school on the Post, the principal said he got "complete" unofficial cooperation from city, county and state school agencies on problems of curriculum, textbooks and other matters. The city let the base school share in its Group Hospitalization program for teachers.

"Money talks," the principal said.

He and other teachers at the post school draw bigger salaries than local teachers, the extra compensation being for loss of retirement rights and other benefits of the state school system, extra travel costs and other factors. City school officials said the principal wouldn't get teachers for an unsegregated school "but I had five of them hanging on my coattails."

The young Alabaman agreed it would be difficult to integrate schools in Blanktown under current conditions. "But under the right circumstances, like we have here at the Base, I would not object," he said. "I think if definite goals were set, instead of just letting things drift, it would work itself out."

The Base Commander added this comment: "If folks down here would spend as much time trying to solve this problem as they do fighting it, it could be licked in apple pie order."

Intimidation Stiffens Montgomery Boycott

Indications are that the mass arrests of Negro leaders in the now-famous Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott have only served to stiffen the passive resistance of the town's Negro citizens against undue discrimination.

Currently, law enforcement officers have arrested 90 Negroes at the instigation of the grand jury. The charge is that the Negroes did "without just cause or legal excuse for so doing, enter into a combination conspiracy, agreement, arrangement or understanding, for the purpose of hindering, delaying, preventing the Montgomery City Lines, Inc., from carrying on a lawful business."

The background of the case, briefly, is:

On December 1, a Negro seamstress was arrested when she refused to give her bus seat to white people. A protest by Negro citizens quickly grew into a mass boycott. Negroes ask three things of bus company officials. These are (1) more courteous treatment; (2) seating on a first come, first served basis, with Negroes seating from the rear, whites from the front; and (3) hiring of Negro bus drivers for predominantly Negro routes. Bus company and city officials are only willing to concede the first request.

Montgomery's Mayor, W. A. Gayle, announced a "get tough" policy following the breakdown of negotiations between city officials and the Negro groups, and subsequently boycott leaders were intimidated through a series of arrests for minor offense. Then bombs were exploded at the homes of two of the boycott leaders. Now come the indictments and arrests.

The ironic aspect of the situation is that it would have been so easy for city fathers and bus company officials to concede to these wishes and still maintain segregation. Negro leaders pointed out that they were not challenging segregation.

However, as a result of continued stubbornness on the part of officials, a suit has been filed by a group of Negroes, who seek to have Alabama and Montgomery transportation laws requiring segregation declared unconstitutional. Even here, city officials have resorted to intimidation in that they are seeking to disbar the lawyer for the Negro group on charges of representing a woman without her approval. Indications are that the Negro woman withdrew from the suit after intimidation from the white community.

The boycott hurt the bus company tremendously in the beginning; and al-

(Continued on Page 12)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AND AUTHERINE LUCY

Planning on the part of pro-segregation groups and the lack of planning on the part of University of Alabama officials apparently were the chief factors in the recent demonstrations against Autherine Lucy at the University.

Other factors, such as apathy on the part of law enforcement officers, played a part in allowing the mob a free hand; but the matter of planning was the major factor.

The policy of officials of the university, according to reliable information, was one of admitting Miss Lucy with no special preparations except those accorded all other students. Although desegregation in other Southern universities (for example at the University of North Carolina) usually has been accomplished through faculty and student planning, indications are that there would have been little trouble in admitting Miss Lucy without this planning had it not been for "outsiders."

The number of students actually engaged in agitation against the Negro co-ed is estimated at less than a hundred although curiosity seekers swelled the number of students at the scene. The bulk of the agitators were made up of factory workers and other outsiders with the backing of white-supremacy organizations centered in Birmingham.

For instance, it is known that an official of one of these organizations stated in Birmingham two weeks prior to the demonstrations that such an event would take place. The official also stated that care must be taken that the demonstration did not turn into another "Georgia Tech," that is, a demonstration for Miss Lucy rather than against her.

Added evidence that racist groups anticipated the demonstration is the fact that a top official of the North Alabama White Citizens' Council was identified as being on the university campus during the week prior to the mob action. Then, too, "outsiders" from Chilton County, Alabama, were present at the demonstrations; and a White Citizens' Council representative from Montgomery had been in the Chilton area during the week prior to the demonstrations.

Other evidence that the racists were on hand included the fact that "hate" literature was distributed under their imprint.

Aiding this planning on the part of the negative forces was the lack of attempt by both Tuscaloosa and university law enforcement officers to break up the demonstrations. Observers saw one Tuscaloosa policeman chanting with the demonstrators; and at another time, a university policeman was seen turning his back on demonstrators throwing eggs and rocks at a bus. The State Patrol

Prejudice and discrimination in sports recently cost Birmingham, Alabama, both financially and entertainment-wise. Due to the ban on interracial sports teams in the steel city, exhibition games between the Milwaukee Braves and Brooklyn Dodgers and the Kansas City Athletics and Pittsburgh Pirates were cancelled.

Donald Davidson, public relations director of the Braves, said: "We do not schedule a game in any city where all of the players on both clubs are not permitted to participate in the game." New Orleans and Chattanooga are the happy recipients of the cancelled Birmingham games.

One wonders how the city fathers will go about protecting Birmingham sports fans from the "evils" of integrated sports come the World Series. Will Birmingham television sets be blacked out or will avid fans again glue themselves to TV screens as they have in the past?

reportedly was under order not to lay a hand on any student.

The Autherine Lucy case has not been resolved as this article goes to press, but indications are that university officials, faculty, and students now are drawing up plans to try to maintain law and order on the campus in the event Miss Lucy is readmitted.

Apparently Alabama's Governor Jim Folsom also has given some thought to the effect of international publicity concerning Alabama. Just prior to the court session on whether Miss Lucy should be readmitted to the university, Governor Folsom said, "I visited the campus to reassure Dr. Carmichael (president of the university) that I would do all in my power to maintain law and order on the campus in cooperation with local officials. We want to protect the lives of the students at the university and to do that we must maintain law and order. That's what I'm going to go all out to do — protect the students."

If Governor Folsom and university officials follow this procedure, then the matter can be resolved in the American way.

Montgomery Boycott

(Continued from Page 10)

though the revenue has been increased by upping bus fares, it is the white rider who is paying to help make up the income loss. The city also loses indirectly since a percentage of the bus company's gross goes to the city treasury.

Mayor Gayle denies that retail trade has been hurt, but reliable sources report that downtown trade is off, although it is difficult to estimate just how much. At least, the Men of Montgomery, who represent the business group, tried unsuccessfully to effect a compromise agreement.

No one knows what Montgomery city officials hope to gain by their tactics since each move has only served to make the boycott more effective. A good example is what happened after the mass arrests, which included many Negro ministers. A 75-year-old Negro woman was given a ride by one of the many volunteer drivers. Said the woman: "I've been riding the buses all through the boycott because I'm old and sick; but since they arrested my pastor, I'll walk from now on if necessary."

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"We might as well be candid. Most of those laws (strong pro-segregation laws passed by the 1956 Georgia Legislature) will be stricken down by the courts in due course." — Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia.

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"The court cannot be expected, nor will it tolerate delays solely for the purpose of obviating its decree. That much it has made quite clear. Therefore it ill behooves Florida — or any other state — to center all its energies on how best to keep the schools segregated. It's a lost cause. A lot of heartache, a lot of hard feeling, much confusion can be avoided on the local level, and the prestige of the State of Florida bolstered on the state level by concentrating on how to carry out the court's decree most smoothly and efficiently, rather than engaging in a futile, bitter, long drawn out battle — doomed in the end to failure." — From the Florida *Clearwater Sun.*

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"A year ago, the 106th Annual Council went on record as standing behind the decision of the Supreme Court of this land to outlaw segregation in the public schools. . . . Since that time the implementation of the decision has sharpened sensitivities and heightened racial tensions in many areas — as always happens when the majesty of the law is pitted against the long-prevailing mores of a community. In some places groups of citizens have banded together for the purpose of nullifying the effect of the Supreme Court's ruling in their own localities. Some states have signified their intentions, through their administrations, or the ballot box, to circumvent that decision. I would feel recreant in my responsibility as Bishop of this Diocese if I did not caution communicants of this Church to weigh carefully the implications of such citizens' groups with the avowed purpose of defying the law of the land. Any strategy adopted by such concerned groups must square with the Christian doctrine of God and Man or do violence to the faith which our church people profess." — The Rt. Reverend John E. Hines, the Bishop of Texas of the Episcopal Church.

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"The theory of interposition is without sound legal basis as applied to segregation. Of course it is true that the Supreme Court may not prevent a state from exercising rights reserved under the Tenth Amendment. But the states agreed in the Fourteenth Amendment not to 'abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.' The States also agreed in Article III of the Constitution that 'the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court.' The interposition theory may represent good wishful thinking but it represents a poor quality of Constitutional law." — Wilbur La Roe in the *Presbyterian Outlook.*

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"We urge that local people — of all groups — come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we — the people of the Appalachian South, so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world." — From a resolution adopted at the 44th Annual Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc., Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

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Handbook

on

Catholic School Integration

Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Human Rights
P. O. Box 694, New Orleans

1956

The Need for Knowledge

Everybody talks about racial segregation, and a few people are doing something about it. Often the talk is based on misinformation, sometimes on ignorance, and even on prejudice. Often there is clumsy action for reform, even by well-intentioned persons; and there are some fantastic proposals for the prevention of reform by the fringe group of dedicated white supremacists.

The Catholic Church has always operated on the premise that prudent action requires careful study of the facts of any given situation. This is as true of the touchy subject of race relations as it is of any other area of personal and social behavior. There is no substitute for knowledge, just as there is no substitute for virtue; and the combination of knowledge and virtue is most important for all those persons who are involved in the step-by-step removal of racially segregated facilities among Catholics.

We are here concerned with only one aspect of this process of desegregation, that of the Catholic elementary schools. Even this is not a simple, cut-and-dried question to which quick and easy answers can be given. Discussion of school desegregation has been befogged by an overcast of various phobias about mental and physical health, about illegality and immorality, about standards of intelligence and achievement. Objections are raised which range from the impracticality of school desegregation to the notion that it somehow goes against the Divine Will, as expressed in the Bible.

The purpose of this pamphlet is the analysis of these objections, the removal of imaginary fears, and the clarification of the actual knowledge which has been gathered through deep research and thorough study. The Commission on Human Rights has sponsored lectures and panel discussions in an atmosphere

of calm, deliberate thought. Experts were asked, not for their personal opinions, but for the scientific facts which have been proven in their various fields. The present pamphlet presents a summary of these findings.

The facts in the case of desegregation of the Catholic elementary schools are of greatest significance to the persons most immediately involved in it: parents whose children attend school, teachers who have the official charge of training pupils, priests who have the general or particular administration of the school system. If parents, teachers, and priests have at their command the essential and reliable facts concerning race relations in elementary education, they can promote and maintain desegregated schools in a reasonable and intelligent manner.

This kind of information is important also for every Catholic lay person, and indeed for every alert citizen of the community, regardless of his race or religion. The Church is an integral part of the contemporary culture. Catholicism is as modern as tomorrow. Catholics are not failing to make their contribution to a better world in which the human dignity of every child of God is given due respect. But information itself does not spontaneously achieve progress and change. The data that have been gathered in these pages are merely the prelude to prudent and virtuous action. The Church can expect every baptized and confirmed Catholic to translate this knowledge into wholehearted support of the Christian and democratic program for racial desegregation.

The Catholic Approach

The question of racial desegregation re-emphasizes the age-old dilemma of minimum and maximum virtue. All through the centuries the Church has been teaching negative precepts which say "don't do this." But always accompanying these prohibitions have been the deliberate precepts of virtue, which encourage and even command the life of perfection. Thus, the willing follower of Christ is not content to ask himself the question: "What must I do, at a minimum, in order to squeeze into Heaven?" An enthusiastic Catholic meditates upon the better life. He asks himself: "What more can I do in order to please God?"

This comparison of the minimum and the maximum fits aptly into the whole matter of race relations. A person may well say that he does not have to — he has no strict moral obligation to — consort with a member of the other race. A Negro has the right to say that he does not want to invite white people into his home. Similarly, a white person has the right to decide that he will play poker only with his wife's Caucasian relatives. These are personal rights with which no one can morally interfere. But, is this the more perfect way of life which Christ holds out to His followers?

It is sometimes said that the ordinary politician looks only to the next election, while the accomplished statesman looks to the next generation. Similarly, can we say that the ordinary Catholic keeps an eye on the expediency of the moment, while the dedicated Catholic looks at the whole picture, not only the next generation, but on into eternity? The following considerations put the emphasis on the positive approach to the improvement of race relations among Catholics.

1. It is a historical fact that *the Catholic Church does not*

operate on a basis of minimum morality. No matter how many truant, slipshod and dormant Catholics there may be at any given time, the Church has always had a share of heroic and saintly persons who go beyond the call of duty. These are the dedicated souls, completely immersed in the supernatural way of life.

2. The Church holds up to us the *example of the saints for our imitation,* and not only for veneration and respect. We are urged to lift ourselves up with the grace of God out of the mediocrity and complacency of everyday life. This is not just "pious talk" that can be shrugged off with indifference. The Church is in dead earnest about making thorough-going Christians out of the large masses of baptized people.

3. *The teachings and example of Our Lord and Savior* were always geared to the more perfect life. At one time He said: "Be ye perfect," and at another time He showed that the good will of man is involved in the pursuit of perfection, "if thou wouldst be perfect. . . ." Since He is the vine, and we the branches, it is necessary that we stay united with Him, if we want to have supernatural life flowing in our souls. To be with Christ, and to be like Him, requires the practice of positive virtue.

4. Jesus said that His followers must be *the salt of the earth, the yeast in the society of human beings.* This does not mean only that we must be personally virtuous, but that we must give to our fellowmen that added "supernatural lift" which elevates the standards of society. The mediocre person tends to be a ready conformist to secular patterns of behavior without studying the possibilities for changing and reforming them to more Christ-like patterns. The genuine Christian is the one who can change the world.

5. In his historic encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno, Pope Pius XI asked for the reform of personal morality.* In the question of race relations this means, first, the removal of prejudice, hatred, bigotry and intolerance from our hearts. It means also, and more importantly, the development of the virtues of love, kindness, generosity and sympathy for persons of a different race. A great portion of the racial problem is solved for us when we really practice these positive virtues.

6. In the same encyclical *the same Pope asked for the reform of institutions.* The social customs and folkways that make up

our cultural environment require improvement. The systematized practices of racial discrimination, as seen in housing, schools, streetcars, movies, libraries, playgrounds and other facilities, are the institutions which need overhauling. The dedicated Catholic who seeks the more virtuous life for himself and his fellowmen will not sit back and allow these discriminatory institutions to continue.

7. *Racial desegregation of the schools is a prime example of institutional reform.* It is in this area where Catholic parents, teachers and priests can make an important immediate contribution to the papal plan for the "reconstruction of the social order." It is not a question of whether segregated schools are merely good enough, or whether they can be satisfactorily maintained. It is a matter of accepting and promoting a better system which provides fuller opportunities for love and justice across racial lines.

8. *Leadership in social and cultural progress is expected* of the dedicated Christian. The lay apostle demonstrates the progressive, positive quality of Catholicism when he works for the social reconstruction of his community. Christ never said that this would be easy and comfortable; but He did promise that the burden would be light and the yoke sweet as long as it is His burden and His yoke we are bearing.

9. St. Paul wrote about the Mystical Body of Christ, *the unity of all Christians with Christ and with one another.* Deliberate segregation of people on the basis of racial inferiority or supremacy is a form of external disunity of the members of the Mystical Body. Replacing prejudice with love brings internal unity; replacing discrimination with integration brings external unity. Both of these are necessary if we are to imitate the practice of the early Christians, of whom it was said, "see how they love one another!"

These considerations concerning the positive, progressive qualities of the enthusiastic follower of Christ provide a spiritual uplift for us. They indicate a sharp contrast to the drab, mediocre attitudes of people who are content with things-as-they-are. The zealous Catholic cannot be satisfied with the notion that "time will take care of these things," or with the equally complacent notion that "things will take care of themselves." The world is changed for the better when good people put effort into the change.

The effort to do the better thing, to reform the morals of people and the institutions of society, is the Catholic approach to improved race relations. The cooperation of both clergy and laity in the further desegregation of the Catholic school system implies this positive approach. It requires also the practical knowledge of various aspects of the race question which we have been able to assemble.

Is the Bible for Segregation?

At first glance the connection between the Holy Bible and the question of school integration may seem quite remote. The fact is, however, that racists have delved even into the Old Testament in a forlorn search to bolster the modern system of enforced racial segregation. Even this futile exercise would not be of concern to Catholics if it were not for the fact that a steady stream of so-called "biblical propaganda," purportedly favoring school segregation, has been spreading throughout the Southland.

Catholics, more than members of other religions, are devoted to the word of God, as expressed in the sacred scriptures and as expounded by the official Church teaching. Certainly no Catholic priest, teacher or parent wants to promote any system of human relations which is opposed to the word of God. Fortunately we are able to turn to the expert testimony of biblical scholars. These experts can assure us of the long traditions and the careful teachings of the Catholic Church concerning the equal dignity of all human beings before God.

As biblical scholar Father McKenzie said in New Orleans, "unity, and not diversity, is the basic social principle of God's teaching in the sacred scriptures." Other findings of biblical experts are as follows.

1. Whenever the question of personal and social relations arose, *Jesus always talked about social unity and integration.* He did and said nothing to foster or encourage divisions and separations among people. He insisted that every person is a brother and a neighbor to every other person.

2. Jesus seldom spoke sharply, but when He did, it was of *people who considered themselves better than others,* and who

maintained their social superiority by keeping others in poverty and ignorance. Jesus compromised Himself with the "right people" of His time by associating freely and frequently with people of the "lower" classes.

3. Jesus did not say that He would ask us in the final judgment whether we preserved racial purity or class status. He will ask us *whether we have in practice loved our neighbor as ourselves.* He never said that this love of neighbor is simple and easy, or that it is free of risk to our wealth, our pride, or our social standing. The problems, risks and difficulties do not excuse us from the obligation of universal love.

4. When Jesus told the parable of the Good Samaritan, He chose as an example the very kind of persons against whom His listeners had the greatest prejudices. He shocked His audience by showing that their *good neighbors were the very people they despised* and shunned and looked down upon. This is a most important lesson for us because it fits perfectly the problem of discriminatory patterns of race relations among us.

5. Saint Paul counseled slaves to be obedient and masters to be kind, and he taught forthrightly that *in the baptism of Christ there is no difference between slave and free man.* Slavery soon disappeared because those who fully accepted the teaching of Christ on human relations knew that they could not remain slave-owners and remain good Christians. Similarly a modern Catholic cannot practice suppression or hatred of another race, and still call himself a true Christian.

6. The *ancient Hebrews were themselves the product of racial mixture.* They intermingled with many other peoples from whom their culture was almost entirely borrowed. The Bible gives absolutely no proof that the Chosen People either were, or tried to be, racially pure. This notion is a fiction of modern segregationists.

7. Hebrew marriage laws had a somewhat similar basis to that of the Catholic prohibition of mixed-religion marriage. In both cases exceptions and dispensations were granted, but *the marriage law is a protection of religious purity,* not of racial purity. Neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament shows the least interest in keeping a racial strain pure, but both are dedicated to keeping religion undefiled.

8. The biblical stories of Noah's sons and of the Tower of Babel are sometimes misinterpreted as "proofs" that God wanted the segregation of races and peoples. The historical fact is that *language differences and racial differences* existed long before any historical date that can be assigned to these accounts. There is nothing in the Bible which even remotely suggests that the "colored races" started at this time, or were the result of a "curse" by God, or that God wanted them to be separate from and inferior to Caucasians.

9. *No modern biblical scholar* — Catholic, Protestant or Jewish — finds anything in the Bible to justify enforced racial segregation. The experts differ on many other points of interpretation, but on this one they are in agreement. They all agree that the Scriptures are emphatic about the unity of origin and of destiny of the total human race as a single whole. Neither the spirit nor the practice of racial segregation is approved by the Bible.

All of this expert biblical knowledge brings us to the firm conclusion that enforced racial segregation is a relatively modern human invention. Since the Church itself condemns this practice, and since the Bible clearly teaches its opposite, the faithful Catholic must be convinced of the truth. The Holy Spirit guides the Church in its teachings and protects the Church in its official interpretation of the Scriptures. If racial discrimination has risen in modern times in spite of this teaching, it cannot be blamed on God, the Church, or the Bible.

In the present matter of the school question there is obviously no support of racial segregation to be found in the revealed word of God. The biblical emphasis upon the unity of the children of God, regardless of class and racial differences, clearly means that we Catholics must do what we can to promote this unity. Christ and Saint Paul would be astonished to hear, as some of us have heard, that the Christian has the "biblical duty" to postpone, forestall or even prevent this unity and integration.

An integrated Catholic school system is a kind of minor exemplification of the various biblical injunctions to unity and charity. Here the child of both races learns that Christ and His Church do not abide racial discrimination and prejudices. Bible History comes alive for the child, has great personal meaning

for him, when it is taught not only by precept but also by example. The elementary grades are particularly important for the impressionable youngster for there he can develop a life-long attachment for the revealed word of God.

Is Desegregation Practical?

One of the objections to parochial school desegregation voiced by fair-minded Catholic parents is that "it won't work here" because "now is not the time for it" and people "are not ready for it." An analysis of the validity of this objection requires that we look into those cities where school desegregation has actually occurred, study what happened there, and then see if similar conditions prevail in New Orleans.

We have been fortunate in hearing detailed reports from Father James Hoflich, superintendent of the St. Louis parochial schools, from Dr. Margaret Butcher, member of the public school board of Washington, D. C., from Thomas A. Van Sant, of the Baltimore School Board, and Thomas Sutherland, of the Texas Commission on Race Relations. We have also received reports from the Catholic schools in Nashville and in San Antonio, where educational desegregation has been successfully accomplished. Certain common features stand out in all of these situations.

1. There has been *no mass exodus of whites* from the integrated schools. Three families in Nashville withdrew their children, but returned them to the school within a month. About a hundred families in St. Louis withdrew their children, but almost all of them sent the children back.

2. There has been *no mass influx of Negro pupils* into the formerly all-white schools. This appears to be due mainly to the peculiar residential pattern of these cities. The formerly racially separated schools remain located in areas in which one or the other race forms the majority, and the child simply attends the school nearest his home.

3. The *school authorities made definite plans* for the change-

over, and stuck to them even where minor opposition arose. They did not simply allow the change to happen, nor did they allow fears and threats to slow them down. A firm, intelligent and clear policy in the school administration appears to have been an essential condition for successful desegregation.

4. The *teachers had been prepared,* and even those who had been reluctant at first, cooperated well when they saw that the little children of both races made no difficulty about going to school together. Most teachers are trained to be objective and fair to all of their pupils, and to avoid favoritism. This training carries over into the new situation of integrated schools.

5. *Millions of dollars have been saved* by the elimination of duplicate school systems. This economic advantage had not at first been recognized by the parents and tax-payers, but it has now become an important factor in the various cities where school desegregation is now being studied.

6. The *strongest objections* to school desegregation did not come from elementary school pupils or from adolescent hoodlums, but from a handful of elderly determined white supremacists. Some of these objectors were not even parents of school children. Because they were vocal people, their objections loomed larger than they actually were; but because they were a minority going contrary to Christian and democratic ideals they could be disregarded by school officials and Church authorities.

7. *Other forms of desegregation* preceded the integration of the elementary schools. In every instance the local colleges and universities, and in some instances the local high schools, had successfully desegregated before the plan was introduced into the lower schools. Examples of inter-racial activities in churches, professional groups, athletic contests, public meetings and forums, had demonstrated to the local community that members of both races could peacefully and effectively cooperate for the common good.

8. The *desegregation of Catholic elementary schools* has occurred more smoothly and efficiently than that of the public schools. This is partially due to the fact that the public schools, having the obligation to accept every child who applies, cannot exercise the selectivity of admission which is the right of the private school. It is partially due also to the central moral pur-

pose of religious-oriented education: to inculcate the virtues of charity and justice, to put into practice the love of God through the love of fellow men.

9. The *scholastic average of pupils* has also been maintained at a higher level in the Catholic elementary schools than in the public schools. Negro pupils who had been poorly prepared in segregated public schools lowered the total general average of the integrated school but did not affect the former general average of the white pupils. In the parochial schools the same scholastic standards were maintained for pupils of both races and the effect has been to raise the former lower averages of the Negro children.

What have we learned from these experiences, and how do they apply to the question of the desegregation of Catholic elementary schools in the New Orleans area? In certain respects New Orleans is in a more advantageous position for school desegregation than most of the places studied. This is traditionally a Catholic city in which about sixty percent of the white people are Roman Catholics. We also have the highest concentration of Negro Catholics of any city in the country. Whereas only about three percent of all American Negroes are Catholics, about thirty percent of New Orleans Negroes are of the Catholic faith.

We are blessed, too, with a saintly, forthright Archbishop, a devoted and hard-working clergy, a well-trained, clear-thinking personnel among our school administrators and teachers. Like the other cities studied, we possess a vocal minority of Catholic segregationists, most of whom, however, appear to be gradually assimilating the practical aspects of Christ's universal brotherhood. At best, it can be said that they are not more recalcitrant than the handful of opponents who existed temporarily in other places where school desegregation occurred.

New Orleans has also been an active center of the Catholic Committee of the South. For many years its inter-racial department, the Commission on Human Rights, has demonstrated the practicality of unity across racial lines by attending monthly Mass and Communion breakfast, by sponsoring frequent meetings and public forums, by learning and disseminating Catholic information on better race relations.

All of the "antecedents" to actual desegregation of the paro-

chial schools already exist in New Orleans. We have had traditionally good, and even cordial, relations between Catholic whites and Catholic Negroes. The further promotion of this unity and charity is a matter of good will, intelligent planning, and enthusiastic Catholic action.

Does It Spread Disease?

Catholic parents of both races are naturally concerned about the health of their children. They guard them against disease; they try to get the best medical care to prevent and cure sickness; they sit up nights and nurse the sick child. The question whether school integration presents a health hazard to either white or Negro children, or to both, must be important in the minds of parents who do not want to expose their children needlessly or carelessly to the danger of disease.

Fortunately, wide research and improved medical science have been able to provide an answer to this question. Briefly, as venereal disease expert, Dr. S. Ross Taggart said in New Orleans, "it is fantastic to suggest that racial integration of the school system would spread disease." Public health experts and disease specialists have come to the following conclusions in answer to the unwarranted assumption that school integration is, can be, or ever was, a health hazard.

1. Ordinary health examinations are standard procedure in both parochial and public school systems. Children found with health defects are sent to the school physician or their family physician. Children with symptoms of contagious diseases are immediately removed from school and isolated till cured. For many years *there have been no epidemics of children's diseases* in either integrated or segregated school systems.

2. The so-called "social diseases" cannot become a health hazard in either integrated or segregted schools because *venereal disease is not an existing health problem among school children* of either race. The peak year for syphilis in both races is age 22 years for females and age 24 years for males.

3. In more than ten thousand examinations of school-age children, both white and colored, in New Orleans, *not a single case of infectious venereal disease* has been discovered. This record is not peculiar to New Orleans; it has been repeated and amplified in cities all over the country. It proves that these diseases are not children's diseases.

4. It can be stated positively and emphatically that people who do not have pre-marital and extra-marital sex experiences are also the people who *avoid contracting venereal diseases.* A properly administered school with high moral standards and competent teachers is also a school in which these experiences do not occur.

5. In more than eighty thousand investigated cases of venereal disease there has not been a single case of *transmission or infection by inanimate objects.* Venereal disease is contracted by sexual intercourse and sex play, and not by toilet facilities, towels, eating utensils, swimming pools or other things. Doctors explain the reason for this in the fact that the infectious germs die immediately by exposure to the air. This kind of scientific information goes contrary to popular folklore among non-medical people.

6. In Louisiana and other Southern states, reported statistics on venereal disease even among adults are *misleading and incomplete.* The great majority of infected whites can afford to go to private physicians who seldom report these cases to the Public Health Department. The great majority of infected Negroes get treatment at public clinics which publish reports on venereal statistics. Thus we do not have objective knowledge about the racial differential in the actual rates of these diseases.

7. In cities like Washington, St. Louis and Baltimore, where school facilities have been integrated, the *known incidence of venereal disease has greatly decreased.* Cities which have integrated school systems have a lower rate of venereal disease than cities which have segregated schools. This is mainly due to the fact that integrated cities are able to save money on their schools, and are able to spend more money for better public health control.

8. Venereal disease is *not associated with racial factors,* but with economic, occupational and educational levels. Blood tests

of the Washington population show the following percentages of infection in the various occupational strata:

Professional	0.5%	Craftsmen	6.0%
Managerial	1.5%	Operatives	12.0%
Clerical	2.0%	Service	13.0%
Sales persons	5.0%	Unskilled	19.0%

Because of discrimination in jobs and in education, Negroes have a large proportion of the low-paying and unskilled jobs. In these economic classifications their disease rates are no higher than those of white workers.

9. Many Negroes throughout Louisiana are domestic and service workers in hotels, restaurants, bars and private homes. They cook, launder, serve meals, take care of little children and have close contact with others. *There is no single recorded instance* of their having transmitted venereal disease either to their own children or to the persons they serve in homes and public places.

All of this scientific medical knowledge points to one important conclusion: contagious diseases are not limited to one race or the other. All of the health statistics we have been able to gather show that ill-health is a greater problem among the poor people of both races than among those who can afford adequate health care. Racial discrimination and segregation have pushed the Negro people into these lower economic brackets and have held them there.

What does all of this mean in relation to the Catholic elementary schools of the New Orleans archdiocese? Indirectly it means that anything that will remove economic discrimination and educational disadvantages of the Negroes will raise the general standard of health in the community. More directly, however, it means that the whole myth of the "health hazard" of integrated schools has been permanently exploded.

It is about a half-century since the last yellow fever epidemic visited New Orleans and struck down people regardless of race or class. It is almost forty years ago since the influenza epidemic brought death to people of all ages and both races. In the intervening years, marvelous advances have been made in the diagnosis, treatment and control of contagious diseases. If New Or-

leans has any problem in this regard, let the professional doctors and public health experts see to it. Let us not hold school and church authorities, or parents and ordinary citizens, responsible for it.

The parents of Catholic school children in New Orleans need have absolutely no worry about infectious diseases in integrated schools. The fact that health authorities are focusing upon children's problems of inadequate diet, faulty vision, poor hearing and neglected teeth, shows that there is no problem of contagious disease to worry about. If there is no health hazard in segregated white and colored schools there can be none in integrated schools.

The Question of Intelligence

Many generalizations have been made concerning the higher intelligence of whites and the lower intelligence of Negroes. These ideas are so imbedded in the folklore of the people that they are taken for granted by many. No parent likes to have his child called mentally slow or to have his child's education retarded because of association with less intelligent children. It is especially important for Catholic parents of both races to learn the facts about this question.

The widespread assumption is that the average white child is mentally superior to the average Negro child. A further assumption is that this difference in mental capacity is somehow connected with race itself, that the white child "inherits" a better mind, and the Negro child a poorer mind, from his ancestors. The conclusion usually made from these assumptions is that Negro intelligence can improve a little bit by association with whites, but that white intelligence can greatly deteriorate by association with Negroes.

The following is a series of facts which have been well-established through the research and study of thousands of scientific experts.

1. The Catholic priest and scientist, Mendel, was the first to discover that *blood has nothing to do with inherited characteristics.* Only the uneducated still talk about "white blood" and "Negro blood" and fail to realize that the four main blood types are present in about the same proportion in every race. Blood transfusions are made across racial lines without any effect on physical characteristics, and the blood that one inherits or has transfused into him has absolutely nothing to with his mental abilities.

2. There are almost ten thousand trained psychologists in the United States, and not one of them holds the *discredited racial theory of inherited mental differences.* This means that a person's intelligence has no biological or physical connection with his race. This has been so thoroughly proved by thousands of tests and experiments that it is a closed scientific question. The experts no longer bother to do research on it or to write scientific papers about it.

3. Unquestioned and repeated scientific studies demonstrate that there is a *wide range of intellectual ability within each race.* There are brilliant whites and brilliant Negroes just as there are simple-minded whites and simple-minded Negroes. The range of mental capacity from high to low is measured from person to person and not from race to race. In other words, intelligence differences are individual and not racial.

4. The most valuable tests of intelligence are those made on infants and pre-school children. All of these tests have demonstrated that, *given similar environment there is a similar range of intelligence* in both races. White and colored babies are born with about the same potentials. What happens to them after birth is what constitutes the significant factor in the development of these intellectual potentials.

5. The *quality of schooling which a child receives* has a direct effect on his scores in intelligence tests. The quality of teachers and of schools attended is much more important than the amount of schooling he has received. This is one of the main reasons why urban Negroes who have attended modern well-equipped schools have higher intelligence ratings than rural whites who have been forced to go to poor schools.

6. *Low income families of both races* usually have children who make low scores in intelligence tests. This again is not due to any inherited characteristics of the poorer people of both races. It is due mainly to the fact that they cannot afford the kind of environment in which the mind can realize its best potentials.

7. In the youngest children of both races the *quality of nutrition of both mother and child* has a measurable effect upon the scorces they make. The better-fed white and colored mothers usually have children who score higher in the intelligence tests.

In so far as the poorer families of both races cannot afford consistent and well-balanced diets, the children suffer in their study and learning habits.

8. The *segregated school system* has everywhere provided inferior teachers and education for colored children. Discriminatory racial practices have produced a vicious circle of low income, poor nutrition, inferior home environment and inferior schooling for Negroes. This circle can be broken by further integration of the school system and by a general raising of scholastic standards.

9. Tests of the children in the New Orleans Archdiocesan school system have shown the same range from high to low scores within each race. The *high quality of integrated Catholic elementary schools* provides the children of both races with equal opportunities to develop their best intellectual potentials. This is the key factor, and the key contribution, of an integrated Catholic school system.

The application of this store of scientific knowledge to the integration of New Orleans Catholic schools is obvious. The Catholic parent can rid his mind of the fears engendered by false folklore and prejudiced stereotypes. There is simply no danger whatsoever of a "lowering" of scholastic standards when Catholic white and colored children attend the same school. Good teachers set the quality of the school and they see to it that the pupils measure up to their standards.

Catholic parents of both races have a personal and immediate stake in the Catholic schools. They have made sacrifices in time and effort and money to maintain these schools at a relatively high level. They can improve the schools still further if they insist that every baptized child of God, regardless of race, has the opportunity to profit from the benefits of truly Catholic education. This is done in an integrated system by treating each pupil not only as a precious charge of his own parents but also as the precious child of a loving and divine Father.

In the final analysis the successful Catholic elementary school is the result of the combined efforts of many persons. It is not merely what the principal, teachers and pupils make it. The priest in the parish and the parents in the home are also valuable contributors to the maintenance of the school as a worthy place

where the Christian life can be inculcated. The environment in which the child's intelligence develops includes not only the school, but also the home, the neighborhood and the parish. If all of these combine to give adequate opportunities to the children, the question of racial differences in intelligence will vanish.

Psychological Adjustments

When a community has pursued certain patterns of thought and behavior over a period of a half-century, the need for changing to new patterns may bring mental worries and psychological disturbances. The extent to which these worries and disturbances exist in the minds of both Negroes and whites, and the manner in which they can be overcome, constitute an interesting psychological study. Prophecies and anecdotes do not help us here, nor does the folklore of prejudice. We need the scientific knowledge which psychiatrists and psychologists can provide.

Catholic parents are interested in these scientific findings because they would like to know whether the mental health of their children can be affected by the experience of interracial schooling. Negro parents do not want their children to undergo traumatic disturbances, and white parents are equally unwilling to have their children suffer psychological difficulties. What dependable knowledge can be offered to these parents, as well as to the Catholic teachers and priests who are involved in the actual administration of integrated schools?

1. The *immature ego of some Negro school children* is the resultant, directly or indirectly, of the oppressive discriminatory practices which have occurred under legally sanctioned racial segregation. This is especially true of underprivileged Negro children of the lower classes. Studies show that where the child is given equal opportunities he develops a normal maturity of personality and stability of behavior.

2. *Personal acts of prejudice and discrimination,* which are relatively common in any school situation, affect some children more than others. The different degree to which these affect

different children cannot be attributed to any racial factor. Some Negro children are more sensitive than other Negro children; some white children are more sensitive than other white children.

3. *The child who has a secure family background* tends to make easy psychological adjustments to trying situations. This is the main reason why children from broken homes and disorganized families tend to react with aggression toward teachers and other children. The traditionally stable family life of Catholic Negroes in New Orleans helps to prepare their children for the experience of integrated elementary schools. The source of psychological difficulties for children of both races lies less often in the school than it does in the family, neighborhood and community.

4. *Enforced and legally sanctioned segregation* tends to cause painful, chronic, psychic damage to the personalities of oppressed peoples. A system which teaches the ideals of equality for all persons, but then limits this by discriminatory practices which force inferiority upon some people, must necessarily have detrimental psychological effects. This life-long suppression does permanent harm to the personality, as compared to the transitional inconveniences which temporarily novel integrated systems may bring.

5. The psychiatric effect of racial discrimination is equally, but more subtly, *detrimental to the segregating race.* The inferiority complex which is formed in underprivileged Negroes is matched by the superority complex in overprivileged whites. Little white children, who are taught the falsehood that they are innately superior to little colored children, are being introduced to an unreal life situation. Their personalities are unbalanced to the extent that they behave according to these false assumptions.

6. *The over-all effect of school desegregation on mental health is a salutary one.* There is a belief among behavioral scientists that over the course of a generation the removal of compulsory segregation and of theories of racial supremacy and inferiority will also remove many blocks to the development of wholesome personality in both races. The total impact on personality development can only be conjectured, but it should prove

to be of tremendous benefit to the entire nation, and most of all to the Southeast.

7. The expert testimony of educators and child psychologists reaffirms the fact that *school segregation lowers the motivation of the child* and therefore lowers his level of aspiration. In simple terms, this means that the segregated child's ability to learn is impaired. He does not try as hard because he cannot hope to get the same ultimate results which good education brings to white children.

8. *The notion that the Negro child is embarrassed* when he finds himself at a lower level of achievement in the same school grade with white children is unfounded. Every grade of every elementary school, both colored and white, contains several levels of achievement. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. Every teacher points to good, middling and poor pupils in the same classroom.

9. *The fear that school integration leads to psychiatric difficulties is a rationalization.* It attempts to present a scientific medical basis as a justification for admittedly biased and discriminatory practices. Rationalizations of this kind attempt to switch the blame for segregation from personal racial prejudice to some larger external, scientific and social causation.

In summary of all these findings it can be said that racially segregated schools represent an abnormal psychological situation, and that the integration of the schools is a return to normalcy. The Catholic school system in New Orleans is geared to the best education that can be provided for all of its pupils, both white and Negro. The teachers and pupils function best in an atmosphere which is natural and realistic. Any artifical barriers which are created between children of the two races amount to a psychologically hazardous procedure.

It is often said by medical experts that prejudicial people are sick people. They are mentally ill and emotionally unbalanced because they refuse, or are unable, to face reality. The whole system of compulsory segregation of the races promotes this state of mental ill-health because it sanctions prejudice and discrimination between the races. As Catholics we cannot afford to jeopardize the mental health of our school children by per-

petuating a system which breeds racial prejudice and produces mentally sick people.

Parents who are interested in the stable personality of their children, and pastors who are concerned about the emotional and mental stability of their parishioners, can promote these ends by maintaining a normally integrated school situation. The unreal world of forced inferiorities and assumed superiorities is a hazardous situation in which to place young school children. These young minds require truth and wholesomeness in place of rationalizations and artificiality.

Delinquency and Desegregation

The problem of maintaining order and discipline in the classroom is one with which every elementary school teacher must cope. Some children behave well and others require frequent admonitions. This problem is not peculiar to either public schools or to parochial schools, to either colored children or to white children. The teacher does not merely teach school subjects; she teaches human subjects to develop self-control and moral character.

While the teacher is most immediately concerned with the behavior of pupils in the classroom, the parent also has a stake in this question. Catholic parents, both white and colored, do not want their children to associate in school with actual and potential delinquents. Each race recognizes criminal tendencies and delinquent acts in some members of the other race. Thinking people know that there are no "born criminals" and that criminal tendencies are not racially linked or biologically inherited.

In order to clarify the question of juvenile delinquency and racially integrated schools, criminologists have been making reliable scientific studies. The principal results of these studies are as follows.

1. There is *absolutely no evidence that the Negro is biologically or genetically a more delinquent type* of being than the white. The myth of racially linked criminality has been so frequently tested and so thoroughly repudiated that the scientists do not even bother to carry on further research in this field. The last failure to establish this racist theory was that of Hitler and the Nazis. Criminologists are completely in agreement on this point.

2. All of the empirical evidence shows that juvenile delinquency in both races must be measured against the social experiences of the child. *The big risk in delinquency is not the school* and those who attend it, but the community around the school. Families, parishes, neighborhoods and playgrounds are the sources from which the child comes every day into the school. If these are disorganized and underprivileged, the child who is a product of them will be affected by his school behavior.

3. *Both white and colored slums have higher crime rates* than the good residential areas of a city. Arrests and convictions for delinquency are found most often in the lower income groups of both races. Since discrimination and desegregation force large numbers of Negroes into these lower economic brackets, it is only to be expected that their delinquency rates are higher than those of whites. In 1954 Negroes accounted for about eighteen percent of all delinquency cases. Given the environment in which Negroes live, it is surprising that this percentage was not higher.

4. *Justice is administered unequally for Negro and white offenders,* and this affects the interpretation of crime statistics. White juvenile delinquents are often treated more leniently than Negroes. They can "get away with" delinquent acts more easily and more frequently. Their parents have more influence; and often the police are more courteous and the Courts more considerate of them.

5. *Upper and middle class Negroes are no more delinquent* than upper and middle class whites. The average family income for New Orleans Negroes in 1954 was less than half the average for white families. This means that the proportion of lower class Negroes is much greater than that of lower class whites. As long as Negro income is low and Negro opportunities are suppressed, there will remain a racial difference in delinquency rates.

6. In New Orleans there is an important contrast between Negro Catholic and non-Catholic delinquency rates. *Negro Catholic juveniles here have a lower delinquency rate* than non-Catholic Negroes. White Catholic juveniles have a higher delinquency rate than white Protestant juveniles. In 1955 white Catholics were 71.8 percent of all active white juvenile court

cases, while Negro Catholics were only 31 percent of all active Negro cases in the juvenile court at the same time.

7. The fact that in New Orleans *Negro Catholic families are largely upper and middle class people* helps to account for the lower delinquency rates of their children. New Orleans is the only large city in the nation in which the upper strata of Negroes are made up of Catholics. This combination of economic, religious and family background is also a positive factor for the smooth transition to integrated Catholic elementary schools.

8. *Since white Catholic delinquents are more numerous* in New Orleans, and have a higher delinquency rate, the threat of "delinquency contamination" comes from the whites rather than from the Negro. The colored Catholic child is more likely to come into contact with a white Catholic delinquent than vice versa.

9. Integrated Catholic schools have an important advantage in the fact that *the main goal of Catholic education is the development of better moral characters* in all pupils. The Catholic school with able teachers and competent principals can curb delinquency in all of its pupils regardless of race. The school can control, correct, and if necessary, ultimately expel any child who misbehaves. For these reasons, racial desegregation neither increases nor decreases the problem of delinquency in New Orleans Catholic elementary schools.

These important scientific facts are of great value in dispelling the imaginary fears which some parents have concerning the delinquency problem in racially integrated schools. They are supported also by the many reports which have been gathered from other cities in which school integration has been the practice. The central fact is that no trouble at all occurs where teachers and principals do their job properly, where parents and other leaders in the parish and community fulfill their expected adult responsibilitiess toward children.

In the final analysis, juvenile delinquency is an adult problem; it is not a racial, or religious, or educational problem. If adults allow an atmosphere of racial tension; if they perpetuate the notion of racial superiority and inferiority; if they condone the unequal administration of justice, we can expect a situation in which aggressive and delinquent behavior exists.

Fortunately, in New Orleans, the great majority of Catholic adults, both colored and white, do take seriously their responsibilities toward children.

Our Catholic school teachers are for the most part members of religious orders. They have dedicated their lives to the task of bringing children closer to God. They are trained for the task of making bad children behave and of making good children better. Behavior problems are nothing new for them; and these problems have to be handled in greater or less degree regardless of the type of school in which they teach. The Sisters do, however, need the support and example of parents in the continuing function of instilling goodness and charity in the hearts of their pupils.

Legal and Constitutional Aspects

Catholics are traditionally law-abiding citizens, but Catholics also have a long history of opposition to unjust and discriminatory legislation. White Catholic Americans, who are descendants of British, German, Italian, Spanish, French, Irish, and Polish Catholics, know that their ancestors in those countries were sometimes the subjects of unfair laws. This memory helps them to understand the position of American Negroes who are now striving for a recognition of their complete rights.

In the matter of school desegregation the question of what is legal and what illegal, what is constitutional and what unconstitutional, has been bandied back and forth for many years. Parents, teachers and priests, have a right to know where they stand in relation to the latest interpretation of the federal constitution and in relation to various forms of state legislation. What is the true interpretation of the Supreme Court decision? How does state legislation affect the integration of the Catholic school system?

1. The famous school decision of the U. S. Supreme Court made *no provision for the racial integration of private and Church schools.* It dealt only with public schools which, according to the Court's findings, are intended for the education of all children, regardless of racial, religious or ethnic background.

2. The reason for the Court's decision, however, has immediate pertinence to the question of integration in the private and Catholic schools. This was the proven fact that *racially segregated facilities are inherently unequal.* If this is true of racial segregation in public education, we must logically conclude that the same inherent inequality exists in racially segregated private education.

3. The legal sanction for segregated education was introduced only sixty years ago (1896). *If it were possible to place segregated schools on an equal basis,* these six decades were a long enough period to demonstrate the separate but equal doctrine. The fact that equality of education was not achieved in a segregated system is strong proof of the statement that it cannot be achieved under such a system.

4. *The Supreme Court cannot resort to coercion,* and has not done so in condemning the unequal system of segregated schooling. It waited a whole year to implement its decision, and then returned the problem to the Federal District Courts, so that school desegregation could be worked out locally. It was the intent of the Court that the coercion of Negro children into separate and inferior schools is unconstitutional and must cease. Thus, the Court is attempting to remove coercion by removing the system of enforced segregation.

5. *The Supreme Court has always had the right and the duty to depart from precedent,* especially when current circumstances render previous decisions invalid. The cognizance of changing conditions has sometimes forced the Court to overrule itself. It is the opinion of some legal experts that the earlier decisions of the Court allowing separate but equal facilities were even at that time unconstitutional; and that today's Court is simply correcting the errors of its predecessor.

6. Other legal scholars contend that *the Supreme Court can never act unconstitutionally* since the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means. Whether or not this is true, the fact remains that the Court has been a policy-making body for more than a century and a half. It supervises the acts of Congress and the President, passes judgment on them, and its interpretations must necessarily make and change policy.

7. *Within the framework of the American legal system* the federal government cannot insist upon the racial integration of the Catholic schools, nor can the state governments force the Church to maintain segregated schools for the races. This is an important aspect of the principle of religious liberty in our country and also a long-standing recognition of the primary rights of parents over the education of their children.

8. All attempts by state legislatures *to circumvent the racial*

integration of schools are legally null and void. Various forms of evasions and circumventions, nullification and interposition procedures, are recognized by realistic politicians and lawyers as permissible tactics of delay. No sound legal expert takes them seriously or expects them ultimately to be successfull in thwarting educational integration.

9. Any attempt by state legislatures at *interference with private and parochial school integration is unconstitutional.* Any acts of the state legislature which withdraw the exemptions, privileges and benefits of the Catholic schools, merely on the basis that these schools are racially integrated, are legally null and void. This point is particularly important in several Southeastern states, where legislatures have threatened to reach over into the private and religious schools and to endanger their constitutional rights of independent operation.

This series of statements, emerging from the study of constitutional and legal scholars, constitutes the significant core of knowledge on this question for Catholic parents, teachers and priests. It helps to modify, and even to erase, much of the confusing oratory which has surrounded the constantly growing program of Catholic school integration. The most important point here is the clarification of the rights of Catholics to run their schools on the traditional principles of Christian human relations.

His Excellency, the Archbishop, has let it be known that Catholics who are in the position of state legislators, may not introduce, promote or vote for laws which would in any way interfere with the right of the Catholic Church to operate its own schools. In plain words, this means that the Church must be free to continue its movement toward racial desegregation of the Catholic school system. From a legal point of view, any interference with this right would be unconstitutional; from a religious point of view any cooperation by Catholics with such interference would be subject to Church censure.

But it is hard to imagine that faithful Catholics, whether legislators or not, would interfere with the complete fulfillment of the potentials of the Mystical Body of Christ. The completion of school desegregation is, of course, only one aspect of this total integration of parishes, hospitals, orphanages, colleges, semi-

naries and Catholic organizations and societies of all types. Any fear of legal opposition to this internal Catholic integration movement can now be set at rest. Catholics can proceed without the threat of illegal interference or reprisals.

Moral Obligations

Every trained Catholic is taught to distinguish between good and evil. Catholic education helps us to pursue the good and to avoid the evil. We learn in childhood the difference between mortal sins and venial sins, between morally indifferent acts and positively virtuous acts. As baptized children of God and as members of His true Church, we have a moral obligation to obey the commandments of God, the law of the Church, and the rulings of ecclesiastical superiors.

These remarks, which are known to every school child studying his catechism, have particular pertinence to the question of racial discrimination and compulsory segregation. Even when an individual has no prejudice in his own heart, he has an obligation to work for the removal of those institutions which visit injustices on others. Perhaps in the past many have not given a thought to the immorality of racial segregation; perhaps others have become aware of this moral problem only in the present generation.

The moral condemnations of racism and of discriminatory segregation have come so frequently from Church authorities in recent years, that no literate Catholic can fail to know or understand them.

1. Pope Pius XI denounced the "so-called myth of race and blood," and his successor, Pope Pius XII, said that "*there remains no other way to salvation than that of repudiating definitely the pride of race and blood* and to turn resolutely to that spirit of sincere brotherhood which is founded on the worship of the Divine Father of all."

2. Cardinal Stritch has termed unfair discrimination "this ugly thing," and he adds that it "*is not Christian and cannot be*

Catholic." Cardinal Spellman went even further in saying that "it is impossible for any good Catholic not to be on the side of, and in the forefront in, the struggle for inter-racial justice, for all men are brothers."

3. Archbishop Lucey tells us that "*the sin of segregation hurts the white man's conscience* because he remembers that what you do to the least of the brethren you do to Christ; and the idea of a segregated Christ seems like a blasphemy to him. Is it not Catholic doctrine that when a brother is excluded, rejected, segregated, it is Christ who is insulted and humiliated?" At another time he said: "if secular government, military leaders and private organizations can *eliminate the sins of segregation and discrimination,* we can do so too."

4. Archbishop Cushing said: "whenever racial intolerance shows itself in any part of our nation, whenever human hearts are turned in bitterness against their neighbors, whenever discrimination touches another with its acid sting—*then is Christ crucified again and for some, at that moment He has died in vain.*" At another time he exclaimed "what colossal arrogance is involved, and what infantile process of thought, in the supposition that there are greater or lesser races among the children of Adam!"

5. Archbishop Rummel has written that "*racial segregation as such is morally wrong and sinful* because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. . . . because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. . . . because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and charity." On another occasion he pointed out what "we can do much to aid this cause of justice and charity by *making segregation disappear* in our Catholic Church life."

6. Bishop McVinney has declared: "*We condemn the abomination of racial segregation* which stains the escutcheon of our democratic society. We pray that social justice be established in our land without reservation. How can we proclaim that 'all men are created equal, . . . endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights' and in the same breath defend the desolate deception of Jim Crow?"

7. Bishop Waters has written that "to believe that one race

or one nation is superior to another in the Church, or before God, *is a heresy and should be condemned.*" At another time he said: "Race hatred and religious hatred, unjust discrimination, building up walls of separation between fellow members of the children of Adam, unjust, unnatural and undemocratic segregation of members of our Christian family or of our civic community, are symptoms of the very same disease which has already prostrated half of the world."

8. Bishop Gercke has declared that: "To exclude children from school because of their color is bad legisation. *It is founded on immorality* and is against the very spirit of the Constitution. Now is the time to act and to show our less privileged brethren that we believe in brotherly love, not founded on expedience, but on the love of God."

9. Bishop Shiel has written: "*Jim Crowism in the Mystical Body is a disgraceful anomaly.* Christianity pays no heed to accidental difference of race, color, or economic status. To see Christ in every creature is the very essence of the Christian religion." Bishop Mulloy has stated that the race problem is primarily a moral question, and that "the Catholic Church does not admit that any moral problem is beyond solution."

In the face of these authoritative statements by Popes, Archbishops and Bishops, no faithful Catholic can any longer deny the immorality of discriminatory racial segregation. These words are so strong and clear that they are not open to misinterpretation. Racial segregation is an abomination, it is disgraceful, it is an ugly thing, it is unChristian and unCatholic, it is based on immorality and heresy, it is morally wrong and sinful. The words of our ecclesiastical superiors and teachers form a litany of condemnation against racial segregation.

This moral condemnation means, of course, that we can no longer consider racial segregation merely in terms of a political, or economic, or recreational, or educational problem. It is all of these things, because the theory of racial supermacy cuts across all kinds of human and social activities. But the important point for the Catholics—and for every religious-minded American—is the question of morality: what is right and wrong, and how do we go about righting the wrongs which segregation has caused.

We can readily perceive the application of this moral obligation to the desegration of Catholic elementary schools in New Orleans. If we have a moral obligation to promote the unity of all Catholics in the Mystical Body of Christ, we certainly have an obligation to promote this unity in our organized social groupings. The Catholic school is an organized arrangement of human relations and it is a system in which Catholic teachers, parents and priests are morally expected to remove wrongful discriminations and segregations.

Sources for These Data

In 1939 the Bishops of the Southern states formed the Catholic Committee of the South in which there was established a department of race relations, renamed ten years later in New Orleans, the Commission on Human Rights. Thus, for a decade and a half before the historic decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, quiet, moderate, Southern Catholics of both races were laying the foundations for the ultimate desegregation of all Catholic facilities.

In the last two years this work has been stepped up. The rapid progress toward more democratic procedures of race relations in the economic, political, educational, military, theatrical, athletic, and other areas of American life, has made this question even more vital to Southern Catholics. With the encouragement of His Excellency, Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, and with the cooperation of Right Reverend Monsignor Charles J. Plauche, Chancellor of the New Orleans Archdiocese, the Commission on Human Rights undertook a more intensive study of the various factors involved in the desegregation of Catholic elementary schools.

The Commission was fortunate in obtaining the services and counsel of many people on these various aspects, some of them nationally known authorities in their fields. The main contributors of data are the following:

Physicians and Public Health Experts: Doctors Donald P. Conwell, William H. Harris, Jr., Blanche S. Lavizzo, Philip V. Lavizzo, James T. Nix, S. Ross Taggart.

Psychologists and Psychiatrists: Doctors Irving Fosberg, Robert Lancaster, Harold Lief, Rev. Henry Montecino, Doctors Benjamin Pasamanick, Dorothy W. Seago.

Attorneys and Law Professors: Law Deans William Hepburn and Antonio Papale, Law Professor Janet Riley, Attorneys Label A. Katz, Harold J. Lamy, John J. McCann, A. P. Tureaud.

Social Scientists and Social Workers: Doctors Munro E. Edmundson, William L. Kolb, Robert A. Lystad, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Joseph T. Taylor, Daniel C. Thompson, Reverends Joseph H. Fichter, Albert S. Foley and Joseph Schuyler, Miss Helen Cassidy, Mrs. Josephine Ferguson and Viola Weiss, Mr. George Saporito.

Teachers and Educators: Reverends Robert Grant, James Hoflich, Gorham J. Putnam, and Joseph Verrett, Sister M. Petrine, Dr. Raymond P. Witte, Mr. Charles Henry, Numa J. Rousseve. and Milton Vigo.

Theologians and Moralists: Reverends Robert I. Guste, Francis Hannigan, Louis J. Hiegel, Clarence Howard, Guy Lemieux, Carlos Lewis, John McKenzie, Alvin J. Pilie, H. J. Yamauchi.

All of these persons participated in the series of eight public forums sponsored by the Commission on Human Rights at the following places in New Orleans: Cor Jesu High School, Dominican College, Lenes Parish Hall, Loyola University, St. Joseph's Academy, Ursuline Academy and Xavier University.

Further data on race relations were reprinted and widely distributed from the following publications: *America, American Ecclesiastical Review, Catholic Action of the South, The Catholic Word, Commonweal, Jubilee, New South, Osservatore Romano* and *The Priest.*

The Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South acknowledges with abiding and prayerful gratitude all of these persons and groups who have made possible a clearer understanding of the question of Catholic elementary school desegregation.

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The Unity of Humanity

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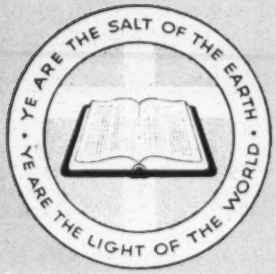
JOHN HALL JONES
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.



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The Unity of Humanity

JOHN HALL JONES
Birmingham, Alabama

The unity of humanity, from the Garden of Eden to the New Jerusalem, is an idea and an ideal in the Word of God which science has discovered and documented. It remains the task of the Christian church to develop and demonstrate it.

We are all created by the Lord "who hath made of one flesh all men . . . in him we live and move and have our being . . . for we are indeed his offspring" (Acts 17:26-28). Since God the Father designed and destined it, all men must be brothers or they mar the image in which they were made and frustrate the love of Christ who prayed "that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (John 17:21).

A Common Humanity

Of all the human "races" there is only one species. The anthropologists find only one humanity in all their search through antiquity. The sociologists find unity in human institutions and social structures. The physiologists find that body parts, tissues, glands, organs, and bones are near identical regardless of the race in which they are found. The hematologists find that blood may blend across all barriers and may be scientifically classified according to

types 1, 2, 3, and 4, or O, A, B, and AB. They do not find that blood is identified in the test tube by red, yellow, black, white, or even blue. The psychologists find no racial discrepancies in intelligence quotients, nor do any other sciences find distinctive racial deficiencies or excellencies of potential.

Human needs are uniform in that all strive for physical comfort, personal safety, social approval, self-respect, and self-realization. Motivations of all children, youth, and adults indicate varying strengths of the desire for organic well-being, belonging, achievement, recognition, new experiences, and security. All have conflicts between instinctive urges and ideals, between personal desires and social demands. All need spiritual aspirations and consolation. All must have the dignity of self-determination, freedom for fulfilment, and opportunity with responsibility.

Human interrelatedness increases with every hour that the human race survives. Racial heritages become effectual human enrichment only through political, economic, social, and spiritual interaction. Under the threat of atomic extinction men are becoming more conscious of their common humanity, and the desire for human survival leaves no alternative except a growing unity. Of this Toynbee says:

> The revolution through which we are living today is . . . a worldwide revolution; not merely on the political surface of life; this revolution is penetrating to the cultural and religious depths.
>
> Living together as a single family is the only future that Mankind can have . . . The alternative, now, is mass-suicide. Yet the feat of learning how to live together as a single family is going to be very difficult, even if urgently necessary. . . We have suddenly become one another's next-door neighbors physically, while our hearts and minds remain still far apart . . . Ignorance breeds mutual fear, and mutual fear breeds mutual hostility.
>
> Human beings have had 6,000 years . . . to become strangers to one another; and now we have . . . hardly any time at all

for learning the more difficult art of dwelling together in unity, like brothers (*The Saturday Review*, 1/7/56).

Unity of the Universe

The unity of the universe, which has never been a "multiverse," is a challenge to human unity. The universe is intelligible and predictable in its interactions from galaxies to atoms. Therefore, the sensible thing for individuals to do, if they would survive spiritually, is to cooperate intelligently and serve creatively. Aloneness is a step toward oblivion. The man who enlarges his loyalties to include larger groups becomes successively: a family man, a community man, a statesman, a human being in the highest sense of creative Christian world citizenship. The reason why we should be brotherly is that God is fatherly and the universe tends toward cooperation from the one-celled amoeba to the United Nations.

The sense of fellowship which expresses itself in service to others provides the individual with the satisfying sense of belonging and demonstrates the paradoxical method of the Great Teacher who taught us the fine art of finding one's life by losing it. It is the spirit of Lowell, the poet, who said:

> Is true freedom but to break
> Fetters for our own dear sake,
> And with leathern hearts, forget
> That we owe mankind a debt?
>
> No! true freedom is to share
> All the chains our brothers wear,
> And, with heart and hand, to be
> Earnest to make others free!

Unity of Fellowship in Christ

The unity of divinity is the design and destiny for humanity as Christ proclaimed in his prayer to the Father "that,

as we are one, may they be one." He understood the universality of sin that caught men in a tragic unity, since "all have come short of the glory of God." Christ included all in his plan of redemption and conceived of the kingdom of God as a perfected plan of human relations. As members of the body of Christ, all are members one of another. This unity is not an abstraction. It is a reality—a quality of life to be enjoyed and shared. In Christ there is unity, and one is not in Christ who lives in disunity. "Blest be the tie that binds" and cursed be the sins that separate us from our brother and from God.

> No one could tell me what my soul might be:
> I searched for God and God eluded me;
> I sought my brother out, and found all three,
> My soul, my God, and all humanity.
>
> *Mansur*

The stimulation of fellowship provides the essential atmosphere for healthy personalities to grow. Cooperation does not mean conformity nor uniformity. Democracy does not mean anarchy nor hierarchy. Harmony is not achieved through identity nor imitation. There is creativity in diversity and beauty in variety. The proving ground of reality is action in service to and with others, backing up our professions with performance, our attitudes with actions, our declarations with demonstration, that the honesty of love may be expressed in the truth of life. Dissensions and divisions which keep us constantly in conflict arrest our development, consume our energy, and keep us futile, frustrated, and infantile.

Self-conflict frequently causes us to regress to earlier levels of childish behavior because we have not come to terms with ourselves and our world. Prejudice is emotionalized ignorance which makes men evil and mentally ill. Personal integrity and consistency of character are prime essentials of civilization which Christianity must produce

if leaders really serve and real servants rise to leadership. Only men of good will can advance God's will.

Unity of Personality

The unity of personality is the integrated dynamic interaction of potentials within the individual in relation to his environment. Personality is interaction and Christian personality is a product of Christian fellowship where the unity of the spirit prevails against all of the tensions that tear us apart and all of the divisive issues that would dissect the body of Christ.

Through all of the generations of men there have been those loyalties that segment society and cut the human race into conflicting groups. MY state, MY section, MY race, MY nation, all the folks of MY color, using MY language, or MY name; partial culture, narrow creed, excessive devotion to corporation, party, union, or denomination form the various small allegiances that cause us to lose sight of our deeper devotion to the whole of humanity for whom Christ died. These cause us to forget that we are not Christian human beings until we get God's viewpoint and use Christ's view of man as projected in his concept of the kingdom of God.

We cannot grow in service to Christ's cause when we are pulled between conflicting loyalties that have excessive emotional significance to us. The spiritual unity of a home, the spiritual unity of a church, the spiritual unity of a community, and the spiritual unity of the human race are based upon the oneness of the triune God, the oneness of his purpose, and the inclusiveness of his kingdom. It is not the unity of politics, it is not the unity of economics, it is not the unity of legal bonds and contracts, but it IS the unity of the cross that reaches up to God and out to man with arms of compassion. It is the unity of duty which

serves, not because any deserve it, nor appreciate what we do, but because the love of Christ revealed in the cross constrains us. The spiritual process of developing a wholesome personality means being concerned about others and practicing these precepts, of being a constant servant of society that we may develop the spiritual strength, the sinews of our souls; that we may grow up into "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Ephesians 4:13).

Unity of Eternity

The unity of eternity is a challenge to the unification of humanity. Since heaven is not segregated on racial or national lines, we must learn to love and live in an expanding fellowship of God's kingdom on earth. The mind of Christ in the modern man can provide the answers to these issues that confuse us. He can save us from the sins that cause us to waste our spiritual substance in riotous living and materialistic pursuits. He has a higher use for our spiritual and natural resources than race and class conflict which leads to genocidal war. We must learn these lessons at the feet of the lowly Nazarene who is the Prince of peace, the Savior of mankind, the Builder of the kingdom of God. Convictions of a common faith bound ancient races into a growing Christian fellowship which bridged chasms of color, culture, and country.

As the white and Negro Baptist Conventions of the U.S.A. join hearts and hands in a great evangelistic effort, it is imperative that we understand the meaning of Toynbee's prophetic utterance:

> The Negro came to America spiritually as well as physically naked; and he has met the emergency by covering his nakedness with his enslaver's cast-off clothes. The Negro has adapted himself to his new social environment by rediscovering in Christianity certain original meanings and values which

Western Christendom has long ignored. Opening a simple and impressionable mind to the Gospels, he has discovered that Jesus was a prophet who came into the world not to confirm the mighty in their seats but to exalt the humble and the meek. The Syrian slave immigrants who once brought Christianity into Roman Italy performed the miracle of establishing a new religion which was alive, in the place of an old religion which was already dead. It is possible that the Negro slave immigrants who have found Christianity in America may perform the greater miracle of raising the dead to life. With their childlike spiritual intuition and their genius for giving spontaneous aesthetic expression to emotional religious experience, they may perhaps be capable of kindling the cold gray ashes of Christianity which have been transmitted to them by us until, in their hearts, the divine fire glows again. It is thus perhaps, if at all, that Christianity may conceivably become the living faith of a dying civilization for the second time. If this miracle were indeed to be performed . . . that would be the most dynamic response to the challenge of social penalization that has yet been made by man. (*A Study of History*, p. 128)

The Unity of Christian Love

This way of Christian unity is open to those who will grow until they know the truth that sets them free and sends them forth. In him we come to see that "In Christ there is no East nor West, in him no South nor North; but one great brotherhood of man around the whole wide earth." We will come to see that in this Christ we have the truth for all to know and a way for all to go. In him we find the life—abundant, unfolding, eternal, and victorious.

The compassions of Christ into which we grow would really be the taking up of the cross of Christ as the pattern by which we live that we may be governed by that higher level of human relations. The love of Christ which constrains us to move forward under the principle of vicarious sacrifice has been beneath almost all of the progress of civilization. The love of Christ constrains us, as it has all of the leaders who have made progress in the face of persecution. They have been growing, and they constantly influence

us and beckon us on to emulate their concepts and to share their compassions which they got from Christ.

This is not an abnormal thing—for people to love others instead of themselves. It is the only adult and mature Christian thing to do. When the compassions of Christ get into our personalities, we can go on from small achievement to the fundamentally great source of pleasure which is God's in his universe. That is the divine dividend which comes back to those who see the fruitage of sacrificial love. Achievement which gives this greater satisfaction is that which we gain through love in the face of hate, and faith in the face of cynicism. The way of the cross really does lead us home. Jesus didn't go that way because he loved suffering, but because it was a step toward the reaching of his high vision; a way of showing people that he cared enough for them to die for them, and to help people see the predicament the human race was in as a result of sin.

Any of us who respond to the compassions of Christ get a new direction, a new dimension of our universe, and a new dynamic for living. At the cross we see God at his best and man at his worst, and we see that God won. The cross is God's great signpost, the great symbol which challenges us to come on up higher into a different level of human relations than we have ever known before.

Christian Love In Action

Mere idealism and inspiration or even dedication to scriptural and scientific truth are not enough for this critical era. Action based on disciplined, intelligent cooperation must be taken to remove barriers which delay the development of the unity of humanity. Good will between the races will really work when legal barriers of city, county, and state give way to requirements of our federal constitution and

the dictates of our Christian conscience. This is the glory of our unfolding faith, the goal of our unfulfilled fellowship, that our Southland and all sections of our nation may move forward in the demonstration of a pattern of spiritual unification, integrated education, and productive cooperation that will make America fit to lead the world. Only thus may we be *one nation under God,* where every child has a chance to develop and all have a challenge to dedicate the total of talents in the fulfillment of God's purpose for his creation.

FILE COPY

Is Segregation Christian?

Published by

The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

IS SEGREGATION CHRISTIAN?

BY R. LOFTON HUDSON
Kansas City, Missouri

For over a hundred years now segregation in education has been a problem. In 1849 Sarah Roberts, a Negro in Boston, with the help of the famous abolitionist, Charles Sumner, brought a suit because she was barred from a school near her home. A few years later Sumner and his friends sponsored a Massachusetts law banning segregation.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court declared segregation in schools unconstitutional. It said, "To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Segregation has been removed from the armed forces of our country, and from interstate travel, and from universities in all of our states except Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Many of us have said that "the Negro must be kept in his place." But where is his place? In the theater it is on top, on the ship it is in the bottom, on the train, it is in the front, on the bus it is in the back.

Where does segregation stand out most in our culture? I am ashamed to say it, but the Christian churches are the most pronounced example in our culture of racial segregation closely followed by the Christian or denominational colleges. Then come hotels, hospitals, businesses, swimming pools, recreation centers and even government jobs. These discriminations make the Negro wonder. What kind of a democracy do we believe in?

Some Words from the Bible

First of all some refer to the prophecy of Noah in Gen. 9:25-27. They say the black color of the Negro was the mark God placed on Ham and his descendents who inhabited Africa. If they would simply turn to the passage and read it they would see that nothing whatever is said about a mark on Ham in this or in any other Bible passage that refers to him. They would see, furthermore,

that Noah's curse was pronounced on Caanan who was one of the four sons of Ham. The other three sons were Cush, Mizraim (RSV has Egypt) and Put (Phut in AV). The descendents of the son called Egypt and the one called Put did migrate into Africa, but Caanan on whom Noah's curse was pronounced did not. His descendents remained in Palestine (Gen. 10:15-20 RSV) which was known as the land of Caanan.

Second, our Bible teaches that all men were created from Adam and Eve, and are made in the image of God.

Paul on Mars Hill (Acts 17:26-28) made very clear that all sprang from one foreparent. "From one foreparent he made every nation of mankind for living all over the face of the earth, fixing their appointed times and limits of their lands." (Williams translation). These words were addressed to the Greeks at Athens who felt that their religion and culture were superior to every other people. Paul simply tells them that they and all people originated from one parentage. He tells them that it was God who gave to them and all peoples their places to live in the world. He was simply saying that since God had provided these things for them and for all peoples alike that they should not be puffed up in their pride and call everyone else barbarians. There is nothing in this passage that remotely suggests the idea of segregation. In fact its meaning is directly opposed to racial pride and exclusiveness.

Third, in Galatians, Paul is arguing that we are all brothers in Christ. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (3:28). He says that "ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus," and that former lines of race, citizenship or sex are done away.

Fourth, an example of how this was applied by the early Christians is seen in Acts 10. This is a specific example of segregation, pure and simple. Read it. "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean" (v. 28). In other words God told him to violate the rule of segregation. And he told him that it was wrong to classify some human beings as inferior.

"God is no respecter of persons," Peter learned. It was the message of James in chapter 2, verses 1-9. To "have respect to persons" is an expression which means to be partial toward. James comes right out and says that "if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin." Does this apply to everyone within the white race, but not to Negroes?

Fifth, Jesus himself crossed the segregation line when he talked to the woman of Samaria (John 4). "The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans" (v. 9). She was utterly surprised. She need not have been, for Jesus did not see people as half-breeds, as religious, or as orthodox. He saw them as human beings.

The Witness of Christian Love

What, indeed, is Christian love? It is not friendship or romantic love or even family love. Christian love is patterned after God's love for us. It is universal, unchangeable, unconditional, personal, active love. There are no strings attached to it. When we love, in this Christian sense, we never say "I will love you if. . . . if you are white, are cultured, are educated, are clean, are free from crudities." When an "if" is introduced, it ceases to be Christian. We love people as people, as God gives them to us.

Sincerity in Community Action

Non-segregated schools can be worked out by community cooperation. Such places as Burke County, Georgia, with 74.9 per cent of their population Negroes or Lowndes County, Alabama, with 84.7 per cent Negroes will probably face some critical problems. Their situation will take time.

But our concern is this: Where will Christians stand on this issue? Where will Baptist Christians stand? Will we sound like the Pharisees or like Jesus? Like Peter or like other Jewish Christians who believed that Gentiles were inferior? Like the priest and Levite in the Good Samaritan story, or like the Samaritan?

These are serious times for the Christian witness. Like Rip Van Winkle we may sleep through a revolution if we are not prayerful and courageous.

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The Racial Problem Is My Problem

Published by

The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

The Racial Problem Is My Problem

By A. C. Miller

The racial situation in our country today reminds one of the Oriental puzzle made in the form of an egg. If I am good enough at working puzzles, I might open this egg only to find another one inside. If I am clever enough to open the second egg, I will find still another one; then another and another until I finally reach the last one which I cannot open. There it lies in my hand—an end to the puzzle, but not a solution to it.

As I thoughtfully ponder a solution for this problem egg, there appear to be several courses of action I might take in my attempt to open it. For instance, I might say, "This egg simply cannot be opened; in fact, this problem was never meant to be solved." Then I toss the troublesome egg away to a safe distance so I will not be bothered by it any more.

But I come to see that this course of action has in it neither wisdom nor courage. I have simply disposed of my problem instead of seeking a solution for it. I have evaded my responsibility by the simple process of denying the possibility of a solution. I must find a better way. I find it within me. It is the Christian way.

The Christian way in race relationships must take into account two fundamental considerations.

1. Race Appreciation

The pages of both sacred and profane history show that God has endowed each of the races with

distinctive and unique gifts for the enrichment of mankind. These gifts are not to be used as instruments of force by a dominant race to keep other peoples of the world in the low grounds of poverty, ignorance, and social slavery. They are to be used as blessings bestowed by God to be shared with any and all other peoples for their uplift and development in the spirit of him who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

What the responsible leaders among the people of other groups chiefly desire is not an opportunity for the questionable prestige of social intermingling. What each race does desire and has a right to expect is the recognition of its dignity within the family of mankind with opportunities for the development of its people in education, vocation, and religion.

2. Self-Examination

Reduced to its final analysis, the racial problem is within me.

(1) As a Christian, I must examine myself in the light of God's Word. We who are Baptists profess to accept the Bible as our sole guide in matters of faith and practice. Yet many of us will rationalize its teachings to conform to our traditional attitudes toward people of other races. The Bible reveals to us the very heart of God in his love for all men everywhere. It imposes on every Christian the obligation to work for the spiritual, the social, and civic betterment of the people of all races and of every degree of culture. (Rom. 1:14.)

(2) I must submit my racial prejudice to a severe examination. The word "prejudice" means to pre-judge; that is, it means to pass judgment before the evidence is in. The judge over any man at court does not give a decision on the man's case until he has heard the evidence both for and against the man.

As a Christian, I should be honest enough to ask myself the question, "Do the things I assume to know and the things I hear about the people of another race have a basis in fact which my reason can justify and my intelligence approve." If I am willing to face this question sincerely and honestly, I can then proceed with an open mind toward a racial understanding that will dispel many of my fears about this whole matter of interracial relationships.

(3) I must examine the political, economic, and civic patterns of behavior I follow in my relations with other races.

There are politicians who deliberately play upon racial prejudice for their own profit and power.

In the industrial world there are those who take advantage of race distinctions in the payment of wages and in other business dealings for their own profit.

Christ never made a chattel of any people or sought to use them to his own advantage. He always thought of people as persons made in the image of God. Do we, in our attitudes and acts in race relations, follow these and similar patterns of conduct or do we, in the spirit of Christ, follow him?

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RACE RELATIONS

A Charter of Principles

Published by

The Christian Life Commission

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 EIGHTH AVENUE, N. NASHVILLE 3, TENN.

A Charter of Faith

The time is upon us when we must consult our faith and bring ourselves to lay fresh hold upon those principles that are embedded in our Baptist faith and polity, and make them the basis of Christian action. And your committee would suggest to all our people and churches a charter of what we believe to be Christian and Baptist principles and their necessary consequences in racial attitudes:

1. We believe in the Lordship of Christ: in order to act in his name in social relations we must love our neighbors, including our Negro neighbors, as ourselves.
2. We believe in the Holy Spirit: since the day of Pentecost he has been breaking down middle walls of partition between races and alien groups and teaching men of open heart to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace.
3. We believe in the Bible as the word of God: in it is our authoritative summons to practice justice towards all people of all races.
4. We believe in the dignity and worth of the individual man: irrespective of his race or position he has the right to develop in the measure of his divinely given capacity and to share in just measure the blessings of our Father's world.
5. We believe in the fellowship of believers: a relationship which forbids us to allow worldly patterns of prejudice to drive a wedge between us and our Christian brothers of other races.
6. We believe in the principle of democracy in government: in application it entails the recognition and defense of the natural and constitutional rights of all citizens irrespective of their origin or racial inheritance.

Principles of Action

These doctrines which must commend themselves to every conscience impel us to the observance of the following principles of conduct:

1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.
2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.
3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is unchristian and that good-will and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.
4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.
5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.
6. We shall be just in our dealing with the Negro as an individual. Whenever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.
7. We shall strive to promote community goodwill between the races in every way possible.
8. We shall actively cooperate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs.

This statement of principles in race relations was approved by action of the Southern Baptist Convention in May, 1947 and reaffirmed in May, 1948.

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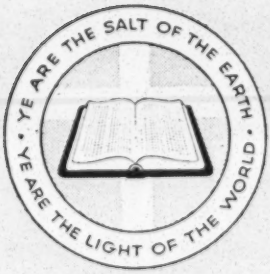
"INTEGRATION"

T. B. MASTON



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"INTEGRATION"*

T. B. MASTON
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The word "integration" as used by many people is unfortunate. The elimination of legal segregation in the public schools and elsewhere would not necessarily mean integration in the sense that many are using the word. They are thinking of it as complete integration and some even of amalgamation. They should remember, however, that even in a non-segregated society, such as we have in certain sections of the United States and in other countries, there continues to be considerable separation of races. However, for those of the minority group there is a vast difference between segregation and separation. The former is maintained by force—legal or social; the latter is voluntary. The former carries the stigma of inferiority; the latter may be maintained, to a degree, by the minority group without any loss of a sense of equality.

This whole question became acute for many of us when on May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States decreed that segregation in public schools was contrary to our constitution. After reviewing the cases carried to the Court from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, the Court, in its written opinion, asked the following question: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of

*This paper was prepared in response to a request by the Advisory Council of Southern Baptists for Work with Negroes, and was presented to the group in its regular annual meeting in Nashville, March 6, 1956.

the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" The answer was, "We believe that it does." After specifying some of the ways segregation deprived the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, the Court concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." If further declared that those who were segregated were "deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

The Supreme Court recognized the seriousness of the decision and wisely did not make provision for its immediate implementation. It was a year later, May 31, 1955, that the Court ruled that a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" would have to be made. Time was allowed for such compliance but the Court insisted that such time be "consistent with good faith." Some communities in the South and elsewhere have already complied fully, others are attempting to work out a plan to comply, while there are still other communities including some states that are seeking ways to evade, circumvent, or nullify the decision of the Court. If they cannot do this they are planning to delay compliance as long as possible. This struggle over the Supreme Court decision is not only a social and political struggle but a moral and spiritual one of major proportions. We are all involved in some way and to some degree in the turmoil that has arisen over what is being called "integration."

Historic Background

What is the background for this major social revolution? It did not happen in a day. Every change so basic has its roots deep in the past. It cannot be understood fully unless it is understood historically.

The Supreme Court decision merely represented the culmination of trends, political, social, and religious, that had been going on for a long time. It represented another but

not the final step of the Negro down the long, long, and sometimes lonesome road to first class citizenship. It is another stage but not the final one in the complete elimination of legal segregation based on race.

To trace adequately the background of the Supreme Court decision and the social revolution it represented would take us back to slavery days. At the time when the slaves were freed, as the Court itself suggested, "the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold." Education even of white children was largely in private schools. This means that any light concerning the racial pattern of the times must come from sources other than the public schools.

We do know that previous to the freeing of the slaves many of them were members of the churches with the white people, and in many of the Baptist and Methodist churches the slaves sat indiscriminately among the white people until the Nat Turner rebellion.[1] Incidentally, one Baptist church in Charleston, South Carolina, had 400 Negro members by 1804, while the First Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1865 had 600 Negro members to 300 white.[2] When the Southern Baptist Convention was organized in 1845 one report suggests that there were more Negro members than white in proportion to the population.[3] The same source says that in 1853 in Virginia there were 45,000 Negro and 50,000 white members in the Baptist churches of the state.

There took place, however, in the churches and elsewhere a rather rapid separation following the freeing of the slaves and during the reconstruction days. There had been some

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[1]Bertram Wilbur Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 37.

[2]Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (reprinted; New York: Peter Smith, 1950), I, 244.

[3]Doyle, *op. cit.*, p. 37

separate churches from early days, but a general separation began during the war between the states, with separate churches and meeting houses springing up everywhere by 1863.[4] This was a trend that was approved by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1867 since it promised, so it was claimed, to increase the efficiency of the Negro churches.[5]

Following Amendment XIII of the Constitution, which freed the slaves, came Amendments XIV and XV, which in the main sought to implement Amendment XIII and to assure the former slaves full citzenship rights. It is Article or Amendment XIV which has figured particularly prominently in recent arguments, legal and otherwise, concerning segregation. Section 1, which is the pertinent portion of the article, reads as follows:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citzens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Recently some complaint has been heard that this amendment and the others of the Civil War period were passed without the consent or approval of the people of the South. But really is that the major question or problem? The main questions are: Were and are these amendments in harmony with the spirit and purpose of our democratic way of life? Do they conform to the principles enunciated in the Preamble to the Constitution and to the spirit of the Constitution itself? The Preamble or introductory paragraph of the Constitution reads as follows:

> We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare,

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[4]*Ibid.*, p. 45

[5]Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual* 1867, p. 49.

and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Incidentally, there was no immediate attempt in the South to comply with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. The Negro's citizenship rights were limited in many ways. By the use of the grandfather clause, by educational tests and by other strategies, he was deprived of rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution. It is possible that some limitations of full citizenship rights may be justified for a period of time if the bases for the limitations are applied consistently and if there is an honest effort to remove the occasions for the limitations. Neither of these things was done, on any large or general scale, in regard to the Negro.

The story is told of a Negro, graduate of Harvard, to whom the educational test for voting was applied in one of our Southern states. He was handed a copy of the Constitution which he read and interpreted readily. He even read some Latin and Greek for the election official. Finally in desperation the official handed him a Chinese laundry slip and said, "Drat you, what does this mean?" The Negro replied, "It means that you are not going to let me vote."

In the area of education, transportation, and elsewhere there developed the theory of separate but equal, which really meant in practice separate but unequal. The "separate but equal" doctrine did not make its appearance in the Supreme Court until 1896, in a case that involved transportation rather than education. "American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century." Six cases, involving the separate but equal doctrine as applied to education, were passed on by the Supreme Court previous to May of 1954. A passing acquaintance with those cases would reveal a gradual breaking down of the separate but equal theory. The action of the Court in May, 1954, was the

natural, the almost inevitable climax of preceding decisions. The validity of the separate but equal doctrine, which was a part of the whole caste structure, started to crumble when the courts in the 1930's and particularly the Supreme Court began to give preferential treatment to civil rights rather than to property rights.[6]

The entire controversy in recent years regarding civil rights has provided some of the background for the Supreme Court decision and the elimination of legal segregation. The Civil Rights Committee, appointed by President Truman, recommended in its report of 1947 "the elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life." It further added that the separate but equal doctrine had failed.

Contributing Factors

In addition to the background factors mentioned previously, what are some additional forces and factors that have contributed to the move toward the elimination of legal segregation?

1. *The sciences, natural and social,* have helped to undermine the old concepts concerning race and the consequent pattern of race relations. For example, Ruth Benedict, an anthropologist, and Gene Weltfish[7] say: "The Bible story of Adam and Eve, father and mother of the whole human race, told centuries ago the same truth that science has shown today: that all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin." The psychologists have told us, and produced evidence as proof, that races are not innately superior or inferior. They have also helped us to understand the sources and nature of racial prejudice. Sociologists have

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[6]Morroe Berger, *Equality by Statute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 72.

[7]*The Races of Mankind.* Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 85, p. 5.

greatly increased our knowledge of the Negro and other races and have given us a clearer insight into racial conflicts and problems. The contributions of Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist who was brought to the United States to direct an objective study of the Negro, and his associates such as Klineberg, Johnson and others cannot be measured in tangible ways but they have certainly influenced the thinking of the American people concerning the Negro problem which Myrdal aptly called *An American Dilemma.*

2. Another factor of considerable importance in the changing racial pattern has been *the marked improvement in the cultural and educational level of the American Negro.* As their educational status has improved they have become more and more vocal about their grievances and more militant in their demands that they become first class citizens. Along with this educational and cultural advance, and to a considerable degree a result of it, there has developed a deepening consciousness of race and a greater pride in their race. They can point with pride to a Jackie Robinson in sports, a Marian Anderson in music, a Countee Cullen in literature, a Charles S. Johnson in education, a Ralph Bunche in government service, and many, many others in various fields of human endeavor.

3. *The fact that the United States has become a world power,* a member of United Nations, and has a sense of world responsibility, has contributed in various ways to the new racial situation. The struggle between the United States and the West on one side and the Soviet Union and communism on the other is for the minds and souls of men. Many of those men, possibly as many as four out of five in the world, have colored skins. What we do about the men of color in our midst may determine to a considerable degree what we shall be able to do for and with the colored peoples of the world. And these colored peoples may determine the destiny of our civilization and of our world.

4. *Communism* has helped to make us color conscious. The limitations of the citizenship rights of our largest minority group has been a weak spot in our democratic profession. Communism has taken advantage of this weakness. This in turn has made us more conscious of the weakness and has strengthened our conviction that something must be done about it.

5. Another factor of major significance is the fact that the world is in the midst of a major crisis and that the *march of the masses* is a characteristic of and a factor in that crisis. The colored peoples of the world, in the main, including the colored of the United States, are moving with those marching masses. They are searching for food, for freedom, for respect or dignity, and for a sense of purpose. As Frank Laubach and others have suggested, this movement of the masses is inevitable and irresistible.[8]

6. We must also admit that *the labor unions* have contributed considerably to the changing of the racial pattern in the South. Sometimes they have put our churches to shame in their treatment of those of other races.

7. However, *the message of the churches* has been a major factor in the changing racial pattern. Their message has created a continuing tension within the church, between the church and the world, and even within the heart and life of serious-minded Christian people. Such tension between the Christian ideal on the one hand and the very imperfect embodiment of that ideal in the world and even within the Christian fellowship is necessary if real progress is to be made toward the realization of the ideal.

Possibly a concluding word should be said about the increasing importance of public school education and the ef-

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[8]Frank C. Laubach, *Wake Up or Blow Up* (Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1951).

fect of this increased importance on the decision of the Supreme Court. The Court itself recognized this as a factor in its decision. In contrast to earlier days when there was little public school education the Court agreed that "today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship. . . . In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."

Current Reactions

Many of the reactions to the Court decision and other developments since then have been violent and radical. It has been difficult in much of the South, even within religious circles, to maintain a balanced position and an atmosphere favorable to a cool, objective approach. We are not going to consider the extreme reactions for or against the order to desegregate. We want to concentrate on what *should* be our reactions and the reactions of Christians in general.

1. *We should accept the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land.* We may have regretted the decision. We may have wished that the change could have been brought about in a more gradual way, without legal action or pressure. However, the Court has spoken and the Court represents constituted authority. As Christians we believe that the powers that be are ordained of God and that we are to be law-abiding citizens. We should not be a party to any movement or group that would break down respect for constituted authority or for those who exercise that authority. Furthermore, we should acknowledge that the Supreme Court could not have decided otherwise if it was going to conform to the Constitution. Also, we should admit that the decision is in harmony with our democratic concepts and with the principles of the Christian religion.

2. As law-abiding citizens, *Christians should also attempt to create an atmosphere that would make it possible for school boards and school administrators to comply with the instructions of the Supreme Court.* We should also be defenders of our public schools, refusing to be a party to their destruction or liquidation.

3. On the other hand, *we should recognize the serious difficulties faced by many communities* and by the leaders of those communities. The greater the proportion of the population that is Negro, the more difficult it will be, ordinarily, for the schools to comply with the Supreme Court decision. To push so-called integration too rapidly in some communities of the South might conceivably create problems just as serious as those it purports to solve. It should also be remembered that real integration involves more than the mere presence of children of the two races in the same school. It might be cruel to a child to admit him to a school unless he was really accepted by the children and the teachers in that school.

4. The preceding means that *we must be patient with one another* and particularly with those who differ from us. This patience is need on the part of those who are defenders of the segregation pattern and also by those who advocate the elimination of all legal segregation. Some of us who are somewhat at the outskirts or are on the circumference of the problem need to understand that the situation is quite different in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and other sections where they have a so-called black belt. It is no mere accident that the Southern Baptist colleges and universities that have up to this time admitted Negro students are in Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kentucky. It possibly should be added that we should never permit our differences in regard to this issue to become a test of fellowship among us. There is a real danger that this will happen. If we are to avoid this, there must be understand-

ing by those on both sides of the controversy and a genuine Christian spirit on the part of all.

5. While recognizing the difficulty of achieving so-called integration and while agreeing that we must be patient with one another and with what some of us consider very slow progress in certain sections, *yet there should not be any hesitation about agreeing that the contemporary race problem is basically a Christian problem.* We cannot evade our responsibility by saying that it is political and should not be considered from the Christian viewpoint. It belongs within the scope of the Christian program, and there should be general agreement that it will not be worked out right without the application of the Christian spirit and the Christian ethic to it. This means, of course, that that application must be made by all concerned including those of both races. There should be a consistent attempt to keep the channels of communication open between the Christian forces of the white and the Negro races. There is little hope for a constructive solution for the problem without such intercommunication.

6. *There should also be a faithful teaching and proclaiming of basic Christian principles that apply to the problem.* We would insist that all Christians, whatever their position on segregation, should accept the fundamental principles that man is created in the image of God, that Christ died for all men, that all men are of infinite value in the sight of God, and should always be treated as an end and never as a means by his fellow man. There should also be general agreement that God is no respecter of persons, that he is the Father of all those who believe, and that we are brothers and sisters in Christ. The ethic of unselish love, with the Golden Rule a practical expression of such love, should be applied to the area of race as well as every other area of life. We cannot escape the plain teachings of the Bible that

every basic principle revealed in it knows no limitation. Also it is plainly taught that these teachings are given for our guidance, they are to be practiced. They provide the basis for the judgment or evaluation of our conduct.

Such a frank recognition of the application of fundamental Christian principles to the area of race relations will maintain a constant and wholesome tension toward the Christian ideal. It may be that some conscientious Christians will defend segregation for the time being. This itself will not do any particular damage so long as they will recognize that the segregation pattern is out of harmony with the spirit and the teachings of the Bible, particularly as revealed in the life and ministry of Jesus. We must insist that an imperfect and an incomplete application of those ideals must never be defended as the final expression of the Christian spirit in human relations.

7. Finally, *our churches and our church related institutions and agencies should face up to the full implications of the Supreme Court decision.* We need to adjust our racial ethic to conform to the Christian message as well as to conform to the Supreme Court decision. We have certainly done this to some degree by the excellent statement made at St. Louis in 1947 and in our approval of the Supreme Court decision by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1954. However, a pronouncement is one thing and its practical application in the local church, community, and in the Baptist fellowship in general is quite another thing. It is acknowledged that in this area we may need to go slowly and carefully, but we do need to recognize that our practice is far below the Christian ideal. There should be a continuing tension within our churches growing out of our failure to accept the full demands of original Christianity with its ethic of the cross. There likewise should be a constant movement toward that Christian ideal in our lives and in the world. The church should truly be the church.

Also, the prophet should be the prophet of God, speaking God's message to the people. He should never be found in the camp of those who seek to make themselves popular with the people by appealing to their prejudices. He should challenge them to respond to the high call of God.

THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS • CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH • P.O. BOX 694 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

FILE COPY

Why Is An Integrated School Better Than A Segregated School ?

Southern Catholic Parents

speak up for

Integrated Schools

Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Human Rights
P. O. Box 694, New Orleans, La.

By eliminating the barriers between the races in the schools our children will at once sense the freedom and brotherhood so necessary to a true education. School segregation sponsors differences among citizens of our country and actively encourages dissention.

Mrs. James E. Rehkopf

I believe in integrated schools because here our precious little ones can best be taught by living example, every day, how to know, love, and serve our Lord, regardless of racial antecedents. - Mr. Peter W. Clark

We cannot be satisfied merely with proclaiming American ideals and Catholic values. We cannot justify equality, which is the basis of the American ideal of justice, in imposed segregation of minority groups on a public or parochial level. - Mrs. Corinne V. Smith

In our schools, particularly in the elementary grades, we try to teach our children the basis of a way of life that they will practice for a lifetime. How much better this could be done in an integrated school.

Mrs. Gerald J. Thompson

An integrated school is better than a segregated school because it molds the character of a child more Christlike; broadening and deepening his insights and charity without his even knowing it. One wants his child broad, unselfish, kind. This will never come with the segregated atmosphere which looks down on the Negro as someone not like himself, but as one inferior - to whom privileges should be denied.

Mrs. H. B. Hendricks

1

To send our children to Church where they are told to love their fellowmen; to send them to school where they are taught that the United States Constitution says that ''all men are created equal,'' and then to slam the doors of Christianity and democracy in their faces - that is the harm being inflicted on our children by the sanctioning of school segregation.

No well-meaning and loving parent would refuse his child the privilege of developing his mind and soul to their fullest extent; of knowing the glory of growing to manhood with mind uncluttered by prejudice and hatred. Nor would he teach his child that charity is limited to a select few, judged by race, color, or creed, thus marring his chance of knowing true happiness in this world. And yet, by allowing segregation to continue in our schools, he is doing all these things and more.

Segregation in our schools dwarfs the mind and the spirit and breeds devils born of ignorance. Our attempts at education are in vain so long as we keep contradicting our efforts to allow our children to open their minds to the brotherhood of men.

Mrs. Francis X. Waguespack,
St. Agnes Parish

2

We send our children to school so that they may learn to live as intelligent members of the human community. We expect them to learn to understand the physical world in which they must operate, the social community in which they must cooperate, the natural law by which they must regulate their behavior.

In other words, we ask that they come to know the truth about God, man and nature. To this end we struggle against the forces of ignorance in every form and we pursue truth with all our strength. The weighing of evidence so that we may act intelligently, the elevation of reason over passion and impulse, the rational control of our whole human nature - these are the widely acknowledged aims of education.

In this context, a segregated school is a living lie. For segregation is based upon prejudice - a pre-judging without reference to any real set of values. Aside from all questions of morality or of social justice, prejudice is simply unintelligent. It certainly has no place in the schools.

Dr. Gerald J. Eberle
St. Catherine of Siena Parish

3

To teach our children love and respect for one another, we must instill in them the truth that each is a child of God and is entitled to all that this implies. Integrated schools are the first examples of this and thev exemplify the true spirit of brotherly love. The importance of this education of a child cannot be overstressed if he is to grow into a mature, broad-minded, God-loving individual.

Segregation is undesirable in our schools because it teaches racial intolerance and is a barrier to understanding the equality and freedom for which America is known. Imagine the thoughts of a school child under these circumstances, hearing the Constitution for the first time. Can he be instructed in the true meaning of democracy when its very existence is denied before him?

To teach one thing and practice another is very confusing and unwise. Integrated schools will be an example of democracy in action and also will follow more closely the Gospel of love and Christian charity. Our children deserve a life free of hatred and prejudice and if we are to infuse in them the devotion to a democratic way of life, then integrated schools are a must.

Mrs. C. D. Olivier
St. Cecelia Parish

4

Why is an integrated school better than a segregated one? That's the kind of school Jesus kept when He was on earth. The Lord gave His Apostles some very important teacher-training advice. He said: Go forth and teach all nations. He didn't say separately. St. Paul, one of the greatest teachers to follow Him, integrated the Gentiles into what seemed to be an exclusive Jewish Church.

In His own educational system He made no differences. He said: ''Suffer the little children to come unto Me.'' He did not speak of the ''little Jewish children'' - that would have been the same as the ''little white children'' in our time. His heart was too big with love to shut anyone out. Remember, He was criticized for mingling with those ''low, murderous, and diseased Samaritans.'' Sounds familiar?

His doctrine of love is all inclusive. How can one love his neighbor and want to be separated from him on some flimsy charges that are more imaginative than real? Can one be so hateful as to hurt little children - those whom Christ loved most. Remember what He said about those who hurt His little ones?

Mr. Oscar A. Bouise
Corpus Christi Parish

5

A school is only as good as the principles it instills in the pupils, and the characters it moulds. Tacitly ignoring the fact that the races are separated in schools is a direct contradiction of all the flowery ideals they are taught daily. The argument has been advanced that Negro schools are equally as good, but the mind of a child must murmur occasionally, ''why different schools?'' We, as Catholic parents can do a great deal of harm to these malleable minds by upholding this house-divided policy.

A desegregated school will run just as smoothly, if the parents will look to God for counsel instead of falling back on ancient prejudices. Our children need a broad scope of acquaintance and knowledge comes with association. They will learn, probably to their surprise, that Negro children are no different from themselves.

The much touted Brotherhood of Man can come about only by taking away the color barrier. The place to start is in the schools. Integration in the schools will give our next generation a clear, open mind, barring no one for reasons of race, or other superficial attributes. Children have no prejudices - they copy their elders; it is to our great shame if we leave our children a heritage of hatred.

Mrs. Milton O. Fee
St. Joseph Parish

6

''To Know is To Love'' may be an over-simplified saying, but there is a great deal of truth in it. When children of both races are thrown together in school from primer days, they accept one another; and they do learn to love one another. This fact is demonstrated not only in integrated schools elsewhere, but in interracial sports activities in the South.

Those who oppose integration have accused the Negro variously of low grade mentality, criminal tendencies, low moral standards, and a high rate of social diseases. Even if this were entirely true, every one of these failings is a natural follow-up of the inadequate facilities these people have been offered in recreation, education, employment, housing, and even in religion.

With the integration of schools, including the parochial, all of these aids to better living will be within the Negro's grasp. It may take another generation for him to thoroughly take hold and show the results of his new opportunities; but when he does, the level of the entire community will be automatically lifted. Let's not breed prejudice in our children by teaching them, as we have been taught, to regard the Negro as a step higher than an animal.

Mrs. Marion O. Higgins
St. Agnes Parish

7

Segregation in any phase of life is basically wrong because it presupposes the inferiority of one group and the superiority of another. This is not only untrue, but un-Christian and un-American as well. Heaven will no doubt be integrated, and Christ, were He in our midst, would certainly not condone segregation. Even our Constitution acknowledges the equality of man; Lincoln by his abolition of slavery was merely taking the first big step in the right direction.

Therefore, if segregation is neither morally right nor in accord with our democratic principles, what right do we have to instill it in our children? No child on earth will automatically reject a person, whether adult or child, just because that person has a different color skin; he must be taught, first, that there is a difference, and secondly, that said difference makes him superior. How, in conscience, can we teach such a lie to our children?

Integration in all the phases of life is a goal worth striving for. And the best way to attain it is to show our children that we believe God created us all, and that we must judge people, not by their color, but by their strength of character and moral goodness.

Mrs. William H. Syll
Little Flower of Jesus Parish

8

I believe an integrated school is better than a segregated one because it teaches our children that we are all descendents of Adam and Eve who were created by God and who were the first parents of all mankind - regardless of race or color.

Integrated schools teach, by association, that all are children of God, no matter what our race or color is, and that we all have a body and a soul; have feelings - hurt, cry, suffer hunger and thirst; get tired and sleepy. We all love and want to be loved. That we must and can love our neighbors for God's sake. That it is a sin against our Blessed Lord to believe any people cursed, carriers of diseases, or criminals, only because they are of a certain race or color.

Children will learn that our Heavenly Father does not consider us according to our color or race, but according to the measure of love and humility we show toward each other. An integrated school is positive proof that we can all work, pray, eat, live and play together if we surrender our false pride and love others as we want to be loved.

Mr. Jesse T. Poole, Jr.
Sr. Catherine of Siena Parish

9

It is a certainty that an integrated school is better than a segregated school. Morally and constitutionally we know the answer. There may be other reasons but we can look at it from the angle of brotherhood. The brotherhood of man should be practiced universally in the three areas in which a human being lives, namely: in the home, the school and the community.

The school is a part of this three-way link. Here, in the primary grades, the child's horizons begin to widen and he should meet for the first time the different races of mankind, and not only his own race. He lives in the American melting pot of nationalities and for this reason his first associates in school should be an integrated population of pupils.

The child is taught that he lives in a democracy. The living example of democracy can be seen within the walls of an integrated school. Side by side, the children prepare to transfer this democratic training into the community in which they live. It will be a much better community because all have participated in the learning processes together.

Mrs. Naomi NcCullum Branch
St. Katherine Parish

Integrated schools will make it possible for our children to learn the truth. In a segregated school our children learn a lie. Segregation clearly presupposes that Negroes are inferior, that rules of charity do not apply to the Negro, that the Negro is less than human.

Mrs. Joseph A. Yazbeck

Integrated schools will tear away deep-rooted animosities. We will learn tolerance of each other - patience, kindness, helpfulness and humility. By practicing democratic and Christ-like ideals in our schools, our children will have brotherly love instilled in their hearts.

Mrs. J. A. Harvey

An integrated school is the only kind of school which is fair and just to all children. Prejudices, lasting impressions, and feelings of superiority or inferiority are formed in childhood. The damage done by segregated schools is hard to repair in a lifetime.

Mrs. Alvin Vicknair

Why is an integrated school better than a segregated school? Because to deny a fellow human being solely on grounds of race is to deny the presence of Almighty God in all men; it is a denial of the unity of the Catholic Church.

Mr. Ernest G. Chachere

I believe that our schools should be integrated because segregation is not in compliance with the teaching of our Church. Archbishop Rummel, the spokesman for our Church, in this Archdiocese has expressed - not his own personal beliefs - but the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. I cannot, in good conscience, question the decisions of our Archbishop.

Mrs. J. C. Campbell

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN CATHOLIC TEACHERS *favor* INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Human Rights
P. O. Box 694, New Orleans, La.

In Praise of Catholic Teachers

The Catholic schools of New Orleans, both parochial and private, have a high reputation for scholastic achievement and for the moral standards of their children. This enviable record has been made mainly through the generous, intelligent and kindly service of hundreds of dedicated Catholic teachers, both religious and lay.

The Catholic elementary schools are in transition now from a racially segregated to an integrated system. Besides its dedicated teachers, who are Catholic first, and Negro and white afterwards, the Catholic school has certain decided advantages for desegregation. All the imaginary difficulties raised against integrated schools - the questions of moral, intellectual and health standards - have already been settled in the Catholic schools. Our schools can be and are, selective. The child who fails to meet the set norms of behavior, intelligence and health is not admitted, or is flunked out.

From more than a hundred interviews with Catholic elementary school teachers, the Commission on Human Rights selects these representative samples for publication. These teachers are speaking for the faculties of all Catholic elementary schools in our archdiocese. They represent the wonderfully Christ-like attitudes of the trained personnel to whom we commit, gratefully and proudly, the early education of our children. May the Divine Teacher continue always to give His supporting grace to them.

Problems Are Nothing New

It is sometimes said that school integration presents new and difficult problems. Problems are nothing new to a parochial school teacher. We had them yesterday, we have them today, and we will have them as long as our schools are made up of groups of children learning how to study, pray, work and play together.

We have coped with jealousies, bad tempers, imaginary hates, differences and clashes of personalities. We have coped with parents, too, some of whom are highly biased in favor of their children, and are often disappointed that we too cannot show the same favoritism. Through it all, our parochial schools have flourished, and parents continue to plead for admission of their children even when our classes are overcrowded.

We have not failed either the children or their parents. We do not believe that the problems of an integrated Catholic school are any different in kind, degree or number, from those with which we are daily and successfully coping. Race makes no essential difference in the school child. Whether the child is white or colored, he still has an individual personality, and he still has doting parents. If in a segregated school we can handle the problems rising from youthful personalities and adult parents, we can handle them also in an integrated school.

Sister Jane Frances, M.S.C.

Saint Rita School

Segregation Hurts Both Races

The Christian way of life should stem from a sound Christian system of education. Praying, working and living together in the unity of love and justice is the Christian way of life. This we have not learned, and this we are not teaching, in segregated schools. There is little justice, and less joy, in a school system which exemplifies racial differences.

Segregation hurts both those who impose it and those who bear it. To the true follower of Christ the burden in conscience of the segregators is greater than the burden in body of the segregated. But why should we enforce this detrimental pattern on the little children of both races in the Catholic schools? Both the white child and the Negro child suffer from it, because neither is learning the true Christian way of life.

It seems strange to me, a Negro teacher, that there should be any question as to which is better, a segregated or an integrated school. The Catholic school curriculum is designed to bring the child and the truth happily together. Precept through example must be the way of the teacher, the school and the curriculum. The teacher's role is dedicated to the guidance of all children to the fundamental truths in the spirit of Christ-like joy. This cannot be fully realized by the teacher in a segregated school.

Miss Loretta M. Butler

Saint Philip School

Segregation is Unreasonable

As a religious teacher in an elementary school, I consider integrated education preferable to, and more reasonable than, segregated education. Teachers are expected to be reasonable and intelligent people. The notion of putting pupils in separate schools, merely on a basis of their race seems to be both unreasonable and unintelligent.

I try to teach the story of the Creation, that all human beings are descended from the same first parents. I try to teach the great commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." I try to teach the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Around these three fundamental Christian doctrines there would rise a great big question mark if I also tried to teach the justification of racial segregation.

Brotherhood under God, universal love of neighbor, membership in the same family of Adam and Eve - these fundamentals make little sense to a child until they are reduced to concrete reality. The small child of God can be expected to take only so much on faith; after that, he too finds it unreasonable that a racially segregated school system can possibly exist side by side with the basic principles of Christian unity.

Sister M. Consuela, O. Carm.

Saint James Major School

The Child is Confused

Segregation has no place in Catholic schools, because it adds to the confusion in the children's minds. The child of today is already confronted with many contradictions between teaching and practice. His teacher tells him he must not miss Mass; and perhaps his father goes fishing every Sunday. His teacher tells him he must love everybody; but perhaps he hears his mother saying nasty things about the neighbors.

In the segregated school the white child is confused when his teacher explains that all people are equal before God and in the American society. He must question whether this is true because he sees Negro children going to separate and inferior schools. His own school won't allow them to attend. With this confusion and contridiction, should we be surprised that the child begins to feel that everything he is taught is really a myth.

As Catholics we say that we believe all that Christ taught, and that we are not free to believe only what is convenient, comfortable or preferable. We owe it to our school children to practice our Christian teaching, to love and to treat equally every child of God. In an integrated school we can help to remove confusion and contradiction from the minds of children. We must convince them that prejudice is unholy and that there is no double standard in race relations.

Miss Dorothy V. Duett

Saint Cecilia School

An Excellent Laboratory

You cannot understand people unless you know them. Because so many whites have had no personal contact with Negroes of their own age and interests, their ideas concerning Negroes have been largely influenced by the prevailing prejudices of the society in which they have been reared. This is true also of the Negro's misunderstanding concerning the white people. Segregated schools have prevented understanding across racial lines.

The integrated school provides an excellent laboratory to discover both the shallowness of racial prejudice and the truth of human equality. Once given the chance, our Catholic youth are quick to recognize the reality of the universal brotherhood in Christ. The true meaning of "liberty and justice for all," and of "love thy neighbor as thyself" can be animated by concrete, living example.

We have tried segregated schools and have driven God's children further apart. The laboratory of racially segregated schools has given definitely negative results. The new experience of racially integrated schools must necessarily have positive results. Pupils are proud to be part of a really Catholic system which is a worthy reflection of the principles of Christianity and democracy.

Sister M. Consolata, O. Carm.

Mt. Carmel Elementary School

Advantage for Teachers

For a long time now there has existed a kind of complacent mediocrity toward the practice of Christian and democratic principles. Educators, by their bland acceptance of racially separated schools, have been a prime example of this. We teachers have been complacent and mediocre, and this means that we have been satisfied with something less than the best.

We can no longer deny the fact that segregation in education is inherently unequal - our Supreme Court has advised us on that point. We can no longer deny that segregation based on race is immoral - our Archbishop has made that point very clear. From now on, a teacher who continues to believe in segregation continues also to be satisfied with mediocre education, mediocre democracy, mediocre Christianity.

Therefore, I think that an integrated school system is a tremendous advantage for teachers. It lifts them out of a situation in which they are tempted to be complacent and in which they have been forced to be mediocre. In an integrated school we teachers cease to contradict the Christian virtues and to compromise the democratic principles which we are trying to teach to young minds. We do not have to answer - or to evade - the searching questions about the contradiction and the compromise of principles.

Miss Betty Jean Brocato

Holy Name of Jesus School

We Want to Please Our Lord

Our Blessed Lord told His Apostles to go out and teach all nations. Down through the centuries the successors of the Apostles have carried out this divine mandate. Today in the South teachers in Catholic schools are continuing this tradition under the direction of the Bishops. Catholic teachers have the privilege of reaching all nations, and all of the people of each nation.

An elementary school which places barriers of race against some children is unlikely to have the greatest success in teaching. Unnecessary restrictions and limitations tend to lessen the spirit of universal charity; they narrow down the teachers' opportunities to a small group of children; they cast shadows before the children's vision of an all-embracing Christianity. The teacher is constrained to make excuses, the child is hurt and bewildered, and the general progress of education gets slowed down by segregation.

Integrated schools are open to all children regardless of race. It stresses the universal embrace of Christ's teaching and of the Church's educational effort. Our Lord would be pleased to know that we allow all the little ones to come to Him. We know that skin-color means nothing to Him, either in His teachings or in His children. Let us please Him and follow His example.

Sister Marie George, S.S.F.

Saint Joan of Arc School

Reaching the Parents

Children learn from adults - but, can adults learn from children? If you ever hear a young school child say that he hates a person of another race, religion or nationality, you can be sure that he picked up this prejudice from his parents or other adults. Children do not come into the world with bigotry and prejudice in their minds. They are easily impressed and they readily accept what they learn from example.

If the child is taught from the beginning that all men are equal regardless of the color of their skin; if he sits beside children of another race in the classroom; if he plays with them in the schoolyard - then there is little chance that he will grow up with racial hatred and malice in his heart. By his experiences in an integrated school, he will be a better Catholic and a better American - and this is exactly what our schools are supposed to be making him.

But the properly trained child may also influence his improperly trained parents. If the child takes his thoroughly Christian and democratic ideas home, he may soften the hearts of his parents and of other adults in his family. This is a great advantage of integrated Catholic schools - that they may teach the parents by teaching the children.

Miss Mary Fokes

Saint Rose de Lima School

Learning is Easier

There is a great difference between teaching and learning. We can teach principles of justice and charity in a racially segregated school. We can teach that there is no essential difference between the races, that God loves everybody, that we must love everybody. But the pupils do not really learn these principles. They give assent to them but they do not understand and accept them.

Graduates of segregated schools - too many of them the Catholic parents of our Catholic pupils - heard all of these things in their own day in school. If these Catholic adults had truly learned these basic Catholic truths there would today be no problem of race relations. Solid learning means full acceptance of principles, and this means putting into practice the results of learning.

The integrated Catholic school removes the vacuum of merely theoretical teaching; it takes away also the vacuous apologetic evasions of answers through which the teacher has to go when the pupil asks "why?" Learning is easier when the pupil can actually see the democratic and religious principles of human unity being put into practice in the classroom. The child learns what he lives, and he learns brotherhood more easily if he is allowed to live it.

Prayer

O GOD, MY HEAVENLY FATHER, WHOSE LOVE CREATED ME AND ALL OTHER CHILDREN OF MEN AS MEMBERS OF ONE HUMAN FAMILY, ALL DIFFERENT YET ALL SHARING THE SAME NATURE AND DESTINY; GIVE ME THE GRACE THIS DAY TO ACT WITH THE KINDNESS OF YOUR LOVE TOWARDS THOSE I AM MOST TEMPTED TO CONDEMN, RIDICULE, DESPISE OR HURT IN ANY WAY, SO THAT IN SERVING THEM, I SERVE NOT SELF BUT YOU, THROUGH JESUS CHRIST, YOUR SON AND MY BROTHER, IN WHOM WE ARE ALL ONE. AMEN.

Imprimatur:
✠ JOSEPH F. RUMMEL,
Archbishop of New Orleans.

FILE COPY

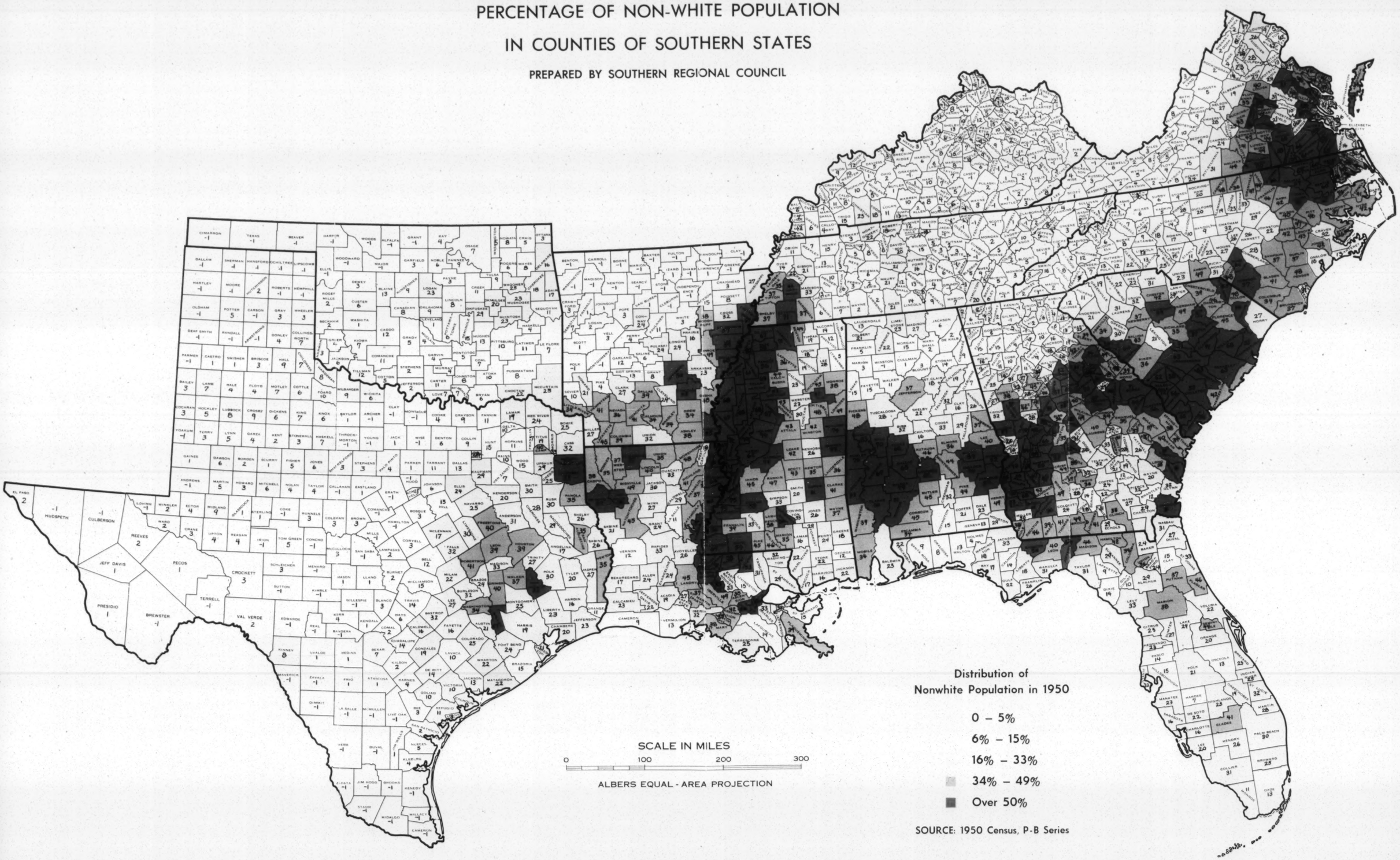
NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH

Answers to Current Questions

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULATION IN COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN STATES

PREPARED BY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL



THE SCHOOL DECISION AND THE SOUTH

On May 17, 1954, a long period of waiting came to an end. The Supreme Court of the United States spoke the decisive words in a constitutional debate that has stretched across one hundred years of American history. A unanimous court restated the far-reaching question, "Does segregation of children in public schools solely because of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" — and replied, "We believe that it does."

There were, in reality, two questions before the court. The first involved a legal and moral principle — Is racial segregation in the public schools compatible with the ideals of our democracy as expressed in the United States Constitution? This the Court answered with a clear and unequivocal "No." In the words of the chief justice, "To separate (Negro pupils) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone . . .; in the field of public education the doctrine 'separate but equal' has no place."

Many Southerners shared the view that this answer was inevitable. As one Southern daily put it: "No citizen, fitted by character and intelligence to sit as a Justice of the Supreme Court, and sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States could have decided this question other than in the way it was decided." Even those to whom the decision was distasteful could hardly ignore the fact that it invigorated the cause of democracy throughout the world. For millions of non-white people in other lands it was the most telling evidence yet of the vitality and promise of American leadership in the free world.

But apart from the principle of segregation, there is also segregation in practice, and to this the answer is not simple. Through generations in the South segregation rooted itself deeply in law, in institutions, in customs, and — more important — in the minds and emotions of Southern people. During the last fifteen years, the uprooting has begun in many areas of public life. But the Supreme Court wisely recognized that segregation could not be eradicated from the public schools at a stroke; that skill, and planning for adjustment would be needed.

Many areas, however, are adjusting quickly and easily. Before the decision, segregation in public schools was required in 17 states and the District of Columbia. Two years after the decision, more than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 states had desegregated their public schools. Schools in the nation's capital also were opened to all.

At the end of the two year period, complete resistance continued in only eight states. If nine states can begin adjusting to a changing world and a more democratic society, there should be hope for the eight others. Adjustment in the resisting states will be harder, but eventually the necessary changes will come. In the words of one noted Southern editor, white and Negro citizens have important business together.

Is the Court decision a sharp break with the past?

No. In a very real sense it is a logical outgrowth of the trend in race relations since the end of World War II. In the past ten years or so, racial practices have changed tremendously in the South. Segregation has been gradually but steadily losing ground. Negroes have emerged as voting citizens and, increasingly, as successful candidates for public office. In all but a few Southern states, Negro students have been admitted to state universities. Negro and white Southerners ride unconcernedly together on interstate trains and airplanes. The two races serve side by side in the Armed Forces, many of them at Southern Army camps. And schools now are integrated at military installations even in the South.

Many changes have been initiated by court decisions and executive orders, but many more have been voluntarily introduced. Private colleges, professional baseball teams, public libraries — these are some of the institutions in the South that have begun lowering the color bar in recent years. Since the 1954 decision, instances of desegregation have increased.

The Supreme Court's rulings, like the many events before them, herald no instant or universal changes in racial patterns, but only redefine the goal which our people, white and Negro, are committed to seek in the way of democracy.

What progress has been made toward desegregation?

As pointed out before, public school desegregation has been accomplished to some degree in nine of the 17 Southern states formerly enforcing segregation. Since the school decision, the Supreme Court also has ruled out segregation in public parks and on golf courses, and the number of integrated recreational facilities in the South is slowly growing. Golf courses opened on an integrated basis since the decision include Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; and Asheboro, High Point, and Thomasville, North Carolina. All state parks in Kentucky and parks in Knoxville, Tennessee, now operate on an integrated basis.

An order from the Interstate Commerce Commission has resulted in the desegregation of railroad waiting rooms in some cities.

Although the ultimate goal of a completely desegregated South is a long way off, individual incidents of progress toward that goal since the Court's school decision are far too numerous to be listed here.

Has desegregation resulted only from legal action?

No. And this is true for cases involving public schools, higher education, and many other fields. As reported, more than 350 school districts integrated within two years after the Court decision. The majority of these schools did so without legal action. More schools are planning integration as soon as a workable plan can be put into action. In areas where local authorities show "good faith" and move with "deliberate speed," legal action is unnecessary.

Did the Court order immediate, sweeping changes?

No. In the May 31, 1955, decision, the Court took into account the wide range of community conditions, acknowledging that "full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local problems." The Court made it clear, however, that the "vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

The meaning of the implementation ruling is contained in the key phrases "equitable principles," "good faith compliance," "practical flexibility," "prompt and reasonable start," and "deliberate speed." All these phrases indicate that, although the Court is firm as to the constitutional principles involved, it allows a community to work out a solution in accordance with local conditions as long as the plan is in "good faith."

Did the decision "set back" race relations?

This is an assertion heard often in the South since the decision, but it has little real validity. True, the decision and reactions to it have created tension and unrest in parts of the South. But formerly, "racial harmony" had been based on the unprotesting acceptance by Negroes of inferior status. The healthier pattern which is emerging is based on mutual respect and equal treatment of all persons instead of the paternalism of the past. The fact that a substantial amount of desegregation has taken place in the South since the decision indicates that a large part of the South is beginning to experience truly democratic race relations.

Can the decision be ignored or nullified?

Not indefinitely. It is true that popular fear of desegregation is being exploited in the deep South states by politicians and the Klan-like White Citizens Councils; but it also is clear that with legal segregation out, resistance tactics eventually will fail.

Interposition and the private school plan are the foremost weapons of pro-segregationists. Interposition, according to leading authorities, has no legal force and so is useless. Virginia is one of the states which has passed an interposition resolution; and since that time, Char-

lottesville, and Arlington County, Virginia, have been ordered to integrate schools without delay. If the courts do not recognize interposition, how can this plan nullify the decision?

And again, the ultimate question about the private school plan is: Will it hold up in Court? Such authorities on constitutional law as Dean Robert A. Leflar of the University of Arkansas Law School and Dean John T. Fey of the George Washington University Law School have studied the question. Their findings indicate that private school plans, like other devices for circumventing the law, will ultimately be declared unconstitutional. The question is, how big a price — in terms of public funds, educational opportunity, and good citizenship — are the people of the deep South willing to pay in order to delay the inevitable?

Is there a "solid South"?

No. Contrary to popular belief, the South is not all of a piece, even in racial attitudes. In geography, in economy, in history, in tradition — even in speech — there are various "souths." In some parts of the region the two races have grown into new, more democratic relationships comparatively quickly and easily. In other parts, the old ways persist for a long time after law and custom have changed elsewhere in the South.

A glance at the map inserted in the front of this booklet will provide an important key to the variations in Southern race relations. The darkly shaded counties across the deep South, where Negroes make up 50 per cent or more of the population, have come to be known as the "black belt." There, slavery and plantation agriculture left their heaviest stamp on racial attitudes and practices. And there, as might be expected, resistance to changes in racial patterns is greatest.

If one were to make a green mark on a map of the South for each example of desegregation, school or otherwise, which has taken place since the Court decision, the deep South would be surrounded by green dots. The area with the fewest green dots would correspond roughly with the "black belt."

The density of the Negro population is no absolute yardstick. Many other factors are important: urbanization, the quality of local leadership, economic and political arrangements, and the mixture of memory and habit which gives a community its unique traditions. But the Negro-white ratio is a handy index to the adjustment, psychological as well as practical, required by the Supreme Court's decision. As Southerners nurtured on legend and folklore, we can benefit from a clear-sighted view of the South as a region of great and growing diversity. It is particularly useful to recognize that almost half of the counties in the South have 10 per cent or less Negro population; that only one-fifth of Southern counties have 40 per cent or more. This Negro-white ratio is important in banishing the idea of a "solid South."

What have church groups said?

The overwhelming majority of religious leaders and official church bodies greeted the decision in the spirit of this statement by the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission: ". . . we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples."

Since the decision, all major church bodies have passed resolutions praising the decision; and many, after being attacked by segregationists, have reaffirmed their faith in the decision.

Various individual church leaders and ministers have also called for "good faith compliance." Some pastors have surrendered their pulpits rather than suppress or renounce their conviction that segregation is un-Christian.

Has integration worked in higher education?

Yes. In fact, the admission of Negroes to formerly all-white colleges and universities in recent years is one of the most impressive examples of desegregation ever recorded. Since 1935, some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. In every instance included in this total, the adjustment was made without a single serious incident.

The widely publicized disturbance at the University of Alabama protesting the enrollment of Miss Autherine Lucy was notable not because it was a typical reaction, but because it was unique.

It is also notable that of the 164 formerly white institutions now open to Negroes, 95 have newly desegregated at some level since May 1954.

Does the decision have meaning only for the South?

The legal effects of the decision are felt in the 17 states in and adjoining the South which enforced school segregation by law in 1954. But the spirit of the decision applies with equal force to many places outside the South where school children are largely segregated by custom, housing patterns, and administrative arrangements.

The existence of segregated neighborhoods continues to produce segregated schools in non-Southern cities. In recent years, however, a strong trend toward integration has developed. New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois have taken steps to root out segregation where it has been practiced in disregard of state laws. And in other states, communities have moved voluntarily to desegregate their schools. This trend is the result of various forces: the war-inspired concern for minority rights; action by Negroes themselves, human relations agencies,

church and civic groups, enlightened school administrators and public officials; and the growing realization that it is often cheaper to integrate than to provide new or improved facilities for Negro pupils. The Supreme Court's school decisions have focused attention on extralegal segregation in the North and West and have stimulated efforts to eliminate it in many communities.

Do mixed schools lead to mixed marriages?

This is perhaps the most common argument advanced against integrated schools — just as it was advanced against Negro voting in the Democratic primary, integration in higher education, and the other gains in race relations during the last 25 years. Yet there is little evidence to sustain such an argument. Even in states where there has never been legal segregation — in schools or otherwise — intermarriage is extremely rare. In the South, where intermarriage is opposed by both law and custom, integration in schools or other public institutions is hardly likely to change the existing pattern.

The fear of intermarriage is largely irrational, since there can never be a law or a court decision forcing persons to marry against their will. Marriage is and will remain a matter of personal choice, as are all purely social relationships.

Perhaps the most sensible comment ever made on the subject came from a University of South Carolina student who attended a Ku Klux Klan rally out of curiosity. A Klan spokesman raised the age-old question, "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" To which the student replied, "She can say no, can't she?"

Will Negro teachers lose their jobs in an integrated school system?

Unquestionably integration will cause some displacement of Negro teachers, as it already has to a limited extent. However, a wholesale discharge of Negro teachers is unlikely for several reasons.

First, there is the inevitable fact that many Negro schools will continue to serve Negro pupils, even in a framework of legal integration. Presumably the faculties of these schools will continue to be staffed primarily by Negro teachers.

Second, it is difficult to see how the present number of Negro teachers would be replaced. More than 70,000 Negroes are teaching in the Southern and border states, and the number of school children is increasing by leaps and bounds. In August of 1956, just before the opening of schools, principals reported a shortage of up to 20 teachers in some schools in the South.

Third, in some Southern states, teachers are protected by state tenure laws. Of course, some states are doing away with tenure laws and some Negro teachers have lost jobs in states which have integrated since the decision. Court cases loom, however. And the outcome of litigation concerning tenure laws is as important to white teachers as it

is to Negroes since, as the Kentucky Council on Human Relations says, "If the tenure laws can be avoided today because of color of skin, then they can be violated tomorrow because of color of eyes or political color."

Finally, the South may show a surprising capacity to adjust to teacher integration. It is nothing new in the South for white children to be placed in the care of Negroes — care that has included as much "instruction" as any teacher-pupil relationship. Substituting a qualified teacher for a trusted, if little-educated servant, is hardly a revolutionary step, as the experience of many desegregating school systems has already demonstrated.

Can children adjust to integrated schools?

There is much truth in the saying that if school integration were left to the children there would be no problem. Children are born without prejudice and only acquire it through constant exposure to the attitudes of grownups. As all previous experience indicates, children of different races adjust to each other quickly and naturally when given half a chance. Most Southerners can find confirmation in their own childhood, when they accepted playmates of the other race without a thought.

However, adults — particularly parents and teachers — often transmit their feelings to the children without realizing it. In this sense, then, the largest part of the adjustment will have to be made not by children, but by their elders.

Are Negroes biologically inferior to white persons?

No. Scientists tell us that all men have the same basic characteristics as their common ancestors, and that the structure of people of all races is the same. We differ only in certain superficial features — such as skin color, hair, shape of eyes, etc. — and these physical variations are found among members of the same race as well as among those of different races. The myth of inborn racial superiority is often based on "blood lines." Science tells us that blood has nothing to do with heredity and that the four different types of human blood exist in all races. In fact, the percentages of blood types for Negro Americans are very close to the percentages for white Americans. No connection has been found between the biological make-up of people and the level of their intelligence or culture.

Is it reasonable to delay integration because Negroes have a higher crime and disease rate?

This objection disregards the whole point of the Supreme Court's decision — that is, Negro school children have the right to be treated as individuals instead of being set apart because of the accident of skin color. The unfairness of the group-achievement approach can be

illustrated in many ways. For example, white Southerners *as a group* have a higher rate of crime and disease than whites elsewhere. Yet who would suggest that all Southerners should be segregated from their fellow Americans?

Once the blinders of prejudice are removed, the following points are clear:

(1) Crime and disease are largely products of environment, not of race. Slums and poverty breed germs and immorality, whatever racial group may occupy them.

(2) The Supreme Court did not say that every Negro child must be admitted to any school he chooses. It said that a Negro child could not be excluded from a school solely because of his race. Every modern school requires a medical examination before enrolling a pupil; no child with an infectious disease, white or Negro, is or should be enrolled. Children who are diseased, academically retarded, or prone to criminal behavior can be set apart by a school system that wants to do so — provided that race is not the measure.

Does integration inevitably lower academic standards?

The problem here, again, is not racial but socio-economic and educational. Academic standards tend to be lower in communities with poorer environments. Also many Negro pupils lag because of the inferior schooling they have received in segregated school systems. Tests by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization revealed the fact that there is a wide range of intellectual ability within each racial, religious, and national group. In the U. S., the study reports, some groups of Negro recruits from the North were found to be more literate than some groups of whites. A study of children of white Southern mountaineers who had moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, revealed quite an educational gap between them and the city children. It was found, however that although the mountain children lacked the cultural background to facilitate learning, they did have the ability to learn. Such studies have shown that when either group, white or Negro, is placed in a superior economic and educational environment, the average score on mental tests tends to rise; when either group lives in an inferior economic and educational environment, the scores tend to remain low. Dr. Tilman Cothran, chairman of the Department of Sociology at A. M. and N. College at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, contends that integration will tend to raise overall educational standards of the South since it is a matter not of downgrading students who already have high educational standards, but one of upgrading students who have lacked proper educational opportunities.

Do Negroes want desegregation?

Nobody can speak for all Negroes, just as no one can speak for all whites, or all Americans, or all people with blue eyes. But certainly

desegregation has strong support among Negroes. Negro teachers' associations, for example, have consistently voted to uphold the Supreme Court decision. It is unlikely that these people would vote for something they didn't want. Negroes, north and south, compose the bulk of the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These people would hardly support an organization dedicated to integration of the schools if they were not in agreement with its purpose. The innermost demand of the Negro people is recognition of equal human dignity, and opening the schools contributes toward satisfying that need.

Who are the "extremists"?

The general hullabaloo about moderates and extremists only serves to lead thought away from the real purpose of the Supreme Court decree. It is clear that as long as the principle of the Court's decision is rejected, regardless of how calm or "moderate" the tone of rejection, a democratic solution to the problem is impossible. Also, no one who advocates compliance in good faith with the Court's decision can be validly called an "extremist."

How can school planning reflect the views of the whole community?

No one thing can contribute more to harmonious adjustment to the decision than full participation by Negroes in the planning and administration of local school systems. As Dr. Benjamin E. Mays has said, "If one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own." In the case of schools, able Negro representation on boards of education is a long step toward agreement and mutual confidence between the races.

A growing number of Southern communities has recognized this principle. Among the cities that have elected or appointed Negroes to their school boards in recent years are Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee; Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Salisbury, and Greensboro, North Carolina; Augusta and Atlanta, Georgia. Following the Supreme Court decision, Gainesville, Georgia, added two Negro members to its school board. In addition, in 1955 West Virginia appointed a Negro, Carl Hairston, as assistant state superintendent of schools.

Of course, race alone should not be the measure of any public servant. As the *Greensboro Daily News* put it:

> The *Daily News,* while believing strongly in Negro representation on public agencies and bodies, has not believed that appointment should be made on a racial basis *per se.* First of all should come qualifications, ability to serve in any given capacity, and vision wide enough to transcend any particular bounds in overall service and accountability. What we have contended is that Negro representation could and should be found on this basis . . .

Can interracial citizens' committees assist desegregation?

In many places this is the best way in which people of the two races can begin immediately to work together on constructive next steps. Since the Supreme Court issued its ruling, a number of interracial committees have been established in the South; and where the committees have been genuinely representative, progress has been made.

As Dr. A. Lee Coleman of the University of Kentucky School of Sociology says, a committee must have genuine determination to meet the real problem if it is to be effective. The principal functions of a committee, as Dr. Coleman sees them, are (1) to secure greater representation of the various groups and elements in the community; (2) to get more of the responsible, respected people of the community to face the issues and share the responsibility for the decisions made; and (3) to help "sell" and carry out the policy that is adopted.

Interracial committees of a private or advisory nature have performed invaluable service in many of the schools that have integrated since the decision, and they will no doubt continue to provide sound leadership in other communities. But they cannot be viewed as substitutes for Negro representation on official policy-making bodies.

What can parents and teachers do through their organizations?

PTAs and teacher organizations, once segregated, are following the lead of schools in their districts and state. For instance, the Kentucky white and Negro PTAs in 1956 voted to merge. White and Negro parents no longer have separate concerns; they have the welfare of their children and the overall quality of their school systems in common. Even though a substantial amount of segregation in fact may continue for a long time to come, the legal framework has changed and, with it, the long-range goal of public schooling in the South. This means that parents, as in the case of Kentucky, should in the interest of their children begin to think and plan together across the lines of race for the best possible public education.

What is true for parents is also true for teachers, with the added fact of common professional interests. The problems and progress of white and Negro teachers have been drawing closer together in recent years. With qualifications, salaries, and working conditions approaching equality, the two teacher groups have begun to look at their profession through the same spectacles. What hurts one hurts the other; what benefits one benefits the other.

One way for parents' and teachers' organizations to start is by setting up joint committees between white and Negro groups. This will provide a common ground on which unity and cooperation can grow at whatever rate the local situation permits.

What is the role of discussion groups?

Joint discussion, fact-finding, and planning by local people of both races are the hallmarks of healthy community change in the South. Discussion groups for these purposes, which have already demonstrated their effectiveness in many Southern communities, are now needed more than ever.

The first objective of such a group should be a frank exchange of opinions. There must be ample opportunity for the members of the group to gain a sympathetic understanding of their respective points-of-view.

Once attitudes and views have been shared, the group can address itself to the facts about the local school system. For example, what are the local effects of state laws and policies? Which schools will likely be affected by the terms of the Supreme Court decision? How many pupils, teachers, and classrooms are involved? How are school-district lines drawn? How is the matter of integration related to such broader educational questions as school financing, transportation, overcrowding, teacher training and supply, curricula, textbooks, and so on?

Armed with the facts, the discussion group is equipped to work constructively with its school superintendent and board of education. Since most people feel strongly about the schools their children attend, education authorities are particularly sensitive to public opinion. So it is especially important for forward-looking citizens to express interest in the problems and progress of their school system. Most school officials will welcome positive criticism, suggestions, and support by people who understand the practical problems faced by the policy-maker and administrator.

Clearly local discussion groups that have reached informed agreement between people of both races can make a most valuable contribution in this time of challenge and adjustment.

Are there other things we can do in our communities?

As church members, we can recognize the special obligation of religious groups to create sound parental attitudes toward school integration. The churches can do more than any other institution to spread awareness that children must not be made to suffer the effects of adult prejudice.

As citizens, we can work for impartial and effective law enforcement in the event of racial tension in the community.

As members of civic groups, service clubs, labor organizations, and the like, we can help bring the policies of our groups in line with the spirit of the Court decision and we can support enlightened action by public officials and help foster a healthy climate of opinion.

As parents, we can urge that our school systems be reshaped to provide the most and the best education to every child, irrespective of race.

THE SCHOOL DECISION BY THE U. S. SUPREME COURT

May 17, 1954

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to the doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is

not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public education had already advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson, supra,* involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education,* 175 U. S. 528, and *Gong Lum v. Rice,* 275 U. S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada,* 305 U. S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents,* 339 U. S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter, supra,* the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented.

Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter,* there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter, supra,* in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurment but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, supra,* the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again restored to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question — the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954. It is so ordered.

FOR FURTHER READING

The Annals, Vol. 304, March, 1956. (Special issue: "Racial Desegregation and Integration.") The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Changing Patterns in the New South, January, 1955; revised July, 1955 (single copy 25¢) and other materials are available from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. 1955. The Beacon Press, Boston, Mass.

Desegregation in the Baltimore Schools, July, 1955. The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, 719 St. Paul Street, Baltimore 2, Maryland, and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, 719 St. Paul Street, Baltimore 2, Maryland.

The Negro and the Schools, by Harry S. Ashmore. Revised edition. June, 1954. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Cloth $2.75; paper $1.50)

The Negro Potential, by Eli Ginzberg. 1956. Columbia University Press, New York. (Cloth $3.00)

Now Is the Time, by Lillian Smith. 1955. Dell Publishing Company, 261 Fifth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. (Paper 25¢)

Public Education in the South Today, a statistical survey by Ernst W. Swanson and John A. Griffin, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Cloth $5.00)

Schools in Transition, edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan. 1954. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Cloth $3.00)

Southern School News. Published monthly by Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tenn. (Year's subscription $2.00)

The Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward. 1955. Oxford University Press, New York. (Cloth $2.50)

Toward the Elimination of Segregation in the Nation's Capital, American Friends Service Committee Community Relations Program, 104 C Street, N.E., Washington, D. C. (Single copy free)

New South

July, August 1956 Vol. 11, No. 7, 8

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Subscription rate ..... $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

SRC Publications

May 23, 1955

TO; GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: MAW'S PROPOSAL FOR STATE EDITIONS OF NEW SOUTH

The insertion of special pages for ~~the~~ each of the various states would be feasible only in a mass-circulation publication. (The Progressive Farmer has a circulation of one million, and even it limits its separate editions to four or five, I believe.)

The state with the largest number of New South subscribers has only about 130, and most of the state's run well under a hundred. Obviously, to print special pages in quantities this small, ~~and~~ to break down the binding operation into twelve separate operations, and to complicate the ~~mailing~~ stuffing and mailing accordingly, would increase the unit cost of the magazine beyond all reason.

~~Fredxkkkx~~ An alternative would be to stuff each state's New South envelopes with a mimeographed news sheet reporting events in that state, but this too would involve a disproportionately large amount of staff time and effort. Fred informs me that most of the state organizations are contemplating news letters of their own, to be ~~mimeoxxx~~ prepared, mimeographed, and mailed out by the state organization to its own membership. This seems to me a laudable~~t~~ idea and the only practical way to accomplish what MAW has in mind.

HCF

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-1900

September 25, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of September 18 and for sending me the copy of A Hundred Years Later. I will read it with interest.

Sincerely,

John Fischer

Mr. Leslie W.Dunbar
Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

John Fischer/ns

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

September 25, 1962

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much on behalf of Secretary Hodges for your courtesy in sending him a copy of "A Hundred Years Later."

Sincerely,

Henry Scharer

Henry Scharer
Director, Office of
Public Information

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

file

September 25, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of "A Hundred Years Later."

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE HUGO L. BLACK

September 25, 1962

file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for sending copy of A Hundred Years Later which I have read with much interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugo L. Black

Hugo L. Black.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

United States Court of Appeals
District of Columbia Circuit
Washington 1, D. C.

Chambers of
J. Skelly Wright
Circuit Judge

September 25, 1962

file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciate your sending me a copy of "A Hundred Years Later." It is a thoughtful and timely reflection on the most urgent social problem of our time.

Sincerely,

J Skelly Wright

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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THOMAS J. SCOTT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

September 25, 1962

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter and copy of A Hundred Years Later.

I will look forward to reading it at the first opportunity.

Sincerely,

Estes Kefauver

Estes Kefauver

EK:am

BARRY BINGHAM, President & Editor-in-Chief

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, Publisher

LISLE BAKER, JR. Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

file

September 26
1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your courtesy in sending me a copy of A Hundred Years Later. I have been very much interested in reading it.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge
Mark Ethridge

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
AMON CARTER EVANS, PUBLISHER
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR

fil

September 26, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your note of September 14, and for the copy of "A Hundred Years Later".

Best,

JS

116 House Office Building
Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 5131 or 5132

District Office:
623 Union Arcade
Davenport, Iowa
324-9153

Charles Freburg
Administrative Assistant

Fred Schwengel
1st District, Iowa

Committee:
Public Works

Subcommittees:
Watershed Development
Flood Control
Roads

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

September 27, 1962

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hello Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. I am very pleased to have this booklet and am looking forward to reading all of it.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schwengel

CONGRESSMAN FRED SCHWENGEL

FS:him

file

PAUL GREEN
GREENWOOD ROAD
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

September 27, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for the copy of the pamphlet, "A Hundred Years Later." You are very generous in offering to send me some extra copies, and I should like to have two dozen. There are certain key individuals in this region who might be interested in reading it -- anyway I think it might do them good.

sent 10-1-62 mA

With best greetings and regards,

Paul Green

PG:k

file

WILLIAM J. RONAN
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

September 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Governor Rockefeller has asked me to thank you for writing on September fourteenth to send him a copy of the booklet "A Hundred Years Later."

Your thought in making this publication available to the Governor is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

William J. Ronan

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MA - pls copy for Tom Wilkins

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

27 September 1962

Dear Dunbar,

Thank you for your good letter and the copy of "A Hundred Years Later". I appreciate your finding my Virginia Quarterly Review statement a source of excerpts for your commemorative pamphlet. I was especially interested in reading the contributions by Dabbs, Green, Wright and Mays, which were all much to the point.

I tried to find Josephine at the Plaza, then much belatedly at the Lombardy and then at Athens, without any luck. Please give her and the others my warm regards and best wishes.

I didn't call again at the office because I soon realized my brother was in his last days, overwhelmed by a massive cancer development. He taught in the high schools of Atlanta for 33 years and lived a useful and happy life in his beloved Atlanta.

Always with every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

112 Murray Street
Chula Vista, California
September 29, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have recently read "The Price We Pay" which was prepared by your organization and the Anti-Defamation League. I have used this publication as a valuable resource for study with the Chula Vista League of Women Voters.

We are currently studying the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with particular attention to education and employment.

Please send me information regarding any available publications which are published by your organization. I would be particularly interested in any material dealing with reactions to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as well as information on federal assistance to communities with problems in integration in education and employment.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Eleanor DeLashmitt

Eleanor Delashmitt (Mrs.)

Send Ala's Two Studies
" SSN clip
Dept N 5 10-26-65

Title II + III
VI, VII

PL
10-4-65

3 Employment studies

Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Suite 1035, Universal Building North
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
Telephone 462-6618

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Please Direct Reply To:
233 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201
Telephone: 948-5400

October 15, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send us a map of Mississippi showing the population of Negro and white citizens.

Also, we have your booklet ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE, and are so well impressed with it that we would like to request a listing of all of your publications. 10-18-65 ; 5

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. Tuttle

RET/lkm

The Committee was formed at the request of the President of the United States.

46
29/121

EAST
TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Department of Education

October 23, 1965

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for your recent sending of materials ordered. I find them very useful in my classes. I would like to order the following items from your latest price list:

1. THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by Robert Coles 50

1. MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY 50
by James W. Silver

1. THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION, by Daniel C. 10
Thompson

1. PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA . SCF
L-5

1. L-32 A REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON" by . SCF
Dr. William P. Sullivan

1. NEW SOUTH, "Black Muslims--Mirror of the . . .20
Existing Order," January, 1963

1. NEW SOUTH, "Mississippi," October, 1962 . . .20

1. THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, Ralph & Carl Creger . .25

1. THE MIGRANT FARMER, Robert Caler 30

1. SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT 30

Ck #235
10-26-65.5

Also, please place my name on your mailing list for notification about future publications.

Thank you very much for your service, I am,

10-26-65

Dr.George A. Finchum
Box 2301
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37602

SIENA COLLEGE
4405 POPLAR AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
38117

October 26, 1965

Miss Janet Smith
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of October 2 and for fulfilling my request for information for our convention held this past weekend. We put the 200 copies of your monthly publication into each folder for the delegates, and the remainder of the material was used for a display on the Southern Regional Council.

This information was more than helpful to the delegates at the convention, and we hope they will look to you for any further information they might wish to obtain.

Once again, thank you for your helpfulness and generosity, and good luck for continued success.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Braun

(Miss) Carolyn Braun
Junior Delegate, NFCCS
Siena College

9 November 1965

Mr. W. E. Mason, III
Chapel Hill-Carrboro Human Relations Council
Voter Registration Committee
321 Burlage Drive
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Mason:

Several days ago we received your order with payment for several of our publications and forwarded most of the materials on 1 November. A few of the L-Reports were in such short supply that we did not include these. Yesterday the Post Office returned publications "Found Loose in the Mail" and we are unable to identify them exactly. If you failed to receive some of the items, please let us know and we shall try again.

In the meantime we are putting your name on our mailing list to receive publications as released. If you should need any in bulk, please send your order and we shall bill you at the lowest possible amount.

Thank you for your interest in our work and we, in turn, are pleased that your organization exists.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith

CHAPEL HILL - CARRBORO HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL

ROBERT PHILLIPS
CLIFTON STONE
CO-CHAIRMEN

419 HILLSBORO ST.
CHAPEL HILL, N. C., 27514
942-6723

Voter Registration Committee

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

Thank you very much for the list of SRC publications which you recently sent us. We would at this time like to order the following items for use by our committee and others in the Council in connection with our work in Orange County.

1	The Price We Pay	$ .75
1	The Unequal Badge, E. M. Rudwick	.10
1ea.	The Negro and Employment Opportunities, a) Houston, b) Atlanta, c) Chatanooga	.60
1	The Economic Status of Negroes	.25
1	The Civil Rights Crisis: IV	.20
3	Map (Negro population in South)	.75
1	A Virginia View of Race & Reason	.05
1	The Case for Integration	.10
1	This I Believe	SCF
1	A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal	SCF
1	The Negro and the Ballot (Price)	.25
1	This Is What We Found (Book)	.25
1 ea.	of the following back issues of the New South: March, 1962; Feb., 1962; Jan., 1962; Sept., 1961	.80
1	Civil Rights Under Federal Programs (Latest Publications, 1965)	?
1 ea.	of the following Leadership Reports: L-16, L-19, L-23c; L-23b; L23d; L-25, L-28, L-29, L-34, L-34a, L-37, L-38, L-40, L-45, L-46, L-47	SCF
1	Some Questions and Answers on the CR Bill	SCF
	Total	$4.10

MD 11-1-65.5

Research PA

These materials are of primary interest to us now. We hope to order some of your other publications later as our budget allows. We would like to be kept informed of any new materials which you might release in the future. We hope that these materials will help us in our projects in the fields of voter

CHAPEL HILL - CARRBORO HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL

ROBERT PHILLIPS
CLIFTON STONE
CO-CHAIRMEN

419 HILLSBORO ST.
CHAPEL HILL, N. C., 27514
942-6723

registration (which has added nearly 1000 Negroes to the voting lists in 18 months), housing (now working for public housing), recreation (working for a single, large, city-wide unit), poverty, employment, and education (with literacy and civic interest classes).

We thank you again and are grateful that an organization such as yours exists.

Very truly yours,

W. E. Mason III

W. E. Mason III

Please reply to:

Mr. W. E. Mason III
Chapel Hill-Carrboro Human Relations Council
Voter Registration Committee
321 Burlage Drive
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

MOBILE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
CITY AND COUNTY
SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE
MOBILE, ALABAMA

November 15, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

I wish to thank you for courtesy copy of your News Release dated October 31, 1965.

I was pleased to note that additional copies are available upon request. I would like to make this report a part of our next Board Agenda; therefore, I need 14 copies.

11-17-65;3
bill b @ 15¢ $2.10
pd 12-8-65;3

Sincerely,

Cranford H. Burns
CRANFORD H. BURNS
SUPERINTENDENT

CHB:g

BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS
OF MOBILE COUNTY
MOBILE, ALABAMA

UNIVAC - 5

P. O. NO.	VOUCHER NO.	INVOICE NO.	ACCOUNT NO.	GROSS AMOUNT	DISCOUNT AMOUNT	NET AMOUNT
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Form B-13

1950

Purchase Order No.

BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS OF MOBILE COUNTY

REQUISITION--PURCHASE ORDER--MATERIAL RECEIPT

Date

Vendor Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Address Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAIL INVOICE IN TRIPLICATE TO:
BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS OF MOBILE CO.
P. O. BOX 1549
MOBILE, ALABAMA

Approved by: K. C. Lawhet
Purchasing Agent

This is your authority to ship prepaid the articles listed below.

Ship to: Dr. Cranford H. Burns, Attention:
Material Center
P.O. Box 1549

Mobile, Alabama, Alabama

Signed: C. H. Burns
(Person making requisition)

NOTICE TO VENDOR: This is not a valid purchase order until it has been approved by the Purchasing Agent with a Purchase Order Number. Address all correspondence to Board of School Commissioners and send duplicate to person making requusition.

QUANTITY	ITEM AND DESCRIPTION *** LIBRARY BOOKS: AUTHOR, TITLE, PUBLISHER	UNIT OR LIST PRICE	EXTENSION
14copies	School Desegregation	.15	$2.10
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JLC JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE MICHIGAN REGION

163 MADISON AVENUE WOodward 2-6710 DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

November 16, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have recently initiated efforts to arouse interest in farm labor problems in Michigan. We are currently working toward a group of union and church people who will take the lead in testifying of matters such as importing Mexican labor. We hope to stimulate activity for minimum wages, decent working conditions and unionization.

It was, therefore, with great interest I received your excellent study by Robert Coles on the Migrant Farmer. It would be a great help in eliciting support here if we could have a quantity of copies of the study.

Please let me know if you could supply fifty copies.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Carper

Jack Carper
Regional Director

10 copies free
11-18-65 is
w. note additional
copies @ 20¢

JC:ei

BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

231 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

TELEPHONE AREA CODE 212 LEXINGTON 2-3410

November 17, 1965

Miss Janet Smith
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Smith:

Thank you for your informative note of November 4.

Enclosed please find our check in the amount of $15.00 for delivery to the above address, attention of Mrs. I. Griffin, 100 copies of your booklet, "Southern Justice: An Indictment." 11-19-65;s

An early delivery will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Herluf M. Jensen

Herluf M. Jensen
Secretary for Intergroup Relations
and Economic Affairs

HMJ/ig
Enc.
Dictated but not read

11-19-65;s

4 November 1965

Mr. Herluf M. Jensen
Secretary for Intergroup Relations
and Economic Affairs
Board of Social Ministry
231 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Jensen:

Thank you for your interest in "Southern Justice: An Indictment." The study is available in quantity at 15¢ each; single copies are priced at 30¢.

Please let us know when we can be of service.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith

BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

231 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

TELEPHONE AREA CODE 212 LEXINGTON 2-3410

November 2, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have just finished reading your Special Report entitled "Southern Justice: An Indictment." I find this study extremely interesting and would like to be able to distribute copies to synodical presidents of the Lutheran Church in America. However, I need to know the following:

Is this study available in quantity?
What are the quantity rates?

An early reply would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Herluf M. Jensen

Herluf M. Jensen
Secretary for Intergroup Relations
and Economic Affairs

HMJ/ig

Janet (Smith)

This is excellent stuff; we
we discuss Theo soon.

Paul

"Ad mortem fidelis"

National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees

ORGANIZED OCTOBER 6, 1913

BRANCHES IN THIRTY-SEVEN STATES

ASHBY G. SMITH, PRESIDENT
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PHILLIP W. HOLLAND
TREASURER-COMPTROLLER
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SNOW F. GRIGSBY, EDITOR
DETROIT, MICH.

November 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

pd. ck 22.50
12-13-65

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On November 5, 1965 I attended a Civil Liberties Clearing House Meeting and obtained a copy of Southern Justice: An Indictment.

I enjoyed reading the Special Report and feel that its message should be in the home of every American.

I would be most grateful if I could receive 150 copies to send to our branch representatives throughout the country.

11-19-65
bill 15¢
$22.50

Thank you.

Sincerely,

J. Leon Henderson

J. Leon Henderson
Administrative Assistant
National Alliance of Postal and
Federal Employees

JLH:bhw

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

P.O. BOX 1329
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - 39200
Telephone: (601) 948-4038

Washington Office:
926 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., S.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003
Telephone: (202) 546-4450

November 19, 1965

Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to request a copy of your recent report on school desegration in the South.

Also, congratulations on your efforts!

Many thanks.

11-22-65:5

Sincerely yours,

Marion Davidson

Marion Davidson
for MFDP, Washington

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Free
See Commendations

Done
12/8/65

December 2, 1965

MS - please
return attached in
enclosed envelope

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

To complete our records and yours, we would appreciate your signing the enclosed copyright release. You recently released to us the documents listed. However, we would like to have record of your signature on our new release form, which clarifies our intent to reproduce your document by methods other than microfiche.

Thank you, again, for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

James L. Eller

James L. Eller
Chief, Input Operations
Educational Research Information Center

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

December 2, 1965

Gentlemen:

The Educational Research Information Center has or needs selected documents collected from the Southern Regional Council for dissemination to school administrators and State Departments of Education

Each document will be abstracted, indexed, microfilmed, and distributed in entirety and in abstract form by means of microfiche or otherwise. Credit will be given to the source of each document.

We would appreciate your granting permission to the Educational Research Information Center to reproduce or to cause to be reproduced by means of microfiche or otherwise the following documents and to disseminate such reproductions or to cause such reproductions to be disseminated to interested persons.

1. Six Years of Southern Free Choice
2. The Price We Pay for Discrimination
3. Transition Without Tragedy
4. If the Schools are Closed ...

We look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,
James L. Eller
James L. Eller
Chief, Input Operations
Educational Research Information Center

I hereby grant to the Educational Research Information Center the authority t reproduce or to cause to be reproduced by means of microfiche or otherwise tl documents listed below and to disseminate such copies or to cause such copie to be disseminated to interested persons.

Paul Anthony
Signature
Southern Regional Council

I do not grant such permission, except to the extent specified below.

Signature

File: Src Commendations

MJ - file Commendation

December 9, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: PA
From: SA

On November 14, 1965, the full text of our double justice report was run in the St. Petersburg Times with illustrations and a special report prepared by the newspaper on Florida's "Checkerboard Justice." The articles appeared on page 1-D -- the Sunday "Think" section.

MJ Come after file

COUNCIL STUDIES RURAL SCHOOLS

'Black Belt South' Needs for Community Growth Outlined in 4 Parts

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — A four-point program that would bring about basic transformations in the rural schools of the so-called "Black Belt South" and point the way to real community growth was recommended Saturday in a report by the Southern Regional Council.

The report, prepared by four Georgia educators, urges changes that include kindergarten units, boarding units, high school student employment, and intercounty cooperation — all viewed as important steps in building "toward genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development."

Even "unstinted" spending to do better, or more of what is now being done in such schools would not greatly change educational results, the report says, adding that educators in such schools are performing "remarkably well," given the conditions in which they work.

It is these conditions — with education considered as part of the total community environment —with which the report is concerned.

The effect of segregation is emphasized.

"In short," the report says, "it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible.

"Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its maintenance. Consequently we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system."

The authors add:

"We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions."

They regard legal desegregation as "only the first step" after which "profound educational problems will remain." The report position is that the solution of the problems of segregation must be met as a prerequisite to the solution of the educational problems.

The kind of changes that are needed would attack long-standing economic and cultural deprivation.

The report suggests these four steps:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;

2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six) for one quarter each of these three years;

3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;

4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and VICE TEACHER TRAINI NGP preservice teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

40-Page Study

The 40-page study was sponsored and published by the Southern Regional Council in its series, "Toward Regional Realism."

Entitled, "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation," it was written by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Dr. James A. Jordan, Dr. W. J. Bridgeman, and Dr. Clay V. Brittain following an examination of two "typical" rural school systems in Burke County Georgia, and Edgefield County South Carolina.

All were faculty members in the Emory University Division of Teacher Education, at the time the study was being prepared.

Dr. Brittain has since joined the staff of the U.S. Office of Education. Dr. Green is also a member of the Department of Psychology at Emory, and Dr. Jordan is also an associate professor in the Institute of Liberal Arts at Emory.

The recommendations are aimed at bolstering environmental "economic and cultural lags" which would burden Black Belt schools "even were all segregation removed," the authors noted.

"Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children—but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage," the report added.

The authors also say, "We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed."

The nursery schools would be for children from poorest homes. They would require highly trained teachers, and use high school students or untrained adults as aides. They would attempt to enrich experience of the children and prepare them for school learning.

The boarding units would be for one quarter a year with permission of parents. A fourth quarter might be added to allow an exchange program with similar units in cities. Two teachers and three to five high school students would staff a boarding unit of 21 children, seven to eight children from a grade.

The boarding would provide "the chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values . . . Realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy."

In addition, there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.

The student employment recommendation envisions use of "several hundred" in a school as assistants in the nursery schools and boarding units and as drivers. The jobs in themselves would be educational.

The authors of the report stress that in large measure what they tried to suggest is "that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community."

Chatt. Times
Dec. 1965

The Providence Journal
PROVIDENCE, R. I.
D. 68,276 SUN. 197,737

JAN 2 1966

Be Bolder, Foundations Urged

Washington — Even Though Uncle Sam is the nation's number one philanthropist, private foundations still have a unique role to fulfill in sparking change through experimentation.

This is the view of Dr. Henry T. Heald, who retired Friday as president of the world's largest philanthropy, the Ford Foundation.

But whether the Ford Foundation has the courage to be bold in controversial areas was questioned last week by another "philanthropoid," Philip M. Stern of Washington, who presides over two family foundations.

Writing in the January issue of Harper's magazine, Mr. Stern argued that foundations enjoyed a freedom to experiment that government did not have, but that the Ford Foundation had failed to live up to its original promise to provide risk capital for social progress.

"It is on civil rights and race relations that Ford's abstention has been most conspicuous," Mr. Stern wrote.

He noted that during the crucial years after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision against school segregation, such organizations as the Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, and the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People received help from smaller foundations, but not from Ford.

Dr. Heald, who will be succeeded as Ford Foundation president by White House adviser McGeorge Bundy, also said that foundations needed to be bolder. But in a preface to the Ford Foundation's 1965 annual report, Dr. Heald cautioned that new ideas were not as plentiful as many speeches suggest, and that some excited calls for innovation assumed erroneously that yesterday's innovation was an accomplished fact.

However, Dr. Heald said that the independence and flexibility of foundations were most significant assets now because of the unprecedented public support of educational and social welfare programs that previously were dominated by private philanthropy.

"Private foundations are freer to experiment and risk failure," Dr. Heald said. "Since it depends on public sanction, a government program is under close scrutiny. Often launched in an atmosphere of publicity, its failures are more likely to attract attention than its successes."

This discourages the use of the government as a laboratory, Dr. Heald said, but private foundations are particularly well-suited to conduct the experiments essential to finding solutions to economic and social defects. Private institutions, he said, must not be sustained merely as symbolic reminders of an earlier day.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey suggested in November that private foundations operate experimental war-on-poverty projects that might be too explosive for public agencies.

File Commendations: Publications

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 EAST 81 STREET, APT. 1-E
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

EL
Interagency mail list
MJ - file
vB

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

All questions on how to be put on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council are answered -- "Just ask."

So, I am asking-- please do put Wednesdays in Mississippi on the mailing list. We are great admirers of SRC pamphlets. Recently we were told you publish an excellent newsletter. I know we will gain a great deal of knowledge from this material.

At the moment the staff is reading, and finding excellent, "Black Belt Schools."

Many thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Polly Cowan

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

Please release to WG

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 438,741 SUN. 536,647

FEB 7 1966

Branton Is Veteran Of Rights Struggles

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a 1948 election, the plantation owners around Pine Bluff, Ark., herded their Nebro workers to the polls as usual after telling them for whom to vote.

But the landowners were surprised and angered to discover that the Negroes had not followed instructions. Their investigation showed that a 25-year-old Negro, Wiley A. Branton of Pine Bluff, had been mimeographing sample ballots and teaching Negroes how to vote their own choices.

For that, Branton was convicted of violating Arkansas's election laws. It cost him $1000 in fine and costs.

It also made him determined to become a lawyer in the civil rights field. Today, at 42, Branton is the Federal Government's man in charge of encouraging Southern Negroes to register and vote.

His title is Special Assistant to Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbech. It is no secret that, when he was appointed by President Johnson last Sept. 24, Branton did not believe the Justice Department was doing enough to get Negroes registered under the Voting Rights Act.

"In some areas in the South, there has been years of discrimination, tradition and intimidation against Negro voting," Branton said in an interview in his Justice Department office.

"You just can't get results by suddenly opening up the registrars and saying come in and vote. Hell, you have got to do a little bit more. It's a role the Federal Government should do, encouraging people to register and vote."

Branton said that, now, the Federal Government is doing just that.

He spends most of his time traveling in the South, checking into motels, introducing himself to local Negro leaders and asking them what they are doing to interest Negroes in registering to vote.

Job Opens Doors

Branton said it is amazing how Negroes in localities will come together to meet him.

"Wearing the hat of the Justice Department carries terrific weight," Branton said. "People have been isolated so long and have had so little contact with people from Washington, that it just opens doors, even when they don't know me."

Many Southerners know Branton, however, especially in Arkansas. He was the third Negro to attend the University of Arkansas Law School (he was the first to try to desegregate the undergraduate school but was denied admission).

Returning to Pine Bluff, where his family operated one of the oldest taxi companies in the state, Branton opened a law office, and, with his wife, Lucille, as secretary, developed a practice.

Little Rock Case

In 1953, as an NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorney, Branton was a special prosecutor in Hamburg, Ark., in the case of a Mississippi white man charged with molesting a Negro girl. An all-white jury returned a guilty verdict.

But it was in 1957 that Branton came to national prominence, as the attorney in the Little Rock desegregation case. Recently, Branton was in the audience of a Negro college in Pine Bluff when Gov. Orval E. Faubus spoke there.

"Why, Faubus made one of the best speeches for the Great Society, LBJ and Hubert Humphrey, more so than any flaming liberal," said Branton.

By Charles Del Vecchio, Staff Photographer

WILEY A. BRANTON
. . . aids Southern Negroes to register and vote

In 1962, Branton was appointed director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and spent much time in Mississippi defending Negroes arrested for registration activity. Last year, he was executive secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity until it was abolished, and he was sent to the Justice Department last September.

Mistaken for White

Somewhat burly, Branton is also very light-skinned. Once in the middle of racially tense Greenwood, Miss., he was faced by policemen, one with a drawn gun, the other with a billy club.

"They insisted that I get out of the 'nigger' section of town, back into the white section where I belonged," he said.

Recently, Branton and several other Justice Department aides accompanied Katzenbach to Mobile, Ala., where the Attorney General spoke to an audience made up primarily of Negroes. One news account noted that the aides were "all white."

Branton said the Federal Government is now fulfilling its duties in voting registration. He cited Katzenbach's speech in Mobile, promising that any Negroes who wanted to vote would be registered by the next election.

Spring Surge Is Seen

Letters have been sent to 500 county registrars explaining minimum standards of the law and Department policy. And Federal registrars have been sent to Birmingham, even though the local registrars had yielded a bit to meet objections.

Branton, always frank, said the Negro demonstrations in Birmingham did not cause the Department to send registrars; the local registration board's refusal to move far enough did.

"Over-all," he said, "things are moving well. In the spring, I expect a great turnout of Negroes to register in the South. The cold weather will be over, the politics will be warming up. There will be a tremendous increase in registration."

And that will bring needed changes in the South, he said. "You can already see the changes there."

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS AND COURIER
D. 63,000 S. 80,000

FEB 11 1966

Funds For Propaganda

The custom of a tax-exempt foundation giving money to special pleaders instead of non-partisan causes comes up for review again on account of the Ford Foundation's grant of $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The Ford Foundation said the money is given to "help strengthen state and local human-relations councils in 11 Southern states."

We are all for good human relations. As a matter of fact, we believe that human relations in South Carolina are excellent. They are this way because of the common sense and courtesy of the people of this state. South Carolina has not needed any council or committee to engineer better relationship among various elements of its population. It is calmly and quietly adjusting to new conditions.

The Southern Regional Council is a pressure group plugging for artificial togetherness. Its leadership has not been broadly representative of the states in which it has operated.

With a grant of $300,000, the SRC should be able to publish many more pamphlets and hold numerous seminars aimed at making Southerners feel guilty about their view of society. We don't believe the SRC can make Southerners buy its line with any amount of money. We regret, however, that the Ford Foundation uses its money to prop up a publicity agency for a special point of view. The foundation could obtain better value for its money by helping institutions and agencies that concentrate on more worthy causes.

The Atlanta Journal
AND
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SUN. 496,588

MAR 27 1966

Business Asked To Ease Job Bias

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—"Color blind" hiring practices as required by federal and state laws forbidding job discrimination will not be enough to reduce the high unemployment rate for Negroes, a national human relations research organization said in a report released Saturday.

Top management in private businesses must take steps beyond minimum legal requirements to break established employment practices that have excluded Negroes, said the report published by the Potomac Institute in Washington.

The alternative to management reaching past nondiscrimination laws to increase job opportunities for Negroes is "new forms of direct pressure and intensified regulation," said the report.

"Militant civil rights leadership, disillusioned by the cumbersome procedures of the law, are proposing the acceleration of direct action," the report said.

WHILE THE NATION'S unemployment rate has dropped below four per cent, the jobless percentage for Negroes is more than double the national average.

The Potomac Institute report can be expected to figure as a major factor in the White House conference on civil rights to be held in June to recommend ways to give Negroes fuller benefits in the American society.

The report was written by George Schermer, a Washington consultant on human relations, and former executive director of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations and the Mayor's Interracial Committee in Detroit.

Harold Fleming, executive vice president of the nonprofit Potomac Institute, is a former Atlantan who served as executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

Schermer's study of employment practices included interviews with top executives of 30 businesses, some of them with operations in Georgia.

The report is entitled "Employer's Guide to Equal Opportunity" and is intended to assist businessmen who want to take affirmative actions for fair employment.

Major conclusions of the report include:

THERE IS LITTLE change in minority employment patterns. Some companies do not practice overt action to exclude Negroes, but do not take affirmative measures to improve Negro job opportunities.

The most important ingredients of a successful equal opportunity employment program are the positions taken by top-level management and the degree of intent. Policy statements designed for public relations are not policy decisions intended for company implementation.

Personal concern by management in smaller firms usually gets good results, but larger companies must communicate top-level policy to individual units and set goals realistic to conditions.

Recruitment programs for Negroes must include employment for their potential and the investment of time and money in their training. In recent years, recruitment of Negroes from colleges and technical schools has been greater than the supply of qualified Negroes. Companies committed to improving nonwhite employment have found other ways to develop skills for Negroes.

ONE OF THE MORE ticklish problems is the upgrading of Negro employes. Special training and other educational programs for Negroes are often interpreted by white employes as a means of advancing Negroes out of turn — or job discrimination in reverse.

Exceptionally "imaginative and creative" measures are necessary for a company to hurdle this problem, admits the report.

Many companies will have to revise their use of psychological tests. Firms that are most successful in employment of Negroes do not use psychological tests or limit their use and rely upon other selection devices as well.

Organized labor in most sections of the country was found not to be a barrier to special recruitment and employe upgrading programs for Negroes.

Community-wide support for employers is important to companies which wish to open up job opportunities to Negroes.

Laws against job discrimination are not the sole answer to equal employment, but they stimulate individual employers and community groups to seek affirmative action.

please return
j smith

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

VPA -
Please pass on to MJ for commendation file

April 20, 1966

Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

We would like a copy of the Council's report supporting the development of cooperatives and credit unions, but warning against dangers of uneconomic ventures and the dangers of failure unless they are "large in size and scope."

The same problems confront people helping to organize cooperatives in the developing countries.

Please send the report to:

Gordon Roth
Department of State
Agency for International Development
Room C-628
1711 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

4-20-66

Sincerely yours,

Gordon Roth

Gordon Roth
International Cooperative Development Service

PA
PW
GB

file Src Pubs: "Commendations"

St. Petersburg Times, Friday, May 13, 1966

Lind... ADDE...

Pres

NATIONAL NEWS

'NEW DAY NOT YET HERE'

Negroes' Anger Seen Nearing Explosion Point

WASHINGTON — A group study of racial problems in the South warned last night that anger and violence among Southern Negroes is nearer to the surface and nearer to exploding. "The new day is not yet here," it said.

"The miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue. The only hope," the report said, is that "the realization of promises and potential can be speeded." It called on all levels of government to do this.

THE REPORT, prepared jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, also criticized newspaper coverage of Southern school integration last fall and described the federal anti-poverty program as a failure.

Since the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it said, resentment on the part of both lower and middle class Negroes has been building up.

"The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside," it said, "have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life; at the same time frustration with lagging progress tempts the outsiders to destroy it . . ."

ADDING TO THE Negroes' frustrations, the report said, was a general misunderstanding throughout the nation last fall of the South's condition.

"As Negro children began what some newspapers termed 'massive' integration of Southern public schools in September 1965," the report said, "the nation was surprised that Southerners accepted the change in a peaceful manner.

"The truth is that conditions in the South were neither integrated nor peaceful," it said. Between 5 and 6 per cent of the region's more than 3-million Negro children attended classes with whites, the study said, "and often these children and their parents paid a very high price for the experience."

THE REPORT said families were evicted from tenant farms or sharecropper's cabins, others lost jobs, "some were beaten and shot at . . . Others saw their children abused and imprisoned."

"Yet the headlines continued to reassure the nation that 'school integration continues to spread quietly across the South,' " it said.

In an appendix, the study listed more than 125 incidents of intimidation, reprisal and violence — including 10 killings — in the South from September 1965 through February 1966, as reported by wire services and Southern newspapers. Most of the incidents occurred in rural areas.

THROUGHOUT accounts of the white South's violence, the study said, "there runs a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination — and a warning: 'I've been stomped down and stomped down all my life. It's been long enough.' "

Adding to the Negroes' plight is what the study termed the failure of the federal government's anti-poverty programs.

"The poverty program had promised to do more than 'dole' . . . to allow poor people themselves to launch an attack on poverty by means of increasing their own training," the report said.

"Yet it has failed in many instances to provide even the stop-gap measure such as commodities to fill immediate needs of those who are desperately poor. Its effect was to deepen the disillusionment."

Broader Rights Bill Proposed

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The U.S. Civil Rights Commission said yesterday President Johnson's civil rights bill did not go far enough. It called for new enforcement powers to end racial discrimination.

The commission endorsed the President's proposal, but called for additional legislation that would:

- **REVOKE** federal charters and insurance of banks or savings and loan institutions that discriminate against Negro home buyers; or fail to require builders to pledge nondiscrimination.
- Designate as a federal crime any conduct "designed to preclude a fair trial," including lynchings of persons awaiting trial, and interference of citizens using public highways.
- Require a presumption, rebuttable in court, that jury discrimination exists in areas where there has been a recent court finding to that effect, or where any class of persons have disproportionately low representation on juries.
- Permit persons exercising their constitutional rights to sue individuals, public officials and localities and states for damages suffered as a result of private or official actions.
- Amend the federal fair employment practices law to cover state and local governments in an effort to place qualified Negroes in law enforcement agencies.

THE COMMISSION'S written testimony was given to the House civil rights subcommittee, which is holding hearings on the President's proposal to outlaw discrimination in housing, reform jury selection and strengthen laws against racial violence.

Fire & Res. "Commendations"

Report Denies Race Harmony Gains in South

By Willard Clopton
United Press International

America is "deluding itself" if it believes that steady progress is being made toward racial harmony in the South, two organizations said yesterday.

They also said that southern Negroes are in a psychological state comparable to that of the peasantry just before the French Revolution and that continued "white lawlessness' could easily trigger "retaliatory violence."

The Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee issued their warning in a joint report, "Teh Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South."

The 40-page report lists 114 "Act s ofInteimidation, Reprisal and Violence" it says were committed against Negores during the six months ended in February.

The document examines the notion, which it calls widespread, that public school desegregation is spreading quietly across the South.

Although heavy publicity was given to the complete racial integration of scools in a few isolated southern communities last fall, only 5 to 6 per cent of the region's three million Negro school-age children are attending classes with whites, the report says.

One reason, it states, is that large numbers of, Negro parents who filled out transfer forms for their children—the U.S. Office of Education used the forms to deduce the number of children in desegregated schools — later changed their minds.

Illustrating the variety of pressures brought on the parents, the report gives these examples:

• One Negro who enrolled his chold in a previously all-white school not only lost his job with the Alabama Power Co., but had his unemployment check held up by county officials.

Truck Driver Fired

• An Alabama truck driver attended a T-TA meeting at the formerly white school where his daughter was a student. After the meeting, local merchants met and decided not to accept any more merchandise he delivered. As a result, he was fired from his job.

• A west Tennessee school bus driver sprayed disinfectant on two Negro first-graders before letting them on a desegregated bus.

• A family of Georgia Negroes was evicted after sending their child to a previously white school.

• At least 32 shots were fired into the home of a Negro couple in Mississippi after their son enrolled at a previously white school.

Despite passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the report goes on, "the old patterns of resistance" to integration are still being employed and weaknesses in Federal enforcement are exploited wherever they are found.

The immediate impact of the 196 4law has been felt, the document says, "only in the area of public accommodations, giving middle class Negroes access to peripheral trappings of the white man's world . . ."

The 1965 act may have given thousands of Negroes access to the ballot box, the reports adds, but it provides no solace for hundreds in the Black Belt counties of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana who lost their jobs or their [illegible] because they [illegible] to vote.

Dim Hope'

The fact that Negro anger has not yet exploded into violence "is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the futre," the report concludes, adding that "about the only hope" for avoiding bloodshed is that "the realization of promises and potential can be speeded."

The report was distributed at the 60th anniversary meeting of the American Jewish Committee at the Shoreham Hotel.

Addressing the Committee's luncheon meeting yesterday, Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, called for Congressional passage of the Deomnstration Cities Demonstration Cities Act.

He described it as "breakthrough" legislation intended to coordinate "the full range of existing grant-in-aid programs for both physical and social developmemt" of urban areas.

File Commendations
See publications
Cr. ref - Newspapers, et al.
" Chattanooga Times "

5-13-66

SOUTHERN NEGRO MAY 'RETALIATE'

More White Lawlessness Could Bring Violence, Report States

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA—A report on racial tensions in the South, issued jointly Thursday by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, warned that continued "white lawlessness" in parts of the South could trigger "retaliatory" violence from Negroes.

The main hope of avoiding such conflicts, the report added, rests in speeding up "the realization of promises and potential" for the Southern Negro.

The report offered an optimistic note, however, by underscoring the forces at work in many Southern communities to encourage the fruition of the American ideal, a situation that is better than ever before

While there are many reasons for viewing the current conflicts and confrontations as a kind of darkness before dawn, still it is "important to know that the new day is not yet here," the report said.

Besides documenting incidents of "white lawlessness," the report listed several other factors affecting Negroes that tend to create difficult situations in the South. These are:

Inadequate federal enforcement of civil rights legislation and its accompanying disillusionment; corroding poverty; the new psychological state of the American Negro that generally is characterized by increasing impatience with anything less than full citizenship.

Killing, Beating, Burning

The report noted that following the start of "peaceful" desegregation in the South in September 1955, ten killings and "uncounted" beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings were recorded in the six-month period through the end of February. It makes the point that such violence has not ended in much of the South, and, if anything, it intensified during the period.

Entitled "The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South," the report was released simultaneously in Atlanta at the headquar-

desire to participate in that life."

Alabama, Mississippi, north and delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia are pinpointed as areas of much recent and past violence.

It is "an illusion," the report declared, to regard recent hard-core, violent intimidation and reprisal against Negroes as characteristic of all the former states of the Confederacy. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South — Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia — are usually "isolated incidents," rather than concerted campaigns of terrorism.

Negro anger, the report stated, has spread from the city slums to the middle class. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones to be benefited even in part thus far by federal civil rights legislation, "have found progress toward tengible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow."

"There is a new awareness," the report went on, "that even the first "easy" gains — simply peeling off the old, dead layers of institutionalized prejudice — took ten years. To struggle so long to buy tokenism has at last worn patience thin."

In addition, the report stated, middle class Negro politicians are becoming increasingly aware of race consciousness on the part of their overwhelmingly poor constituencies

tered by industrialization creating 'haves' in cities, by-passing 'have-nots' on the land."

The anger of the Negroes is not new, the report pointed out, nor is the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed, it added:

"The most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace."

"Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new," the report concluded. "That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded — this seems about the only hope."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is a pioneer human relations agency in this country combatting bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing the cause of human rights for all.

New Orleans to Get '70 Legion Meeting

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — After a seven-year delay, New Orleans will be the site of the 1970 national convention of the American Legion Aug. 21-27.

The Legion's 1963 convention was scheduled for New Orleans. But it was abruptly shifted to Miami Bearh because the city's hotels would not admit Negro Legionnaires.

It was an incident of considerable financial pain, since the convention normally puts about 25,000 free-spending delegates into a city for a stay of several days.

Ironically, loss of the convention led to desegregation of hotels here during the summer of '63—before the Legion convention date of that year—but the change came too late.

Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, warned that continued "white lawlessness" in parts of the South could trigger "retaliatory" violence from Negroes.

The main hope of avoiding such conflicts, the report added, rests in speeding up "the realization of promises and potential" for the Southern Negro.

The report offered an optimistic note, however, by underscoring the forces at work in many Southern communities to encourage the fruition of the American ideal, a situation that is better than ever before

While there are many reasons for viewing the current conflicts and confrontations as a kind of darkness before dawn, still it is "important to know that the new day is not yet here," the report said.

Besides documenting incidents of "white lawlessness," the report listed several other factors affecting Negroes that tend to create difficult situations in the South. These are:

Inadequate federal enforcement of civil rights legislation and its accompanying disillusionment; corroding poverty; the new psychological state of the American Negro that generally is characterized by increasing impatience with anything less than full citizenship.

Killing, Beating, Burning

The report noted that following the start of "peaceful" desegregation in the South in September 1965, ten killings and "uncounted" beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings were recorded in the six-month period through the end of February. It makes the point that such violence has not ended in much of the South, and, if anything, it intensified during the period.

Entitled "The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South," the report was released simultaneously in Atlanta at the headquarters of the Southern Regional Council, and in Washington at the American Jewish Committee's 60th anniversary annual meeting.

The study consists of a listing of instances of violence, intimidation, and reprisal against Negroes from September 1965, through February 1966, and a narrative discussion of the implications.

The report charged that only token school integration thus far had been achieved in the South, with between 5 and 6 per cent of the South's 3,014,025 Negro children of school age now attending classes with whites, and that the parents of the relatively few Negro children who do attend white schools often have been victims of violence and of economic pressures that cost them their jobs and their homes.

Further, according to the report, many Negroes who register to vote or who attempt to send their children to white schools are beaten, lose their jobs, or are evicted from their homes.

Hope was expressed that the tightening of federal desegragation guidelines and better enforcement would improve the situation to improve the administration of Southern justice and the increased participation of Negroes in political processes were cited as hopeful factors. But underlying factors of discontent and turmoil, the report said, need more attention.

Poverty War Useless

The war on poverty, in many instances, has proven ineffectual in providing aid for poor Negro Southerners, including those out of work because they tried to exercise their constitutional rights.

In some states, the report continued, aid to poor Negroes has been blocked by public officials. For example, in Washington County, Mississippi, where a great number of Negroes are off the land and out of work. the board of supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because, in the words of a local newspaper, "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

In many ways, the report continued, "the psychological condition of Negroes generally similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the Revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater

considerable financial pain, since the convention normally puts about 25,000 free-spending delegates into a city for a stay of several days.

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It is "an illusion," the report declared, to regard recent hard-core, violent intimidation and reprisal against Negroes as characteristic of all the former states of the Confederacy. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South — Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia — are usually "isolated incidents," rather than concerted campaigns of terrorism.

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"There is a new awareness," the report went on, "that even the first "easy" gains — simply peeling off the old, dead layers of institutionalized prejudice — took ten years. To struggle so long to buy tokenism has at last worn patience thin."

In addition, the report stated, middle class Negro politicians are becoming increasingly aware of race consciousness on the part of their overwhelmingly poor constituencies.

The report urged the need for white leadership in the South to deal effectively with new Negro militancy and anger. It stated.

"In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slum; it has, through 'welfare,' paid Negroes to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight.

"If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they would have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc-voting, and, above all, work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. If they would do this, city government would have no choice to deal realistically with the causes of discontent rather than with handpicked middle class Negro negotiators."

Seeking to put the situation in the South in perspective as to place and time, the report related the South's "dilemma" to a worldwide pattern: "in which the door, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status-quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America — all fos-

anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new," the report concluded. "That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded — this seems about the only hope."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

2

Dear Paul:

These are for your files---one for the council and one for the ~~xxxxxx~~ AJC.

Best always

Johnny Popham

Mayesville, S.C., 5/10/66

Dear Pat,

I write to you because I don't know who did it. You pass on the good word. I have just finished reading "The Continuing Crisis: May, 1966". It strikes me as one of the best SRC has done. The facts are there, and the interpretation in depth. As you know, I go in for interpretation in depth--unfortunately, with or without the facts. Too many facts are hard on the rhetoric--and, as a public Southerner, I can't live without rhetoric. I may have a touch of the poet. You remember Yeats: 'The poet argues with himself, the rhetorician with others.' This is one of the chief evils the Yankees have brought on us; they were always there, making faces, beating their breasts and argument. [illegible]

file
SRC publications
" commendations

Charlotte Observer
5/29/66

Racial Anger Must Be Dampened

It has been widely assumed throughout the nation that last September's greatly expanded school desegregation in the South was accepted peacefully, if often grudgingly, in more communities. Racial intimidation and violence, it seemed, was finally on the wane.

But the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, in a depressing report published this month, contends that this hopeful notion is sadly in error. Instead, says the council, Negro families whose children moved into white schools frequently paid a heavy price. For example:

"Men and women who were already desperately poor were evicted from sharecropper's cabins or tenant farms. Many without the training for good jobs lost the meager jobs they had held for years. Some were beaten and shot at. Others saw their children abused and imprisoned."

To buttress this appalling statement, the council's report takes up 19 pages of fine print recounting acts of racial intimidation, reprisal and violence occurring in the South between last September and the end of February.

Lest we blithely assume that this phenomenon is limited to the Deep South, 17 incidents are recorded from North Carolina and South Carolina. And those who read the newspapers will quickly realize that this list is by no means exhaustive.

As if this record were not chilling enough, the report goes on to warn that Southern Negroes' patience is wearing thin. "Throughout accounts of the white South's violence there runs a new threat of Negroes' fearlessness and determination — and a warning: 'I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough.'"

The Southern Regional Council is not alone in this portentous appraisal of the Negro mood. At almost every turn, we encounter more ominous straws in the wind.

It would be nice if we could show this impression to be false, the product of demagogic blustering by politicians desperate to retain their followings. But we cannot honestly reach that conclusion. There is too much evidence the other way.

Yet it is also true that amid this ugliness, strong forces are at work to bring a better day for Southerners of both races. Responsible citizens, Negro and white, must work as never before to speed its arrival.

"The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best," the council's report concludes, "in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here."

file N.S.

Professor James Hodges
~~Dexpr~~ Department of History
College of Wooster
Wooster, Ohio

Professor Robert Calvert
Department of History
Texas A & M
College Station, Texas

Mr. Glynn Thomas
Manuscript Division
State Library and Archives
Nashville, Tennessee

Professor James Forsythe
Department of History
Kansas State College
Hays, Kansas

Professor Peter Fish
Department of Government
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Mrs. Glenda Bartley

6-13-66 km

See Materials file "Commendations"

BA ✓

Rec'd 6/27/66

MT - note current letter in commendations file

June 23, 1966

Dear Miss Braverman:

In response to your letter of June 21 we are happy to give you permission to reprint sections of the pamphlet, The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South, for inclusion in the July issue of Current. We understand that credit will be given to the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee.

Would you be good enough to send several copies of the issue in which this material appears both to me and to Mr. Pat Watters at the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

Miss Natalie Braverman
Permissions
Current Magazine
905 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10021

cc: Pat Watters ✓

c: Mr. Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 St., New York

(Sent 6/27/66)

June 22, 1966

Ms. Natalie Braverman
Permissions Department
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Ms. Braverman:

We would be delighted for you to reprint excerpts from the pamphlet "The Continuing Crisis" in your July issue.

May we have five copies of the magazine when it appears?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

BA File

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

Rec'd 6/30/66

June 21, 1966

Southern Regional Council ✓
American Jewish Committee

Gentlemen:

The editors of Current would like to reprint approximately 1150 words from the pamphlet THE CONTINUING CRISIS: AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH for inclusion in the July issue of Current.

Full credit will go to both organizations in the text and on our source page.

Thank you for your attention to this request. We would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Natalie Braverman

Natalie Braverman
Permissions

file New South (Material-file)

July 13, 1966

Mrs. O. D. Thomas
2711 Main Avenue
Northport, Alabama 25476

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Thank you for your comments concerning the new NEW SOUTH.

We changed the format, as general information is now readily available through many of the news medias, while the in-depth studies of the present NEW SOUTH, we feel, are vital to understanding the changes in the civil rights movement.

Our policy of including a free subscription to NEW SOUTH with membership in a state Council was changed some 2½ or 3 years ago. However, in many cases people continued to get copies.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

File
Materials File
Communications

July 12, 1966

Mr. John P. Sisson
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

Thank you for the information of the excellent use of THE CONTINUING CRISIS. We very much appreciate your cooperation in such an excellent way.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

(1)

file Commendations

file Material 5 file Commendations

July 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is sample of a letter which we addressed individually to thirty-nine bishops in the South and Southwest last week, enclosing with each letter a copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Sisson
John P. Sisson

cc: Mr. Ed Stanfield
Mr. Mathew Ahmann

July 1, 1966

Most Reverend Coleman F. Carroll
Bishop of Miami
6301 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida, 33138

Your Excellency:

We are sending you the enclosed copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS as an aid in understanding one changing aspect of race relations in the South.

There is a present possibility of racial violence in the South which should cause the greatest concern to all religious leaders. The frustration of Negroes in the South has been obvious since last year, long before the Mississippi March, and many human relations specialists feel that reaction may accelerate unless action is taken by concerned leaders in every locality and by federal officials.

In the short range, there will probably be the need for mediation, for trained and dedicated people to act as communications bridges.

In the long run, the involvement of all churchmen is essential in programs which aid Negroes to reach the goals outlined in the laws passed to aid their advancement and safety, but so broadly disregarded in practice by officials and citizens in Southern states.

The need for staffed and funded programs to assure equal rights and opportunities in all institutions in our society has never been greater. Too many have trusted that the national consensus represented in laws would automatically solve centuries of contrary practices.

Asking Your Excellency's blessing, I am

Respectfully yours,

John P. Sisson

E.L ✓
BA

2337 Calhoun Street
Barnwell, South Carolina
July 26, 1966

Dear Sir:

Would you send me 12 more subscription cards to attempt to get more subscribers? 7-29-66 is

Your fact-filled magazine needs to spread throughout America to Negro and Caucasian readers.

Keep-up the good work.

Yours in Christ,
(Mrs.) Bertha J. Barfield

SBI Lags In Ku Klux Klan Probes

"Commendations"

Asheville Citizen 8/1/ Sally Shelton Lee

Out of the charges and countercharges emerging from Raleigh it becomes clear that the State Bureau of Investigation is not pushing its probe of Ku Klux Klan activity in North Carolina with sufficient speed or zeal.

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta recently issued a list of 13 incidents of race-related violence, brutality and intimidation in North Carolina between September, 1965, and March, 1966. In only three of these cases had the SBI helped to obtain convictions. It did not even have records on seven of them. It was still investigating three others.

In recent months there have been numerous additional incidents of cross-burning, dynamiting, attempted dynamiting and burning of buildings in North Carolina. But apparently the SBI can't or won't gather enough evidence to bring anyone to trial.

Governor Dan K. Moore is rightly concerned, but one big difficulty is that the SBI is not directly responsible to him. Its boss is the Attorney General, Wade Bruton, who himself is a publicly elected official. And Bruton seems in no mood to push investigation of the Klan.

The Governor has apparently tried without success to get Bruton to accept another, less demanding State post. Since this attempt has failed, he should take the lead in arousing public opinion to insist that the SBI move speedily to obtain convictions in cases in which Klan activity is suspected. Any other course will leave the way open for more trouble.

rec'd 8/9

The American Jewish Committee

DATE: 8-9-66

TO: Nathan Perlmutter

FROM: Harry Friedman

___For approval

✓For your information

___Please handle

___Please talk to me about this

___Read and return

___Reply for my signature

___Returned as requested

___Your comments, please

Remarks:

182-9-61

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

File
Materials file
"Commendations"

JUL 28 1966

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Thanks for your July 5 letter, with enclosure of pamphlet titled The Continuing Crisis, addressed to Secretary Weaver, who has asked me to respond. The Secretary wants you to be assured of his deep and continuing concern with expediting progress in the crucial area of your interest.

The Continuing Crisis represents a joint project of The American Jewish Committee and The Southern Regional Council and provides a helpful introduction to the current problems of economic reprisal and political organization in the South serving to deter the progress of Negroes. Of especial interest is the helpful compendium, under Part II, of "Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence, September 1965 through February 1966." This simple cumulative digest of articles and reports documenting cases of manifest incidents of Southern resistance to desegregation adds up to hit the reader with dramatic impact. We would view this section as one of the most constructive of the pamphlet.

Much of Mrs. Bartley's essay, "The South's Temper 1964-1966," is also highly significant, particularly her analysis of the dual pressures for change and countervailing retaliation to prevent change in the old South. We would believe, however, that the value of the document could have been enhanced with a bit more attention given to the prevalence of retaliation against rural and urban whites who are sympathetic to progress of Southern Negroes to equal status of first class citizenship. If these whites could be freed from the fear of economic and social reprisal, their support could help to improve the position of the Southern Negro considerably. While the author rightly feels that "there has been little actual political cooperation between the races" (p.13), it is important to note the tremendous potential of such cooperation redounding to the benefit of all concerned, should reason once prevail.

Thanks for sharing this useful pamphlet with us and we hope that you will continue to keep us informed on your views and publications.

Sincerely yours,

B. T. McGraw

B. T. McGraw
Assistant to the Secretary
(Intergroup Relations)

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JUL 28 1966

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Sincerely yours,

B. T. McGraw

B. T. McGraw
Assistant to the Secretary
(Intergroup Relations)

for S. Kaufer
M. Yarmon
N. Perlmutter

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS NO. 4
JUDGES' CHAMBERS
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
534 CITY HALL

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
JUDGE

27 July 66

Mr. Harry Fleishman
Race Relations Coordinator
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

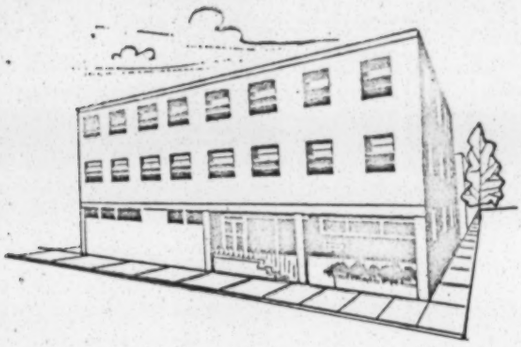
I am grateful to you for sending to me a most informative phamphlet which your committee prepared jointly with the Southern Regional Council, along with a press summary issued at the time of its publication. I read this material with great care and very great interest over the last weekend at my home. I enjoyed it tremendously and I compliment you and your committee for an excellent task so very well done.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Alexander

RPA:gg

cc: S Kaufer
M Yarmon
N. Perlmutter



The Philadelphia Tribune

The Constructive Newspaper

520 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19146

Published Twice a Week

Kingsley 6-1005

July 22, 1966

Mr. Harry Fleischman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

This acknowledges with thanks your letter of July 5th.

The "Continuing Crisis" is a valuable presentation of facts as well as thoughtful interpretation of them.

Permit me to commend your organization for the excellent job it is doing in seeking to solve what, in the minds of many people, is America's most difficult problem.

I am enclosing two editorial which I thought perhaps might be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

E. Washington Rhodes

E. Washington Rhodes
Publisher

ewr/b
2 endl.

cc: S. Kaufer
M. Yarmon
N. Perlmutter

Only Insane Hospital Candidates Think 'Black Power' Means 'Kill White People'

Negroes are American citizens!

That simple fact is too often overlooked.

That they have been denied their rights and responsibilities as American citizens both by law and practice does not change their status as American citizens.

Even many of those who declare that they do not object to Negro American citizens enjoying their full rights apparently do not understand that Negroes are citizens of the U.S.A. and as such are absolutely equal in every area of life—both public and private.

All the furor caused because some Negro used the phrase "Black Power" is absolute proof of the foregoing statement. America's mass media has had a Roman holiday playing up all across America that a Negro speaker used the statement "Black Power". Newspapers, radio and television stations seek to make the "Black Power" phrase mean that Negroes seek to build a black empire within the United States which will exclude all white folk. And some even attempt to interpret "Black Power" as a threat to kill all white people.

Of course, the term "Black Power" means no such thing. Those who seek to place any such meaning to the slogan "Black Power" are fit subjects for a hospital for the insane.

The phrase "Black Power" has no more sinister meaning than "Labor Power", "Irish Power", "Jewish Power", "Catholic Power," "Republican and Democratic Power." Those respective groups used their power to correct the evils which exist in relation to them. Very few people believe that organized labor is going to kill all businessmen who disagree with them. No intelligent person has ever shouted that the persecuted Irish were going to murder all other Americans when they used "Irish Power" to relieve the pressure from their backs.

The difference is clearly obvious, too many Americans refuse to understand that Negroes are full-fledged citizens of the United States of America. They believe that Negroes do not deserve the identical treatment as other citizens; that they occupy a lower status; that they should wait patiently until their white brothers, out of the kindness of their hearts, bestow upon them their rights already assured them under the Constitution.

The proof is absolute in the threats that are being made that unless Negroes stop "pressing too hard" their "good white" friends will desert them and the progress of Negroes will be stopped.

Reprint From The Philadelphia Tribune (*Issue of July 12*)

Prevention of Racial Violence Every Citizen's Business

AN EDITORIAL

The racial violence which exploded in Chicago last week can and will happen in Philadelphia unless positive steps are taken to prevent it.

Racial violence is injurious to all segments of the population. It follows then that the prevention of racial violence is everybody's business.

It is very unfortunate that there are those on both sides of the color line who are happy when violence between the races occurs.

The weather is steaming hot. Tempers are short. The record shows that some minor incident sets off the majority of riots which destroys both lives and property. For example, the horrifying inferno which flared up in Chicago began when the police turned off water hydrants which had been turned on by small boys to cool themselves during the intense heat wave which gripped that city. While it is admitted that for the lack of rain there is a water shortage in most major cities and the police were performing their duty, they could have adopted a more diplomatic attitude rather than flaunt their authority.

In a recent exhaustive examination of the problems faced by the urban Negro today, Senator Robert Kennedy suggested as one step that it was imperative for every American city to constitute a commission, not to investigate the causes of an explosion that has taken place, but to take positive action to lay bare and move to correct the deprivations

The Prevention of Racial Violence Is the Business of Every Citizen

(Continued from Page 1)

that might lead to disaster in the future.

The McCone report on the Watts riots indicated that it is not enough to complain about the "lawlessness" of the people in protest, or even in riot. Any kind of people would become embittered if they were forced to live under the conditions which the masses of Negroes must endure. This bitterness can be turned into diabolical action by crackpot leaders who seek to glorify themselves. It is a fact that too many police officers consider Negroes as wild animals upon whom they must use brutal force.

So-called "good" citizens are not doing their duty when they stand afar off and simply condemn either the police or the rioters. It is mandatory that they get down to the bedrock of "the problem." Thus follows suggestions for the future:

(1) There must be better lines of communications between middle class Negroes with the masses of their people. Presently, they are too far removed from the actual sufferings of their brothers and sisters who through no fault of their own live in dire need of sympathetic and understanding help. If it is done with a condescending attitude, it will accomplish nothing.

(2) Police officers need to understand that the masses of Negroes are human beings who live in abject poverty and ignorance as the direct result of discrimination against them because of their race; that they are not inherently inferior.

(3) Every ghetto in America is the direct result of people abandoning their homes when a Negro family moves in. White middle class families sacrifice their homes simply because they have a fixed idea about the inferiority of Negroes. Middle class Negroes are just as guilty, since they too think they are superior to their less affluent brothers.

The low income Negro families are often unable to pay for the homes purchased. It becomes necessary for them to rent rooms. Unscrupulous landlords, with the approval of greedy city officials, purchase one-family homes, cut them up into several "apartments" at exorbitant rentals. Overcrowding results with all of the attendant evils.

(4) Because of ignorance Negroes are exploited from the time they are born until they are dead. Schools in the slums are inferior. Many so-called dedicated teachers refuse to teach in these schools and the Board of Education lacks the guts to assign them to such schools. Dilworth and his fellow board members can cry their eyeballs out about the inferior Negro schools, but until they are willing to take positive action to remedy the conditions they know exists, their mouthings are meaningless.

The churches generally have been doing a good job. However, it is now mandatory that the church extend its influence beyond the four walls of the church building. Pastors and church members must involve themselves with the problems of the masses—where they live, how they live and to help them improve their general well-being.

The liquor industry and establishments which are engaged in the retail sale of intoxicating liquor should undertake the difficult task of not selling liquor to those who are obviously spending more for liquor than they can afford. Operators of neighborhood bars and night clubs come in direct contact with the masses in a manner which gives them the opportunity to help improve the attitudes and living conditions of their customers.

Newspapers, television, radio stations and other mass media have a tremendous influence which carries with it the responsibility of helping to remove the causes which contribute directly to racial outbreaks. The foregoing institutions must do more than give their readers, viewers and hearers the news. While it is mandatory for them to present the actual facts, they should not present them in a manner which inflames the public mind. Further in editorials, cartoons and columns they can and should endeavor to arouse the general public to take immediate action to remove the causes which are responsible for the rioting and racial unrest.

In short, the prevention of racial violence is everybody's business. Let us all get on the job now!

MIGRANT LABOR TOPIC OF STUDY

Farm Workers Found to Have No Barrier to 'Stoop' Work

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — A study that constitutes a rare look-in-depth at American migrant farm workers—some hundreds of thousands of persons largely isolated and forgotten by the American mainstream—was released Sunday by the Southern Regional Council.

The study was made by Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University, a consultant to the council, the South's foremost organization of white and Negro leaders whose purpose is to "attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South."

A fundamental point of the council report is that psychiatric study shows that American migrant farm workers have no psychological barrier to performing certain "stoop labor."

The council notes that efforts have been made, some successful, to picture American laborers as "unavailable" for harvest work in order to win special permission from the U.S. Department of Labor for importation of foreign labor.

The issue is social and economic, Dr. Coles writes, not psychological. He adds:

"The American farm hands I have studied and observed are motivated toward work, want to work, and will work. Other workers may well be preferred by farm owners, but psychiatric observations do not support many of the claims frequently made about the 'laziness' of farm hands.

"On the contrary, most of these people display an initiative and desire for work in striking contrast to their poor brethren in the cities. . . ."

They might want better pay, but they are looking for work at any pay, he says, adding: "That foreign labor is more 'manageable,' more susceptible to various regulations and the authority of their employers is doubtless true."

Three "streams" of migrant laborers move from farm to farm across areas of the United States, one along the Mexican coast, one from Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma up through the Midwest, and the third along the Atlantic Seaboard.

The council's study is concerned with people and families in the latter "stream." It is based on interviewing many of them, and on concentrated study of 10 families, six Negro and four white.

Progressive Study

The study traces the way children are reared among the migrant laborers, following them from an infancy of close physical and emotional attachment to parents, to a childhood of work and upheaval, neglected education and lack of a substantial home, into sudden adulthood—with no transitional time of teen-age learning and enjoying life.

In teen-age adulthood, these children of migrants tend to take on the family responsibilities and way of life of their parents.

This way of life, Dr. Coles says, is marked by its isolation from the rest of American life. Much of this is because the migrants live differently—always on the move.

"For example," he says, "migrants usually do not vote. They are rarely eligible for any local unemployment assistance. They may hardly see the towns whose nearby fields they harvest. Their rights to adequate schooling for their children, to police protection, to sanitary inspection and regulation of their homes, to enforcement of fire regulations for these same homes, are in many cases prejudiced."

Similarly, they have no neighborhood churches or movie houses, no social clubs, no picnics, no Scout troops for the children, or book clubs.

"In effect," Dr. Coles writes, "migrant farm workers comprise, by the hundreds of thousands, a vastly ignored subculture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are simply not known to most of us."

He goes on to make these points:

1. "My own investigation finds that in order to adapt to such unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, expceptionally close-knit with their young children."

2. "Migrant children progressively learn a sense of their own weakness and inadequacy in comparison with the rest of the population whose existence they comprehend and see from the distance of the traveler or television viewer."

3. "Migrants thus tend not only to be distrustful of others, but even hostile toward many attempts to help them with medicine, shelter or advice. They tend to avoid the very food they harvest, often in a fearful manner."

4. "Migrants develop a variety of medical and psychiatric illnesses. Especially are they suspectible to mood swings, violence toward one another, and heavy drinking."

5. "I can only remark upon the extraordinary resilience shown by many of these people. The exertion of will they can muster, under the conditions of life they have as their very own, calls for further psychiatric study into how people manage stress and preserve, as well as lose, some of their psychological stability and human dignity.

"To say, as some do, domestic migrants will not work at 'stoop labor' is to ignore the daily facts of life for hundreds of thousands of native Americans who, in point of fact, have done and continue to do precisely that: Working under all sorts and conditions of work for pay exceedingly low in comparison to that most of us get."

Dr. Coles says finally that any attempt to improve the situation of migrants must be undertaken with "patience and willfulness." He adds:

"We must, that is, be prepared for the tiresome work, the coordinated planning, in education, medicine, agriculture, housing, and a host of associated fields, required for the job. . .

"Their children can be better taught. Their health can improve. Their water can be safer, their food more nourishing. Eventually their actions can become more constructive and their spirits higher.

"Nor need they be enemies of their present employers, many of whom wish them well and are also caught in frustrating situations which are really part of the same social and agricultural problems afflicting the migrants.

"Whatever we do, then, we should mean. A few casual and half-hearted attempts are likely to result in frustration, anger, and, finally, a sense of failure on both sides, theirs and 'ours.' "

The ROGER SMITH — WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
PENNSYLVANIA AVE. at 18th ST., N.W. • Just two blocks from The White House

P W

S. Smith
for Special file

Thursday

Paul —

The SRC story hit the front page of the Wash. Post here Monday Morning.

Heres the P2 story in the Evening Star Oct 18.

Warm regards,

Nat W.

The ROGER SMITH STAMFORD, CONN.
The ROGER SMITH WATERBURY, CONN.
The ROGER SMITH WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.
The ROGER SMITH NEW YORK, N.Y.
The ROGER SMITH NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.
The ROGER SMITH WASHINGTON, D.C.

The PARK CRESCENT NEW YORK, N.Y.

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Dual Standard Attributed to Courts in South

ATLANTA, GA. (AP)—A double standard of justice for whites and Negroes in the South was described today as one of the major problems facing the nation in a report issued by two organizations active in civil rights.

The report, issued jointly by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Southern Regional Council, said:

"The danger today is not that the public will fail to known about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act."

26 Reported Slain

At least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers have been killed in the South during the period from 1960 to 1965 and only one of the assailants has been sent to jail, and he was sentenced to 10 years, the report said.

"Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution?" the report asked.

Such a double standard of justice "provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shum the policeman and the courts as enemies," the report continued.

Such distrust is carried into other parts of the nation, the report said, and can be ignited into rioting by encounter with similar conditions as in Watts, a section of Los Angeles.

The report suggested stronger use of powers already held by the federal government for protection of the life and constitutional rights of Negroes in the South.

Legal Integration

Integration of all law enforcement institutions, including courts, jails and juries was urged.

The report also cited the need for some means of providing counsel for unpopular and indigent cases and recommended better methods of assessing fines and bonds.

The effect of what was described as dual justice in the everyday life of the Negro was stressed in the 31-page report. It said:

"His color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given Negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. That is a statistical certainty that hovers over every Negro and makes him never quite free."

hop at home

file: SRC Commendations

MJ — copy to JS

The Toledo (Ohio) Blade

reprinted report on

Southern justice on Mar 7 '65 —

Commendations

file

Does this merit a letter to the Editor from SRC?

The Augusta Chronicle
The South's Oldest Newspaper - Established 1785
AUGUSTA HERALD

A Prize-Winning Newspaper 1965 Better Newspaper Contests

"The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties." —*Woodrow Wilson*

Make folder: SRC Probs "Criticisms"

The return of autocracy

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance . . . he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving assent to their acts of pretended legislation ..... He has dissolved representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people ..... He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us ..... our repeated petitions have been answered only with repeated injury."

—The Declaration of Independence in Congress, July 4, 1776

The arrogant faction which has taken possession of our national Administration and, through its control of all branches of government, has steadily cancelled the freedom of the individual and the authority of state and local government, is guilty of every one of the offenses listed above, which our forefathers complained in the Declaration of Independence.

This faction has vented its spite especially on the people of the South, a section in which individual rights are held in particularly high regard. Through attacks on men's inherent right to hold and sell their property, to conduct their businesses as they wish, to choose such types of representation as they prefer in their state legislatures, to operate their schools as they think best and to fix their own standards for voting — through attacks on all these, the iron fist exercised in Washington has badly deformed and sadly weakened the democracy set up by our Constitution.

★ ★ ★

In no area has the monolithic centralized power in the national capital been exercised more unwisely than in so-called "civil rights" laws and bureaucratic edicts. The Chronicle is foremost among those who insist on true civil rights. We have advocated, time after time after time, a greater regard for the privileges which are conferred on every American by virtue of his citizenship. We have consistently urged that all laws be obeyed, including some unwise laws which create more problems than they solve; that every citizen be given equal justice in the courts, re-

● The two organizations also say that school conditions in the South are "neither integrated nor peaceful." Certainly there are isolated communities in the South where conditions have not been peaceful. In nearly every such instance, however, disorders are a direct product of agitators and inciters-to-violence who know they can't reap their golden harvest of contributions unless they break the law and persuade others to do likewise.

To see how utterly unnecessary this is, one need only point to Augusta, where leaders of the two races have worked together in mutual trust, respect and appreciation to build better race relations and advance the rights of Negroes. The long list of advances for our Negro citizens the past several years does not need to be repeated; suffice it to say that it has been achieved and will be continued, by means which are peaceful and constructive.

★ ★ ★

Even more shocking was a report the same day from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. This body represents in a semi-official way the majesty of the United States government, while the other two groups apparently represent no one except a small segment of the American public dedicated to punitive crusades. The commission must be taken more seriously because its foot in the federal door gives it some standing in creation of new legislation. Here's some of the new legislation it proposes for immediate passage:

● Revoke the federal charter and deposit insurance of banks that discriminate against Negro home buyers, or which make loans to builders who won't pledge integration. Can we take seriously a body of fanatics who would withdraw the protection for depositors who have nothing to do with banking decisions? How, we may ask, are the bosses in Washington going to determine whether a loan is denied because of color or because the applicant is a poor credit risk? Judging by past performance of the "liberals," we cannot be sure of any rational answer to that question. And if a builder cannot build to sell to whom he chooses — there goes another part of our crumbling Constitution.

● Require a presumption that discrimination exists where any class of persons have disproportion-

regard. Through attacks on men's inherent right to hold and sell their property, to conduct their businesses as they wish, to choose such types of representation as they prefer in their state legislatures, to operate their schools as they think best and to fix their own standards for voting — through attacks on all these, the iron fist exercised in Washington has badly deformed and sadly weakened the democracy set up by our Constitution.

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The dictatorial faction which now calls itself — erroneously — "liberal" has pretended to espouse these basic constitutional rights. In so doing, however, it has destroyed the rights of others, wherever there might be the slightest conflict with the demands of minority race agitators. Rights, in the view of the "liberals," has been a one-way street, running only in that direction which will take them to success at the polls.

This faction, working through a variety of organizations, is still not satisfied with the shambles it has made of true freedom. On Friday morning, reports came from two sources which indicate vindictive "liberals" will not be content until they have killed the last vestiges of rights as the authors of the Constitution conceived them.

★ ★ ★

One report was made jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee. Theirs was a monstrously irresponsible statement. Irresponsibility may stem either from disregard for facts and principles, or from reckless indifference to consequences. The two organizations are guilty on both counts:

- They warned that violence among Southern Negroes is nearer, and that "the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue." This incendiary statement will be laughed at by the white and Negro people in most communities, who will recognize it as what it is — an unmitigated lie. In some areas, however, where tension has been created by deliberate agitation, and by white bigots as well, a declaration that bloodshed is likely to start any minute will be the one thing necessary to trigger violence. This is akin to shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

The statement is a bald lie because it ignores the true state of race relations in an overwhelming majority of our communities. It deceptively tries, furthermore, to fasten on the South the full burden of a national problem.

tive crusades. The commission must be taken more seriously because its foot in the federal door gives it some standing in creation of new legislation. Here's some of the new legislation it proposes for immediate passage:

- Revoke the federal charter and deposit insurance of banks that discriminate against Negro home buyers, or which make loans to builders who won't pledge integration. Can we take seriously a body of fanatics who would withdraw the protection for depositors who have nothing to do with banking decisions? How, we may ask, are the bosses in Washington going to determine whether a loan is denied because of color or because the applicant is a poor credit risk? Judging by past performance of the "liberals," we cannot be sure of any rational answer to that question. And if a builder cannot build to sell to whom he chooses — there goes another part of our crumbling Constitution.

- Require a presumption that discrimination exists where any class of persons have disproportionately low representation on juries. In the drawing of jurors' names, as the law provides, the laws of chance result almost inevitably in disproportionate numbers, whether among Negroes, Mexican-Americans, school teachers, housewives or college graduates. Those natural results of impartiality could, under the proposed law, effect a presumption of guilt on the part of local officials — until they might prove themselves innocent. This approach is anathema to the entire system of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Moreover, if you can hand-pick a jury for racial purposes, you can hand-pick it for a pre-determined verdict.

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- Permit persons exercising their constitutional rights to sue individuals or public officials for "damages" suffered through private or official actions. This is the most ambiguous, and therefore the most dangerous, of the lot. It can be interpreted any way a wild-eyed reformer wants to interpret it. For example, if white students in a small public school withdrew to enter a private academy, Negroes in that school could claim their constitutional right to an integrated school had been infringed by private action, and sue.

- Amend the Fair Employment Practices Act to cover state and local governments, forcing them to hire "qualified" Negroes in law enforcement agencies. We hold that such employment should not be barred because of race. When a sheriff or police chief is forced to hire anyone just because the applicant meets a given level of qualification, however, our law enforcement will be on the skids. The public has a right to insist on the BEST qualified. If that means a force entirely white, or entirely Negro, or entirely Chinese-American, so be it. The proposal is discrimination in reverse, as is much of the racial absurdity promoted by the "liberals."

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If the cause of freedom is to survive, the Johnson Administration — or one elected to succeed it — must dissociate itself from such proposals as suggested by the Civil Rights Commission and reject, with vigor, the reckless and irresponsible accusations and predictions advanced by organizations whose statements otherwise might gain credence.

File Materials file "Criticisms"

'New South'

Same Old Story in Long Sentences

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

The first issue of the new "New South" came out last winter. It was a big, fat quarterly magazine, instead of a little, skinny monthly one, as it used to be.

Buried in pages and pages of the worst kind of drivel in the first issue were two really rewarding articles--Helen Howard's account of a day in the life of a poor Negro mother, and Professor James Silver's up-to-date views about the "closed society," Mississippi.

Now the second issue of the new, improved "New South" is upon us. Again, there are pages and pages of boring and indigestible observations about the South.

But this time, there is only one article that really ought to be read--Margaret Long's report of her visits to newly-integrated neighborhoods in metropolitan Atlanta.

And even reading her article requires courage; you have to get through an opening paragraph that says:

"Dogwood was in alabaster bloom, azaleas flamed densely pink and tomato red, spirea showered white fountains from lawn to lawn, redbud trees thrust out rosy limbs and big trees reached lacy and cloud-like with beginning green leaf in the modest Atlanta neighborhoods where 'the colored are taking over.'"

In the old "New South," the writers often couldn't resist describing all the trees, flowers, weeds, mammals, birds, and bugs in the vicinity. Evidently, they still can't.

But after the flowery beginning, an old white lady in a racially changing neighborhood tells Miss Long, "We got niggers all around. Niggers on this side, niggers on that side, niggers across the street and over yonder, niggers around the corner both ways."

How does she like it?

"Jest fine! You couldn't ask for nicer neighbors. We don't have no trouble. They all nice people."

Another white woman in another part of town seems to agree: "The colored people has been a lot nicer and friendlier to me than the white people that moved out."

But still, even though most people say they like their new neighbors, the white people are leaving, one by one. "Right now," a real estate agent tells Miss Long, "we're not integrating neighborhoods, but expanding boundaries of the colored ghettos."

This piece is much better than Miss Long's article in the winter issue--a long, long, long discussion about where the movement is and where it's going.

For this study, Miss Long simply interviewed every civil rights leader in sight, and strung their remarks together without any serious attempt to organize her material. The confusion is worsened by sentences like the following--one of the few 110-word sentences ever to get by an editor:

"Roy Wilkins, who finds himself 'increasingly objecting to the designation of civil rights activity as "the Movement," an umbrella to cover the work of all organizations and local community groups, and which in some ways does injustice to some organizations' work and pays extra dividends to others, when individual components of the effort are scattered all over the country, with all kinds of objectives and action,' sees the present as 'an era when accelerated and expanded work is called for, and when more needs must be met in a less spectacular fashion,' and when, unhappily, 'there is no spectacular means for attracting attention' and funds for Negro improvement and preparation."

How's that again?

"New South" seems to be fascinated by the civil rights movement's problems. At least, it keeps on getting people outside the movement to write about what's going on inside the movement. In the spring issue, August Meier of Roosevelt University in Chicago tries where Miss Long failed. In an article almost twice as long as Miss Long's, Meier analyzes dozens of things that don't need analyzing.

The incident at Greenville, Miss., when poor people tried to take over buildings on a deserted air base, hardly needs any explaining, but Meier explains it anyway.

First, he says, "it demonstrated the necessity of increasing Negro voting power at the state level and, in local areas."

And for those who might have missed it, he reveals that "the air base demonstration was symptomatic of the increasing restlessness of the poor Negroes, both rural and urban, in the South. . . ."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

REVIEW OF 'NEW SOUTH'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

But when it comes to stating obvious facts in as many words as possible, no one can top Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which publishes "New South."

"By all evidence that we have," he begins in the winter issue, "the situation of Negro Americans is so desperate that to overstate it is hard." Then Dunbar lists six "policies" that will help this situation. "None is original," he says, and he isn't kidding. Among the policies are:

"Security of the person must be guaranteed."

"The job of erasing all racial barriers must be completed."

"Negroes must enter into full and free participation in politics at all levels."

And so on. People who have known these things for years may be surprised to learn that if you're a political scientist, you can get paid for writing them down.

Finally, Dunbar tells us, "We must start from where we are."

After Dunbar's article comes an interesting, informative piece by Professor Silver of the University of Mississippi.

He does some work on his own, instead of just reading newspapers. And so he comes up with cases like the Negro training school principal who has been registered for 20 years in a town 165 miles away from the school, so that he always has a good excuse for not voting.

The first issue also includes an article by Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University, the movement's kept psychiatrist, whose studies of Southern Negroes always come out just the way you want them to. In this article, he concludes that "the pain and torture of the South's history has (sic) been shared by all its people. . . Their minds have all taken in the region's hurt and bad blood, but lived also in company with the region's warmth, openness, and really splendid countryside."

And then there are the contributions of F.C. Campbell, Our Negro Poet, who gets away with some pretty awful poetry but thrills "New South" editors by referring to his own people as "niggers."

File
Materials Face
"Criticisms"

December 28, 1966

Miss Ruthena Kittson
Orphan Voyage
1229 East Parkway Square
Memphis, Tennessee 38114

Dear Miss Kittson:

Please forgive us this delay in answering your letter of December 8th. Under separate cover we are sending you the study you referred to so that you may read it in its entirety. I am also sharing your letter with Dr. Ross Green who directed the study. Dr. Green may want to respond also.

I think the important difference between the recommendations in the study in your parallel with the American Indian is that the recommendations concern all children, not simply Negro children; they provide boarding schools for three months of each year not to "break the relationship of the generations" but are contingent on the permission of the parents. Clearly important is the fact the recommendation is made on the basis of enrichment.

Again, as you read the study I believe these differences and the recommendations of the author will be apparent.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Dr. Ross Green

PW (send to Ross?)
PA

ORPHAN VOYAGE
1229 EAST PARKWAY SO.
MEMPHIS, TENN. 38114

Dec. 8 1966

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear sirs,

I am writing, after a period of delay, about some material which appeared in Current, in February of this year. The article, "Compensatory Schools for Rural Negroes" cited a study which you published. I am particularly interested in the recommendation made, and in an historical parallel.

The study recommended:

"The establishment of boarding schools for children in grades 4, 5 and 6" where children would spend three months of each year, providing parents agreed.

The reasons for this recommendation were, primarily the achievement of certain goals by certain means:

Warm, personal contact with adult who represent middle-class patterns of living, thinking and values

Presence of books, music, art and conversation

Orientation to city life

Development of corps of teaching assistants

I do not have a better suggestion to make; and do not wish to be considered as only criticizing destructively. Yet I must confess to being reminded strongly of the past of the American Indian:

"To kill the Indian traditions and to break the relationship of the geneations, Indian children were seized at six years and were confined in'boarding schools' until past their adolescence. In vacation time they were indentured to whites as servants. In the schools the use of the native languages was forbidden; everything reminiscent of or relevant to Indian life was excluded; the children were forced to join whichever Christian Church, through the favor of the Indian Bureau, had entrenched itself in the particular school." (Collier)p.226

Is there not a echo here? In the light of the failures of the Indian program, how is yours justified?

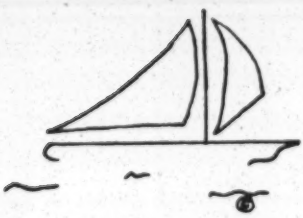
Sincerely,

Ruthena Kittson

(Miss) Ruthena Kittson

Encl. Brochure

The Orphan Voyage



a program of mutual aid and guidance for social orphans

ORPHAN VOYAGE
1229 East Parkway, So.
Memphis, Tenn. 38114

Miss Ruthena Kittson,
director

Nowhere is the failure. . . .

Nowhere is the failure of the expert in the "behavioral sciences" so abysmal or so clear as in the world of illegitimacy. Around this hard core of human suffering, these manipulative approaches swirl without ceasing and without in the least resolving the miseries of the illegitimate condition.

Foster care is an incomplete solution. Moving an infant or a child from a condition of abandonment or lovelessness does of course produce a sense of happiness; but rearing him to adulthood without a natural heritage produces only an incomplete human.

Some of these incomplete humans struggle toward wholeness. In their struggles, Orphan Voyage offers its resources, not only for the happiness which follows success in this venture, but also in the interest of the fundamental truth and values which are to be won only in this way.

The work which has become Orphan Voyage began in 1953, in Philadelphia. During the course of its development, some of its participants have become permanent members, and are available—in other parts of the country—to assist those to whom the program is a new experience.

The program is related to the task. The awesome spectacle of massive illegitimacy is both paralyzing and baffling. Only limited views and activities can bring reward and accomplishment. Thus, only when an individual knows that his struggles in life have been heavily weighted with the element of illegitimacy, and when he wishes to pass beyond this into a condition of greater acceptance, even of human wholeness, only then does the Orphan Voyage get under way for him.

Orphan Voyage is receptive to the letters you wish to write, and will respond to them, always with confidentiality. To present your circumstances, and to inquire about ways of taking part in this program, write to

Miss Ruthena Kittson
Hill House
Hasty, Ark.

Past, Present and Future Program

In its beginning stages, this work comprised little more than the gathering and publishing of adoption life histories. However, incidental to this, inherent in this, there was more: communication with non-adopted people, thoughts about the attitudes of both groups, plans for reconciliation of their differences, outlines of specific ways of help to adopted people who were obviously suffering deeply, and for whom there seemed to be little help available.

As the work developed, the director began to spend more and more of her energies and time on her own problems, mainly two: how to bear the misunderstandings of the program (which was similar to the problem of adopted adults) and how to account for, to justify, to clarify the different life history of adopted people. If this could be done, the consequences should be: help to the adopted; reconciliation between the adopted and the non-adopted. Somewhere along the way, a focus began to be placed on the element of illegitimacy. It seemed that this might even be more present among the adopted than among non-adopted persons of illegitimate birth. The more a matter is repressed, the more it develops, the greater are its proliferations, the more readily it can be observed by the willing eye. But whether or no, the fact is that the *search* — in all its stages — for natural parents is the longest compelling motive in the lives of adopted people. And it is probably this which differentiates them from the unadopted.

Therefore, this program, now firmly believing in the reality of this motive, seeks to assist those whose lives are paralyzed by the various frustrations which this motive has experienced. It seeks to help them in two departments of their lives: *understanding* that their apparently inner problems have external encouragements, which are continuous; and *doing* things which help that understanding to take effect in their lives on a permanent, change-over basis. Persons who have spent a large part of their lives feeling ashamed of their illegitimate origins cannot be expected ever to leave their origins behind; but they can be expected to leave their errors of understanding behind. To the extent of their success in this re-education, their lives can reflect the natural selves which were poured into them at birth, and which have received — even in the midst of discouragement and frustration — some permanence and some growth.

Who is a social orphan?

A social orphan is one whose loss of one or both parents has come about by means of a social decision, or whose parent loss, though natural or private in origin, has been reinforced by the attitudes and actions of society.

Therefore it can be seen that there are sources of social orphanage other than illegitimacy, as: divorce, imprisonment, or simple absence.

"A mind that realizes its captivity prefers to conceal it . . . But one day it will wake up on the other side of the wall."

Simone Weil

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the South's people. It is not a political, denominational, or profit-making organization.

HOW DID IT START?

In 1943 a group of leading Southerners got together and decided that a strong regional organization was needed to help work out the South's problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

Through a regional office in Atlanta, through state divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and through individual members in all parts of the region.

WHAT DOES IT DO?

★ Through careful study, gets the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and race relations. Makes the facts widely available through a monthly bulletin, pamphlets, newspapers, radio, and speakers.

★ Advises private and official agencies, through both the regional office and state committees.

★ Works at the community level with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations and others to get wholesome improvements.

WHAT HAS IT DONE?

★ Launched campaigns that have secured the employment of more than two hundred Negro policemen in Southern cities.

★ Carried out a widespread field program to get attention to the needs of Negro veterans in the South.

★ Has worked steadily to secure equal educational opportunity for the two races.

★ At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people. Advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups.

★ Fostered self-surveys in a number of Southern towns which have resulted in many concrete community improvements.

★ Advised state legislatures on the desirability of measures that would make more opportunities available to Negro citizens.

★ Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

★ Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

WHO SUPPORTS IT?

Up to now, the Southern Regional Council has had support from foundations, church groups of various faiths and denominations, and individual contributions. With the termination of some foundation support, the Council now seeks financial aid from new sources.

WHAT ARE ITS NEEDS?

In the coming months the Council hopes to increase its work at the community level, to give more strength and guidance to state and local committees. To carry out this objective and to expand the existing program in the fields of health, education, agriculture, and economic development, the budget committee estimates the Council's annual need at $88,000.

There is a deep and growing conviction among Southerners that they should support the South's own effort to care for its people's needs. The Southern Regional Council, as a body of Southern leaders, works responsibly at this job. The Council and the South ask for your help.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE COUNCIL . . .

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

—RALPH MCGILL

"The sort of organization which makes progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

—RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

—NEW YORK TIMES

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

—CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

—CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I want to be enrolled as (check one):

☐ *A Member* of SRC's Affiliate in my State. (You will be billed.)

☐ *An Associate* of SRC, as a person living outside the South. ($5.00 enclosed.)

☐ *A Subscriber* to NEW SOUTH, SRC's regular publication. ($2.00 enclosed.)

☐ *A Contributor* to SRC. (Contributions are tax-exempt.)

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

what they say

About the Southern Regional Council

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

—ASHEVILLE CITIZEN

"An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

—RALPH MCGILL

"The sanest and best-informed Southwide organization dealing with race relations."

—VIRGINUS DABNEY

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy *pronunciamentos* slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's—or from the nation's concern."

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"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."

—CURRENT EVENTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

toward the South of the future

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the people of the South.

how it began

As the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council goes back, in friendship and reputation, to 1919. A group of leading Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations, met in 1943 to discuss the problems and promise of the region. They decided that a strong new regional organization was needed, in which Southerners themselves could join together in a cooperative effort to solve their common problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

how it works

• *Through a regional office* in Atlanta, which services state organizations and carries on Southwide activities under the direction of its membership and executive committee. Its officers and members are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

• *Through affiliated organizations* in 12 Southern States, each of which has its own membership, governing board, officers, and staff. Within the coming months, these state organizations will provide each Southern State with a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Southern Regional Council and affiliated state organizations are non-profit, non-political and non-denominational.

what it does

• Through careful study, collects the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services. Makes the facts and their significance widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers.

• Publishes a monthly bulletin—*New South*—which provides editors, students, and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the region.

• Assists state organizations in planning and carrying out programs suited to local need.

• Advises private and official agencies through both the regional office and state organizations.

• Through state staff, works in the community with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and others to find democratic solutions to local problems.

what you can do

The Southern Regional Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a constructive effort to overcome them.

There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found. However, general membership—which is available in the state organizations—is limited to persons living in the South.

Here is how you can play your part in this forward-looking effort:

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Fill out and mail the application blank on the back of this page.

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the South of the **future**

toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

—From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"

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Atlanta, Georgia

COUNSEL

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*Name*_____

*Street*_____

*City*_____ *State*_____

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One of the earliest vehicles of liberal influence in the South was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized in 1919. . . . The tradition established by the commission has been ably promoted by its successor, the Southern Regional Council. . . .

C. VANN WOODWARD

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NEW YORK TIMES

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From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"

October 22, 1963

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT

These are merely fragmentary notes, derived from a search of our files. They do not represent a full picture of any of the cities mentioned. We have simply noted instances of non-traditional employment which we had record of in our files. (All of this group of cities employ Negro policemen.)

Charlotte	-	billing clerk (employed July 1963, apparently first white-collar Negro in municipal employment).
Greensboro	-	cashier in tax assessor's office
Houston	-	4 process servers 6 clerical workers in county clerk's office* (hired 1963) 3 probation officers in juvenile court assistant pumper, 2 foremen in Water Department (hired 1963) 3 beauty shop inspectors in Health Department (hired 1963)
Knoxville	-	clerk in Registrar of Deeds office (hired October 1962)
Memphis	-	Assistant Public Defender 3 sheriff's deputies clerk at City Hall
Nashville	-	firemen supervisor in Welfare Department deputy tax assessor clerical personnel at Housing Commission
New Orleans	-	police sergeant
Richmond	-	6 of 28 fire companies are integrated; in July 1963 the all-Negro company was disbanded and re-assigned.

---

*one of these at meet-the-customer counter

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: NUMBER OF NEGROES IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES

(Unless otherwise noted, desegregation data is from various publications of the Southern Education Reporting Service. School census data is from various official sources. For each city, the first figure given indicates the first year of school desegregation. Cities desegregated in the late 1950's moved very slowly during the first years, and since have picked up momentum. Atlanta's present total is, among all the cities, whether starting earlier or later, the lowest, except for much smaller Greensboro.)

Year	Atlanta	Charlotte	Chattanooga	Dallas	Greensboro	Houston	Knoxville	Memphis	Nashville	New Orleans	Norfolk	Richmond
1957		3			6				11			
1958		4			5				34			
1959		1			5				44		21	
1960		2			5	12	28		187	4	23	2
1961	9	27		18	17	32	51	13	272 plus 538N. with 2W. at one school	12	50	36
1962	44	44 plus 400N. with 15W. at one school	50	26*	35	77*	86	53	490 plus 534N. with 1W. at one school	107	101	138
1963	153	81 plus 372N. with 12W. at one school	505 plus 721N. with 1W. and 315N. with 5W. at two schools	182**	128	233***	229	280	773	361 plus 1,440N. with 1W. at one school	241[x]	369[xx]
School Census	110,620 (tot. enrollment, 1962, app. 47% Negro)	66,946 (1962) N-18,814 W-48,132	26,745 (1962) N-11,742 W-15,003	117,019 (1962) N-22,929 W-94,090	24,844 (1962) N- 7,094 W-17,750	198,808 (1963) Total Enrollment	22,862 (1962) N- 5,290 W-17,572	108,020 (1962) N-51,828 W-56,192	30,419 (1962) N-13,933 W-16,486	98,780 (1962) N-59,428 W-39,352	54,502 (1962) N-19,250 W-35,252	42,596 (1962) N-24,820 W-17,776

Sources: *Houston Chronicle, 9/1/63
**Dallas Morning News, 9/8/63
***Houston Post, 9/13/63
[x]Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, 9/4/63
[xx]Richmond News Leader, 9/6/63

October 22, 1963

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT SERVICE

	Hotel and Motel	Restaurant
Richmond	4 leading hotels - the John Marshall, Jefferson Richmond, and Byrd - open. At least 5 motels - 2 Howard Johnsons, 2 Holiday Inns, and the Executive - open.	Most leading restaurants are open. About 25 were so before demonstrations summer 1963; approximately 90 have opened since.
Norfolk	Our information is that all, or virtually all, hotels and motels now open. Most of these changed policies in July 1963 or later; a few (e.g., the Golden Triangle) opened much earlier.	A few only open; these include some of best. All department store dining rooms open (until September 1963 there had been one hold-out).
Greensboro	5 motels -- two Holiday Inns, Howard Johnson, Town House, Kent Court - open. Hotels still segregated, except for dining for some mixed meetings.	37 eating places open; this includes dining room of desegregated motels, department stores; and 6 first-class restaurants, as well as national and regional chains.
Charlotte	5 leading hotels -- Manger, Queen Charlotte, Sheraton-Barringer, Heart of Charlotte, Downtowner -- and 3 leading motels -- Coliseum, James Lee, Alamo Plaza -- open; maybe others.	As of July 1963, 110 of the 286 restaurants regarded before then as all-white were opened.
Knoxville	2 leading hotels -- Andrew Johnson and Farragut - open; 4 others -- the Park, Atkin, Arnold, and St. James -- still segregated. 2 motels -- a Holiday Inn and the White City -- open; others apparently not.	More than 50 open, spread all over city. Practically speaking, all restaurants are open.

Hotel and Restaurant Service - 2.

	Hotel and Motel	Restaurant
Nashville	12 open; the Albert Pick, Hermitage, Andres Jackson, two Holiday Inns, Noel, Downtowner, Allen House, Anchor House, Howard Johnson, and Alamo Plaza. The latter 6 of these opened October 1963; the former in May 1963.	Nearly all restaurants in city are open. The only notable exceptions are the Krystals, two hamburger shops, and one good restaurant.
Chattanooga	2 leading hotels -- Patton and Reed House -- and one motel -- Holiday Inn -- are open.	Most of the better restaurants are open, since July 1963
Memphis	All leading hotel and motels open since May 1963.	Confused picture. Apparently, only 1 first-class restaurant, hotel dining rooms, and department store dining rooms are open.
New Orleans	All apparently segregated, except the airport Hilton Inn. 3 downtown hotels -- the Sheraton-Charles, Jung, and Royal Orleans -- agreed September 1963 to accept conventions with limited numbers of Negro delegates	All apparently segregated (except airport Hilton Inn.)
Dallas	All leading hotels and motels now completely open. A few small motels still segregated.	An estimated 75 - 85% open.
Houston	All leading hotels, except the 250 room Ben Milam, now open. About 6 motels are open; others did not go along with hotel agreement of February 1963.	Of 105 in restaurant association, all but 5 went along with desegregation agreement Spring 1963; some evidence that about 15 have since re-segregated.

What Do Negroes Ask of America?

☆

Durham Conference States Their Case; Southern White Leaders Respond

☆

Summaries by R. B. Eleazer

☆

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
THE METHODIST CHURCH
810 Broadway Nashville, Tenn.

What Do Negroes Ask of America?

Durham Conference States Their Case; Southern White Leaders Respond

Summaries by R. B. Eleazer

Of late numberless disturbing rumors have been floating about as to what Negroes are thinking and preparing to do in this hectic time of war. Most of these rumors, to be sure, are utterly absurd; some of them almost certainly were started by enemy agents with intent to make trouble. Nevertheless, many people have taken them seriously and have been genuinely disturbed by them. The question seems timely, therefore: What actually are the Negroes of America, especially those of the South, asking of the white majority?

The best answer yet given to that question—the fullest and the most authoritative—is embodied in the famous "Durham Statement" of October 20, 1942. This statement was formulated by a conference of 78 of the ablest Negro leaders from twelve Southern States, from Maryland to Texas—ministers, educators, social workers, business and professional men, labor leaders and editors. The signers represent as complete and responsible a cross section of Negro life and thought as it would be possible to find.

Recognizing that, for various reasons, there had recently been a serious growth of interracial tension, this group assembled not to increase the tension by militant protests and demands, but rather to relieve it as much as possible by a friendly, calm, and constructive discussion of the major issues involved. Their basic hope and confidence was thus expressed in the preamble to their statement:

"We have the courage and faith to believe that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want and from throttling fears."

Follows then an extended statement, dealing with practically every important problem involved in the situation, under the heads Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health. For the read-

ers' convenience all important points of the statement are summarized below.

Political and Civil Rights

1. Naturally the group's first concern under this head was the suffrage. "The ballot," they say, "is the safeguard of democracy;" hence they hold that discrimination against any group in the exercise of the ballot is "detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State." They record themselves, therefore, as favoring abolition of the poll tax, the "white primary," and all other "forms of discriminatory practices, evasions and intimidations" by which citizens are denied their right of franchise.

2. The unconstitutional practice of excluding Negroes from jury service, the statement declares, should be discontinued at once.

3. Abuses of police power in the treatment of Negroes should be stopped, it is held, both "out of regard for the safety of Negroes and of common respect for the diginity and purpose of the law." In this connection the employment of Negro police is recommended.

4. In public carriers and terminals where segregation is mandatory by law and custom, it is held to be the duty of all citizens to insist that provisions for the two races shall be equal in kind and quality, as the law presumes they shall be.

5. The States are asked to take effective steps to eradicate completely the crime of lynching. Should they prove unable or unwilling to do so, popular support of a Federal anti-lynching law is urged.

6. Since the interests of Negroes are deeply involved in many of the programs of social welfare, it is urged that qualified Negroes be used on the boards administering such programs.

Industry and Labor

1. Opportunity for Negroes to work at all levels of industry for which they are equally capable is regarded as "the only tenable basis of economic survival and development" for the race.

2. Negro workers, it is held, should receive equal pay for equal work.

3. Negro workers should seek membership in labor organizations; and the latter, as a matter of self-interest as well as of justice, should seek to organize them.

4. Public agencies should provide "industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind to that provided for other citizens."

5. Negro representation on regional agencies concerned with the welfare of workers is urged.

Service Occupations

Recognizing that probably for a long time Negroes will be employed chiefly in service occupations, the conviction is expressed that better service and greater goodwill may be secured by more thorough training for service workers. Along with this should go corresponding improvement of wages and conditions, including "wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms," and reasonable and definite hours of work. The opinion is expressed that "service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations," and that they should be included in all social security benefits provided for workers of other categories.

Education

Under the head of education the statement enunciates this fundamental principle:

"As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes."

Basic to such opportunity, the statement holds, is the improvement of Negro schools, involving more liberal expenditure of public funds, equal salaries for teachers of equal training and experience, an expanded building program, and equal school terms.

Pointing to the increasing need among Negroes for graduate and professional training, it is held that the States should make such training "available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court" in the Gaines decision.*

In the case of States financially unable to "sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between Southern and national standards."

The statement expresses the belief that, because of the special problems involved, Negroes should have "intelligent and sympathetic representation on school boards," and that Negro truancy officers could be used to advantage.

Agriculture

As a means of "increasing the production of the (*Southern*) area, raising

*This decision ("Gaines vs University of Missouri") held that the several States must either provide equal facilities for Negro graduate and professional students, or else admit them to existing State institutions.

the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and improving the region's contribution to the total war effort," the following measures are suggested:

Better conditions of tenancy and farm labor, including written contracts, longer lease terms, higher farm wages, and balanced production programs to provide food and feed crops for tenants and laborers.

It is held that adequate Federal assistance should be provided Negro farmers on an equitable basis; that Federal funds for agricultural improvement should be more fairly distributed to the Negro land grant colleges; that qualified Negroes should be appointed to public agricultural planning and policy-making bodies; and that Negro farmers should be included in the membership of farm organizations and co-operatives.

Military Service

Under this head we quote the statement in full:

"We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

"Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale."

Social Welfare and Health

"As a means of reducing mortality and public contagion" the statement recommends the following as minimum health measures:

That an adequate proportion of the facilities of all public hospitals be made available to Negro patients;

That qualified Negro doctors, like other practitioners, be permitted to serve their patients in such hospitals;

That Negro public health nurses and social workers be used more extensively;

That the public program of slum clearance and low-cost housing be extended.

That None Misunderstand

All the above suggestions, the statement is careful to point out, represent merely "simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices," and indicate no disposition whatever "to invade the privacy of family life." The two concluding paragraphs, summing up the situation in its world-wide significance, are as follows:

"It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interest of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

"The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in Amercia and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength."

Southern White Leaders Respond

Since this reasonable and friendly statement was addressed to the white South, it is not surprising that the fair-minded white leadership of the region should feel that an answer in kind was due. Such an answer, in fact, was formulated and given to the public on April 8, 1943, over the signatures of 241 men and women in the front rank of the South's religious, cultural and business life. There were, for example, the Governor of Virginia, nine or ten bishops, six of them Methodists, a dozen presidents of colleges and theological schools, many ministers and teachers, editors, lawyers, industrialists, business men, church and club women, labor leaders, and social workers. It was in every sense a group fully competent to speak for the best opinion of the white South. From the statement of this group we quote the following significant paragraphs:

"In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves 'to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may co-operate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework.'

"Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to co-operate.

"We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised, nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future co-operative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to co-operate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

"These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little

voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities. . . .

"All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. . . .

"That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions. . . .

"It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, co-operation and mutual respect."

Southern Regional Council Set Up

Following this friendly and constructive interchange of views, representatives of the two groups were appointed to work out plans for a practical approach to the interracial situation. The result was the organization of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in the Wesley Memorial Building, Atlanta. To this body the former Commission on Interracial Co-operation has turned over its work. The Council will continue to foster a program of research, education, and organization of state and local committees to deal with interracial conditions involving neglect and injustice. The religious and civic leadership of the South is conspicuous in the membership of the Council, and it is believed that the organization merits the confidence and co-operation of all persons interested in a constructive approach to the racial situation.

"All the world needs all the rest of the world. Working together for the good of all, each race may have its individual life and yet live in peace and harmony—yes, in helpfulness to the other races which live by its side. It behooves every one of us to strive to know better all the peoples of the world and to help each and all in the struggle upward, envying no man his success, hating none, blessing and blessed by all."—W. D. Weatherford.

Leaflet No. 51B

Previous Printings—15M
February, 1945—10M

A CONFERENCE

on

The South's Post War Economy

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

April 11-12, 1945

Sponsored by the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Economic South . . .

- Is a community of approximately 42,000,000 people, containing approximately one-third of the Nation's total population, but more than one-half of its farm population.

- Has more children born per 1,000 women of each generation than any other region. It is able to offset the large migration to other regions by having the Nation's highest rural-farm net reproduction rate. Yet Southern urban communities have the lowest net reproduction rate in the Nation.

- Contains approximately one-third of the Nation's workers whose annual median salary or wage in 1939 (based on reports made by 9,000,000 of them) was $599—almost one-third *lower* than the national average wage of $877.

- Paid a lower per capita income tax in 1943 than any other region. For every dollar per capita of income tax reported from the United States as a whole, the southeastern states reported 63 cents and the southwestern states reported 77 cents.

- Has 42 per cent of the Nation's houses regarded as "needing major repairs." In every 1,000 Southern dwelling units there are 271 such structures; in every 1,000 houses for the United States 183 need major repairs.

- According to the United States Senate's Special Committee to Investigate Industrial Centralization, ten Southern states, having 15 per cent of the Nation's land area, 14 per cent of its minerals, 10 per cent of its manufacturing, and 39 per cent of its farm population, receive only 11 per cent of the national income and 20 per cent of the national farm income. They had a smaller volume of war contracts than any other region, and in 1943 had the lowest increase in value of manufactures over 1939—69 per cent. Other groups of states increased this value by 227 per cent, 270 per cent, and 639 per cent in the same period. The committee's report says if the "per capita income of these states were raised to the level of national per capita income, total national income would be increased by $10,000,000,000 annually."

- Pertinent to a discussion of current problems in this field is this statement from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (September 30, 1943):

  > "It would seem therefore that a soundly based regional economy should be related to the region's own great resources and to a peacetime market structure rather than be tied, as a result of uneconomic conversions of war plants, to capacity designed for a totally different economic situation."

Program

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11

10:30 A. M.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plant Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

POST WAR FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOUTH. August Maffry, Chief of the International Trade Unit, U. S. Department of Commerce

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND POST WAR MARKETS. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce

* * * *

8:00 P. M.

Presiding: E. B. Schultz, Chief, Personnel Relations Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

SOUTHERN POST WAR AGRICULTURE. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture

THURSDAY, APRIL 12

10:30 A. M.

Presiding: C. F. Palmer, President of Palmer, Inc., Atlanta

FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. Judge Edgar Watkins, Special Assistant Attorney General of Georgia, Atlanta

THE SOUTH'S POST WAR HOUSING PROBLEM. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency

* * * *

2:30 P. M.

Presiding: M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman, Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta

POLITICAL FACTORS IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Glenn Rainey, Georgia School of Technology

WHAT NEXT? Lawrence Drake, Research Specialist for Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council

ORIGIN The Southern Regional Council is the outgrowth of a number of factors. One was the growing consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-43, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, covenanted together to work for a better South for all. The Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 6, 1944, and it held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

PURPOSE The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in its membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all people.

METHODS The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

MEMBERSHIP It welcomes to membership persons who believe in its purposes and methods. Voting members must be residents of the Council area: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Dues are one dollar a year, but members are urged to contribute additional amounts according to their financial ability. Members receive all Council pamphlets.

OFFICERS and DIRECTORS The officers of the Council are: *President:* HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; *Vice Presidents:* P. B. YOUNG, Norfolk, Virginia, HOMER P. RAINEY, Austin, Texas, CARTER WESLEY, Houston, Texas; *Executive Director:* GUY B. JOHNSON; *Associate Executive Director:* IRA DEA. REID; *Secretary-Treasurer:* EMILY H. CLAY, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Among the members of the Board of Directors are some of the outstanding Southern leaders in education, religion, business, and labor.

NO. 3

10c

UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

A Factual Survey of America's Major Race Problem

Published By
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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I. WHO ARE OUR NEIGHBORS?

Before we discuss understanding our neighbors, perhaps it would be wise to inquire as to who are our neighbors.

When this country was new, this question was easily answered. Our neighbors were the family who lived next door, the kindly old gentleman from the house on the corner, the family at the next clearing, or the people who lived in the house with the new shingle roof at the turn of the road. These were our neighbors—the people of the neighborhood, the community, or the town.

The nation grew, frontiers were pushed westward, new lands were settled, villages, towns, and cities grew in number and size, transportation facilities increased, the telegraph, the newspaper, and the telephone became instruments of rapid communication, and communication became the basis for national neighborliness. Strange people from Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas, and the oceanic islands came to our shores and settled down to become our neighbors, and this country became known as the "Melting Pot" of the peoples of the world.

With rich resources utilized by people of all nations who had settled in this country, and fed by contact with other continents, especially Europe, the nation grew in strength and wealth to unparalleled degree. Along with this growth, specialized interests, diversified groups, and diversified sections developed, but the growing picture became one of interdependence—one of people depending upon other people, group upon group, and region upon region, and, upon all, depending the strength of the nation.

Then came 1914 and the war in Europe which finally became world wide in scope.

OUR NATIONAL NEIGHBORS—MAJOR AND MINOR, 1940

Race	1940	1930	Increase, 1930-1940 Amount	Per Cent
All classes	131,669,275	122,775,046	8,894,229	7.2
White	118,214,870	110,286,740	7,928,130	7.2
Native	106,795,732	96,303,335	10,492,397	10.9
Foreign-born	11,419,138	13,983,405	—2,564,267	—18.3
Negro	12,865,518	11,891,143	974,375	8.2
Other races	588,887	597,163	—8,276	—1.4
Indian	333,969	332,397	1,572	0.5
Chinese	77,504	74,954	2,550	3.4
Japanese	126,947	138,834	—11,887	—8.6
Filipino	45,563	45,208	355	0.8
Hindu	2,405	3,130	—725	—23.2
Korean	1,711	1,860	—149	—8.0
All other	788	780	8	1.0

The people of the United States realized, perhaps for the first time, that the safety and welfare of this nation were intertwined with those of other nations of the world. Side by side with many peoples of the world, we fought that war, recognizing them as new world neighbors. We made new friends and our nation grew in international stature. We had become at last International Neighbors. Peace came. We returned again to our complacency and to isolated, somewhat nationalistic policies, leaving our international neighbors without the strength and guidance which might have come from our international stewardship. And at home, among our

OUR INTERNATIONAL NEIGHBORS, 1940
(Population by continents and selected countries)

	Millions
World population	2,175,604,000
Europe	540,113,000
United Kingdom	50,528,000
France	41,980,000
Germany	69,486,000
Central and Southern Europe	199,598,000
Russia	175,982,000
America	275,710,000
Africa	155,500,000
Asia	1,193,611,000
Japan	72,750,000
Korea and Formosa	29,550,000
India	405,000,000
China	450,000,000
Oceania	10,670,000

close neighbors, it became evident that the Negro and other minorities were not enjoying all the rights, privileges, and opportunities we sought to establish in World War I and for which they fought.

THE COMPOSITION OF OUR ALLIES

Experience often teaches a hard lesson in a hard way. We were in for another shock. In 1939 we realized that the possibilities of another world war were imminent and that we might be drawn into the struggle. By December, 1941, it was evident that we would not only be a partner in the European operations of a second world war, but that much of our war efforts would have to be expended in the Pacific area and in Asia. Again we were thrown into a world war, to cast our strength and our hope with those of our World Neighbors. The war became global and, with the airplane and radio to shuttle people and information back and forth among the peoples of the world, we became conscious of global interdependence. We cast our lot with 450 million Chinese—people of a different race—with 405 million people of India, 100 million brown peoples of the Pacific, with the people of Africa. We became allies in a United Nations with one thousand million people, many of whom are unlike us in skin color, religion, culture, and political doctrine.

RACES OF THE WORLD, 1940

	Millions
White	930,000,000
Yellow and brown	1,090,000,000
Negroid	150,000,000

RACE AND OUR INTERNATIONAL ROLE

The present war, as Dr. Embree states, is very different from the first world war:

> Almost the whole world is involved; peoples of all races are on both sides; the fight is not between nations or even races but between ideas. Freedom will win in this war only if it can present a solid front. Total democracy is called for today not only for human reasons but in order to preserve our own way of life. We cannot save liberty for America unless we win it for all the other peoples who want it and are willing to fight for it.

It would seem that this country is, perhaps, destined to play a greater role in the future of world peace than any single great nation of the world. Certainly its effectiveness will be no less than that of other great nations.

The effectiveness of this country in the role of the international good neighbor will be determined to no small degree by its effectiveness in carrying into practice workable democratic principles among all the people of our land. Our attitude toward race at home will aid or deter our role in dealing with the problems of other continents, especially those whose populations are made up of non-white races. The nature of our national interracial housekeeping and attitudes will discredit us or elevate us in the eyes of the world.

The steps which this country takes in developing equal opportunities for the minority peoples of this country and the world will be determined to no small degree by the intelligent support which the people of the nation give its governmental leaders. It is with this view in mind that this pamphlet is presented. It is designed to present in as objective manner as possible some of the gains made by the Negroes of the nation and to point out some of the more important problems affecting the welfare of both white and Negro people.

Although the pamphlet is primarily concerned with the nation's largest racial minority, it is not intended that the problems of other minorities should be neglected.

THE COSMOPOLITAN EAST AND NORTH

In the East and North there are the problems of more than nine million foreign-born peoples, speaking many languages and some of them exhibiting ideals, customs, and patterns of life out of harmony with native American standards and institutions. Their adjustments to the going American standards of living and to the principles and practices of American citizenship constitute an important problem. In the nation there are nearly 334,000 Indians, the ancestors of whom were exploited by the white race, and many of whom today fall far below the standards of the white race in health, economic goods, education, and economic opportunities.

MINORITIES IN THE WEST

In the West there are not only 156,694 Indians, but also 46,840 Chinese, 120,927 Japanese, 35,086 Filipinos, 170,000 Negroes, and representatives of other nationalities and many different religions. These are not only peoples of different racial descent from the majority of Americans, but are peoples whose cultures differ from those of most Americans. They are not only keen competitors of the white race, but are frequently misunderstood by this race. While the Indians and the Orientals in this country constitute a relatively small population element in the total population, they are frequently the center of attention and heated political controversy.

In the Southwest there are the interesting peoples of Spanish-American descent—428,360 in 1940. The greater percentage of these are Mexican and are concentrated in the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.

NEGRO PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH

For two hundred years the South's most serious population problems have centered about the Negro. As the Southern Negro has migrated to the North and East, many problems have developed in regions outside the South. Many of these problems are still with us, unsolved and challenging —problems of justice in the courts, protection of life and property, segregation, jobs and job training, education, health, economic status, agriculture, civil and political rights. The wise solution of these problems

is not alone a matter of justice and right, but equally one of self-interest for the white race, for the nation, and for the South.

It is of the utmost importance that the most serious and intelligent attention be given to the great problems involving American minorities so that in the future they may be handled more wisely than in the past, with less conflict and loss, and to the greater advantage of all concerned. It is with this end in view that this brief study has been prepared.

Before an intelligent approach can be made to the solution of the race problems of the South, or the solution of other Southern problems which are not necessarily racial but general in scope, some factual knowledge of the trends and scope of these problems is needed. Some of the pertinent facts have been included in this booklet.

II. THE NEGRO'S AFRICAN PAST

RACE

The term "race" is often abused. Theoretically it should mean a group of people having common hereditary physical traits which mark them off from other people. Actually there is no such thing as an absolutely pure or distinct human race. When one speaks of "the French race" or "the German race," he is not accurate, for he is really referring to national or cultural groups.

Most anthropologists have abandoned the idea of trying to classify human beings into exact categories. However, most of them recognize, for convenience in discussion, three great stocks or races of mankind: the Caucasian, the Negroid, and the Mongolian.

To the Caucasian race belong peoples of different characteristics, ranging from the light-skinned, Nordic blondes to the dark-skinned peoples of Spanish-American countries. The Negro race includes the Negro Americans, as well as the Negroes of the Congo region of Africa, many of the Oceanic Negroes of the Pacific islands, the pygmy Negroes or Negritos of Africa, the Philippines, and the Malay Peninsula. Thus, within the Negro race we find much variation.

The Mongolian or yellow race includes the Chinese, the Japanese, the Manchus, and the American Indians. Many of the peoples of the world exhibit varying combinations of the physical characteristics of the three principal stocks, Caucasian, Negroid, and Mongolian.

There is one thing upon which all authorities are agreed—the unity of mankind. That is, all human beings have the same family tree.

THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF RACE

But if all branches of the human race had a common origin, how does it happen that they now differ so widely in appearance and culture? The answer is much simpler than one might suppose:

1. It is generally believed that the original home of the race was somewhere in Southwest Asia. From that center groups migrated from time to time in various directions and into widely different environments as to climate, soil, food supply, geographical conditions, etc. Each group inevitably was affected by the conditions into which it went. These effects would become more marked as time went on, and at last might become fixed as racial characteristics.

2. Another factor operating to the same end was the well-known "law of natural selection," or "the survival of the fit." This means simply that

those individuals whose characteristics were best adapted to the environment would have the best chance to survive, while those least fitted to the environment would tend to drop out. Thus the law of natural selection, working steadily through the ages, would preserve certain characteristics and eliminate others. In this way it would finally develop distinct physical traits.

Under the summer sun, for example, one either tans or sunburns. Which is better? To tan, of course, because a coat of tan means that nature has sent into the skin an extra amount of pigmentation as a protection against the heat. To sunburn, on the other hand, is unpleasant, dangerous, sometimes even fatal. It is easy to see, then, that in a tropical climate those born with most pigmentation (that is, those darkest in color) would have the best chance to live and reproduce, while those less pigmented would have a poorer chance. So, through the ages there would be a steady selection of the darker types for survival and a steady disappearance of the lighter types. This would lead at length to the development of a heavily pigmented or colored race. There can be little doubt that this is just what happened in Africa. We see, then, that the Negro's dark skin was not a curse, nor even a misfortune. On the contrary, it was a distinct advantage in the environment in which he found himself.

A biology teacher suggests that the Negro's kinky hair may possibly be explained in the same way; it encloses more air pockets than straight hair and therefore is a better insulator against heat. If we knew enough about biology and about the past history of the various races, we might find in this law of selection the explanation of most racial differences.

3. A third factor which doubtless has played a part in race differentiation, though just how large a part we cannot know, is that of biological mutation. This means the appearance from time to time, without any known reason, of entirely new characteristics. Unlike acquired characteristics, which most biologists believe are not transmissible, mutated characteristics become fixed and are passed on from generation to generation.

But would the development of a dark-skinned race be the only result of tropical African environment? No indeed. Culture, civilization and progress also would be profoundly affected.

In a tropical climate one feels less disposed to enterprise and exertion. Indeed, it is necessary to go slow in order to survive. Again, little exertion is required in a climate where food is plentiful (fruit, fish and game), housing practically unnecessary, and clothing burdensome and unhealthful. For all these reasons the natives would go slow and civilization would be retarded.

Would the geography of Africa also be a retarding influence? Decidedly so, because unfavorable to the wide human contacts essential to the growth of civilization.

Many sub-varieties of the races, perhaps, obtained their characteristics through race amalgamation in isolated spots of the world. The nature of the nutrition or diet of peoples of the world has perhaps been an important factor in determining size and other physical features.

NATIVE AFRICAN CULTURE

Though greatly retarded, the culture of the native African reveals much that is interesting and encouraging. Note their iron work (some believe the Africans were the first to smelt iron and fashion implements of usefulness and beauty); their pottery, carving, and weaving; their music and dancing; their organized family and community life; their orderly tribal governments; their folklore (the famous tales of Uncle Remus are largely

paraphrases of African folkstories); their universal belief in God; their sharing with one another.

Early travelers to Africa wrote of great kingdoms and well-kept cities (Ghana, Mell, Songhay, Dahomey, Ashanti). These were later wiped out by invasion from the North. Missionaries and explorers speak in high terms of the African's courtesy, hospitality, and faithfulness to friends. The story of Livingston's bearers, who, undirected, carried his dead body on their shoulders 1400 miles to the sea that it might be sent home for burial, ranks high among the world's golden deeds.

The late Dr. Franz Boas, authority on African anthropology, credits present-day Africans with "cultural achievements of no mean order," including "the power of organization, homely practical philosophy, sound feeling and judgment."

Africa has been called the "Continent of Music." The beat of jazz that dominated the radio at one time was the obvious echo of the drums of Africa.

Melville J. Herskovits indicates that the best African civilizations, at the time of the American slave trade, exemplified a well-organized and intricate economic system, a well-developed political system centered in local groups, and highly developed arts, including folk literature, graphic and plastic arts, music, and the dance. Herskovits' observations are based not only upon the literature of the period in which slavery was in practice, but also upon field studies of contemporary western African cultures.

Possibly one of the reasons why the Negro slaves made as adequate adjustment to slavery as they did was because of the background of agricultural experience which they had in their native land. Thus, the African culture was not a culture to be ashamed of, even during the days of the American slave trade.

AFRICANISMS IN AMERICAN NEGRO CULTURE

Among authorities there is a marked disagreement as to the extent to which there was a transfer of African cultural patterns to America. Many writers take the position that there was a veritable blotting out of African culture during American slavery. They contend that there was little historical continuity and a general cultural detachment from Africa. They point out that, although there has been some survival of African folklore, musical rhythms, etc., and even some influence on white American culture, the Negro is after all predominantly "white" or Western in his culture.

Herskovits attacks this position and contends that there is abundant evidence of the survival of numerous important Africanisms in the United States. This whole question is developing into quite a controversy. The inquiring student should consult the sources and draw his own conclusions.

III. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

Negroes first came to the New World not in 1619, as commonly supposed, but with the first explorers more than a hundred years earlier. Ancient manuscripts mention Alonzo Pietro, "il Negro," as the pilot of the Nina, one of Columbus' ships. There were Negroes with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific in 1513; with Cortez in Mexico; with DeSoto when he explored the Mississippi Valley in 1539; with Menendez when he founded St. Augustine in 1565. It is said that the second Old World settler of what is now Alabama was a Negro member of DeSoto's party who liked the country and settled among the Indians. The first explorer of what is now New Mexico and Arizona was Estavanico, a Negro who came from Spain with Narvaez in 1527.

SLAVERY INTRODUCED

The first permanent settling of Negroes in the British Colonies on the North American mainland was at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, when a Dutch ship landed twenty Negroes. Since they were not pagan Negroes, but had already been Christianized in the West Indies, they were probably brought into Virginia as "indentured servants" according to the custom of the times. We know that some of the twenty became free after serving a time. Negro life slavery was legally recognized in Virginia in 1661, and it grew rapidly after the further importation of white indentured servants was prohibited in 1688. By 1715 there were 58,850 slaves in the Colonies; in 1775 a half million; in 1880 a million.

If space permitted, a study of many aspects of the slave trade would be interesting: The "three-cornered traffic" in molasses, rum, and slaves; slave raids in Africa; the "middle passage" in the crowded holds of slave ships; the American auction block; separation of families, etc.

Helpful also would be a discussion of the conditions and effects of slavery. Its best aspects: paternal personal interest on the part of owners, loyalty and faithful service in response. Its worst: absentee ownership and overseer control. Its advantages and disadvantages to master and to slave.

ALL SECTIONS RESPONSIBLE

In contemplating the evils of slavery it is well to remember that all sections of the country, North as well as South, must share the responsibility. If slaveholding centered largely in the South (because it was more profitable there), the slave trade centered in New England. Rhode Island, for example, built 103 slave ships in ten years; in 1770 that state alone had 150 ships engaged in the slave trade. When slavery became a divisive issue, leading at last to war, the extremists on one side were just as unreasonable as those on the other and equally responsible for the resulting tragedy. However, it is not necessary at this distance to "blame" anybody for what happened. It is just as well, and much kinder, to assume that most people meant well, on whichever side they were, and that the wrongs they did were mistakes of judgment rather than of intent.

VAST ECONOMIC ASSET

Slave labor was particularly profitable in the production of tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar. From early times these crops have been pouring into the South millions of dollars annually. Exports of tobacco: 1618, twenty pounds; 1639, 1,500,000 pounds; 1773, 53,000,000 pounds. Cotton production: 1810, 85,000,000 pounds; doubled every ten years during the next three decades. By 1840 the South was producing two-thirds of the world's cotton supply. In 1850 slave labor produced agricultural products valued at $136,000,000, a tremendous sum for those days. In 1929, Negro farmers produced crops valued at 646 millions. Mississippi Negroes alone that year grew 1,234,000 bales of cotton, which brought into the state more than $100,000,000. These figures indicate something of the vast economic contribution which Negroes have made to the development and prosperity of the South.

Negro slaves furnished also a large part of the South's skilled labor, doing most of the blacksmithing, wagon making, and iron work; building its colonial mansions; manning its factories, machine shops, and mills; in some cases running its railroads. Many slaves bought their time from their masters, hired themselves out, and thus made enough money to buy their freedom.

Further importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress in 1807.

Smuggling continued for several decades, however, and the number of Negroes in the country increased to 2,300,000 in 1830, and to 4,441,000 by 1860.

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT FOR EMANCIPATION

Many Southern leaders early saw the danger involved in slavery. Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just"; George Washington: "I can already foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union."

In 1832 the Virginia Legislature came within one vote of abolishing slavery. Before 1830 many kindly masters freed their slaves, and emancipation societies sprang up in all parts of the South.

The African Colonization Society was organized in the hope of freeing slaves and sending them back to Africa. This Society was endorsed by several legislatures and received the moral and financial support of great numbers of Southern people. Out of this movement came the colony of Liberia, which still exists as the only independent Negro republic in the world.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING SLAVERY

From 1820 to 1860 the history of the nation was dominated by the long and bitter controversy concerning slavery and its extension. Highlights in the political aspects of this struggle were: Missouri Compromise, 1820; Annexation of Texas, 1845; Fugitive Slave Law, 1850; Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854; Dred Scott Decision, 1857.

All this time the abolition movement in the North was gaining in numbers and intensity. Intemperance and heat characterized both sides, as in the political struggle. The whole issue was thrown into the realm of emotion, making rational solution impossible.

Civil War was the result; a vast and needless sacrifice of life, treasure, and national unity. Four million men were engaged; 600,000 were killed. A great national debt was piled up, and there was vast property loss. The South was left prostrate, bankrupt and desolate. A political cleavage was created that still continues.

Might patience and reason on either side have found a better way? A generation before the Civil War, Great Britain had eliminated slavery in the West Indies by compensated emancipation. Would not this method have been fairer to the South? Would it have been more or less expensive? What of the after effects?

CIVIL WAR

In connection with the Civil War one cannot overlook the remarkable loyalty to trust manifested by the Negroes in the South during that tragic period. Says the noted Virginia author, Thomas Nelson Page: "No race ever behaved better than the Negroes behaved during the war. Not only were there no massacres and no outbreaks, but even the amount of defection was not large. Not only did they remain loyal, but they were nearly always faithful to every trust that had been confided to them." To the same effect spoke the eloquent Georgian, Henry W. Grady, in a tribute that deserves to be immortalized. Said he:

"When the master, going to a war in which slavery was involved, said to his slave, 'I leave my home and loved ones in your charge,' the tenderness between man and master stood disclosed. And when the slave held that

charge sacred through storm and temptation, he gave new meaning to faith and loyalty."

EMANCIPATION

The Emancipation Proclamation, a war measure, was issued on January 1, 1863, setting free all slaves within territories loyal to the Confederacy.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective December 18, 1865, and made emancipation universal.

Here was an exceedingly dangerous situation: More than four million slaves, most of them illiterate, suddenly set free without resources, suddenly deprived of the economic security of slavery and thrust out on their own responsibility.

Yet there were no outbreaks, no serious disorders, no efforts to get revenge, no "reign of terror" such as often accompany revolution. Said Confederate General John B. Gordon, "No other race relieved from servitude under such circumstances would have behaved so well." It is to the great credit of both races that, with surprising facility and a minimum of disorder, former masters and slaves made new adjustments and set out together to rebuild the South.

RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction, everybody admits, was a period of tragic blunders and grave injustice. Says a noted Federal officer, General Samuel Armstrong, "The Reconstruction measures were a bridge of wood over a river of fire." It is only fair to recognize, however, that primary responsibility for the wrongs of Reconstruction rests not upon the newly-freed Negroes, but upon their white leaders. Strictly speaking there was no period when the South was "controlled by Negroes," or "under Negro rule."

Though Negro voters outnumbered the whites in five Southern states, in every state these Negro voters elected white governors; in every state but one the legislatures they chose were predominantly white, three to one, five to one, even ten to one. Graft there doubtless was, in abundance, but we can well believe with Merriam ("The Negro and the Nation") that "most of the plunder seems to have gone into the pockets of knaves of the superior race."

It is interesting to note that of the sixteen Negroes sent to Congress during the Reconstruction period a number were college graduates, educated in the North and abroad. In his history of the United States, Rhodes says of a Negro member of the Mississippi Legislature: "John R. Lynch was a credit to his race and in 1872 made an impartial and dignified speaker of the House." In 1873 Lynch was given a public testimonial by Republicans and Democrats, and the leading white newspaper, the *Jackson Clarion*, said of him: "His bearing in office had been so proper, and his rulings in such marked contrast to the partisan conduct of the ignoble whites of his party who have aspired to be leaders of the blacks, that the conservatives cheerfully joined in the testimonial."

The Reconstruction governments, bad as they were, rendered at least one great service: They established in each state a genuine public school system, providing for "separate but equal" opportunities for the children of the two races. This is perhaps the most important single step ever taken in the South.

PROGRESS SINCE EMANCIPATION

Of the Negro since Emancipation, many authorities have said that no

other race in history ever made so great progress in the same length of time. Following are some of the highlights of the story:

*ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO, 1866-1936**

	1866	1936	Gain in 70 Years
Homes owned, including farms	12,000	750,000	738,000
Farms operated	20,000	880,000	860,000
Business establishments	2,100	70,000	67,900
Banks owned and operated	None	23	23
Bank capitalization	None	$2,000,000	$2,000,000
Bank resources	None	$15,000,000	$15,000,000
Wealth accumulated	$20,000,000	$2,500,000,000	$2,480,000,000

*Monroe Work, ed., **Negro Yearbook**, 1937-38, pp. 1, 93.

In 1934 the Negroes of Georgia paid taxes on 1,331,418 acres of land, assessed at $9,543,452, and on city property assessed at $20,184,142. In 1935 those of Virginia paid taxes on 1,864,030 acres of land assessed at $30,847,-370 and on city property assessed at $26,683,639. Negro land ownership in 1936 was estimated at twenty million acres, an area about equal to that of five New England states.

In 1865, Negroes owned few business enterprises. Today, according to the latest available records, they operate 29,827 stores, doing a yearly business of approximately $72,000,000 in retail sales; 22,172 service establishments, with total annual receipts of more than $27,000,000; 19 lending associations, with total assets of some $2,500,000; 11 banks, with capital accounts amounting to more than $1,000,000 and total resources of more than $11,000,000; and approximately 200 insurance companies. 39 of these insurance companies reported a total of $474,226,628 of insurance in force in 1942. The annual purchasing power of approximately 900,000 Negroes in the South's 17 largest cities has been estimated at $308,000,000.

The 1940 Census lists 4,479,068 Negroes as gainfully employed in the United States. The distribution of gainfully employed Negroes was as follows:

NEGRO EMPLOYED WORKERS, UNITED STATES, 1940

Occupational Group	Number of Negro Workers	Per cent Distribution		
		Total	Male	Female
Total	4,479,068	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional persons	114,792	2.6	1.7	4.2
Proprietors, managers, and officials	720,361	16.1	22.6	3.7
Clerks and kindred workers	97,325	2.2	2.6	1.4
Skilled workers and foremen	130,525	2.9	4.4	0.1
Semi-skilled workers	551,701	12.3	11.7	13.5
Unskilled workers	2,864,364	64.0	57.0	63.4

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Before the emancipation, the education of Negroes was prohibited in many states and little attention was paid to it anywhere. So, when set free in 1865, ninety per cent of the Negroes were illiterate. Schools were immediately begun under government auspices and Negroes, old and young, showed great eagerness to learn. Within five years 200,000 former slaves were enrolled in these schools.

Then came the state public school systems, feeble at first but steadily

improving. In 1940 there were 2,428,842 Negro children enrolled in public schools in seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia. These were 86 per cent all Negro children five to seventeen years of age in this area. Of this number, 254,580 were in high school grades, an increase of 126 per cent over high school enrollment in 1930. What does this increase indicate as to public policy; as to Negro ambition? Meantime illiteracy has declined, decade by decade, from 90 per cent in 1860 to 80 per cent in 1870, and on down to about 10 per cent in 1940.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY SHOWING CHANGES FROM 1929-30 TO 1939-40 IN NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SEVENTEEN SOUTHERN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

	1929-30	1939-40	Per cent increase 1939-40
Total Negro population in the area	9,585,417	10,275,347	7.2
Negro children 5-17 years of age, inclusive	2,902,657	2,827,565	—2.6
Total enrolled	2,282,578	2,428,842	6.4
Elementary grades	2,169,992	2,174,262	0.2
High schools	112,586	254,580	126.1
Average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled	97	126	29.9
Average length of school term in days	132	156	18.2
Per cent of school population enrolled	78.6	85.9	9.3
Per cent of pupils in high school grades	4.9	10.5	114.3

The percentage of persons who are illiterate is not recorded in the 1940 Census; however, this Census records the educational attainment of the population 25 years of age and older.

Among the race-nativity groups, native whites ranked first, with a median schooling of 8.8 years, followed by foreign-born whites, with 7.5 years. The Negro median, 5.7 years of school, was the lowest. The median for urban Negroes, however, was 6.8 years of schooling, only 2 years less than the median for native whites. The median for rural farm Negroes is only 4.7 years, the lowest of all groups.

The 1940 Census reveals that 41.3 per cent of the Negro population 25 years of age and over had completed less than 5 years of school, as compared to 7.4 per cent of the native white population and 28.3 per cent of the foreign-born population who had completed less than 5 years of school. However, the Census reveals that 80,842 Negroes over 25 years of age had completed four years of college and that 268,481 had completed four years of high school.

The following table is an index of the progress made in education by Negroes between World War I and World War II.

NEGRO DRAFTEES WITH HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING

Region	Per Cent of Negro Selectees or Draftees Attending High School	
	World War II	World War I
Northern Negroes	63	14
Southern Negroes	33	3

While this chart indicates a rapid rise in the percentage of Negro draftees having a high school education, it is nevertheless true that illiteracy has prevented many Negroes from serving their country in World War II. In a special study made in 1941 of rejections for failure to meet the Army educational requirements, it was found that the rate of rejection for Negro selectees was 5 times that for whites. In March, 1943, illiteracy was the chief cause for the rejection of Negro selectees, and in May, 1944, the Selective Service System announced that rejections of all draftees for educational deficiencies exceeded the casualties caused by the enemy.

The first college for Negroes was established by the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania in 1854. In the next two decades a score of similar institutions were established in the South by the Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists. Later all the Southern states established state colleges for Negroes. There are now 109 Negro colleges with 45,000 students. In addition, 2,500 Negro students are enrolled in other colleges. About 5,000 a year are awarded college degrees. Two hundred Negroes have won the Ph.D. degree and about the same number have been elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Tuskegee Institute, established by Booker T. Washington, is known around the world for its unique contribution to educational theory and practice.

According to the latest available information, the number of Negro college graduates from accredited four-year institutions is increasing yearly despite the toll on enrollment which all colleges have experienced during the war years. For example, 70 four-year institutions reported a total of 6,011 Negro graduates (A.B. and B.S.) in 1942. This number was an increase of 4 per cent over 1941. In addition to these graduates with bachelor's degrees, 8 accredited institutions awarded master's degrees to 159 Negro students in 1942, and 5,407 students were enrolled in specially organized war courses being given in the colleges.

SIX MILLION CHURCH MEMBERS

At the time of emancipation, Negroes had few churches. In the 1936 *Census of Religious Bodies,* returns were received from 38,303 Negro churches. Because of incomplete reporting and growth since that time, it is perhaps safe to assume that the number may now exceed 42,000. Of the 256 religious bodies reporting in 1936, 59 reported Negro churches. Of these, 33 were exclusively Negro in membership.

The Negro churches in 1936 reported a membership of 5,660,618, or 10.1 per cent of the total church membership. The 38,303 churches reported 390,454 Sunday School officers and teachers and an enrollment of 2,424,800 pupils in Sunday School.

Only 34,250 churches reported the value of their church properties, which collectively is placed at $164,531,531. It is possible that the value of all Negro church property might equal $250,000,000.

In 1936, 37,308 Negro churches spent $28,000,000 on their programs. Many of the denominations and individual churches carry on mission work, not only in this country, but in Africa, South America, and the West Indies, contributing to this work a half million dollars annually.

THE NEGRO'S PATRIOTISM

Surprising, even spectacular, has been the Negro's record of patriotic service in all the nation's wars.

Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the first American to fall in the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. Peter Salem and Solomon Poor won distinction at the Battle of Bunker Hill; the former is credited with the death of Major Pitcairn, the British commander. Negro troops in the battle

of Long Island repelled three desperate assaults and thus saved the American army from capture. In 1771 when Colonel Green was attacked at Point Bridge, Negro troops sacrificed themselves to the last man in his defense.

Writing of the Battle of Monmouth, Bancroft says (Vol. VI, page 142): "Of the revolutionary patriots who on that day periled life for their country, more than 700 black Americans fought side by side with the white." General Lafayette praised the Negro troops who served under General Green. Austin Dabney, a Georgia Negro who served with distinction under Elijah Clarke, received a pension from the government and a grant from the state legislature. A South Carolina slave rendered such service that the legislature liberated his wife and children. Altogether about three thousand Negroes saw service in the Revolution.

In the War of 1812 Negroes fought gallantly. Commodore Peary spoke highly of "their bravery and conduct in the battle of the lakes." Commander Chauncey mentioned the fifty Negroes aboard his ship as "among his best men." General Jackson publicly praised the conduct of the two Negro regiments which took part in the Battle of New Orleans.

Nearly 200,000 Negro soldiers took part in the Civil War. While most of these were on the Union side, a few regiments were enlisted under the Confederate flag, and many others accompanied their Southern masters to battle. Their greatest service to the Confederacy, however, was the labor of the millions back at home who produced the food necessary to support the armies in the field.

During the Spanish-American War, four regiments of Negro troops in the regular army distinguished themselves at the battles of Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill.

Three hundred and eighty thousand Negroes were enrolled for service in the World War, of whom 200,000 were sent to France. Two Negroes were the first American soldiers to receive the Croix de Guerre. This decoration was awarded also to four entire Negro regiments, one of which was commanded entirely by Negroes, with the exception of the colonel. Altogether sixty Negro officers were decorated. The conduct of the Negro troops was highly commended by Pershing and other officers.

Though hundreds of American citizens during the World War were accused of disloyalty, and some were convicted and imprisoned, not a single Negro was among the number.

Following the close of the first world war, sentiment gradually increased in this country in favor of the maintenance of a small armed force. As a result of this sentiment, Negro components in the Army were reduced to the minimum provided by statute. This statute, passed in 1866 by Congress, provided that "the enlisted men of two regiments of infantry . . . and the enlisted men of two regiments of cavalry shall be colored men." These regiments, the 24th and 25th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry, have had a long, illustrious history of service not only in action in the two world wars, but also in action with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders and with Pershing in the Mexican border campaigns.

With the spread of war in Europe in 1939 and 1940, and with the prospect that this country would be drawn into the conflict sooner or later, expansion in the Negro components in the Armed Services accompanied expansion of white components.

The number of Negroes inducted through July, 1943, according to a report by the Selective Service System, was 624,426. An official announcement in November, 1944, stated that as of October 31, 1944, there were 871,010 Negroes in the armed services of the United States. Of this number, 701,678 were in the Army and 169,339 were in the Navy. The Army figures

showed 5,804 commissioned officers; 49,483 in the Infantry, 36,302 in the Coast and Field Artillery; 867 Cavalry; 133,180 Engineers, and 408,160 in other branches. The Navy personnel included 17 officers and 142,628 enlisted; the Marines 15,771 enlisted; the Coast Guard 4 officers and 3,675 enlisted. An unofficial estimate placed the number of Negro women in the Women's Army Corps at between 5,000 and 6,000 in 1944.

Seventy per cent of Negroes are in service troops, but those in combat troops have excellent records; for example, the 99th Pursuit Squadron flying in Tunisia and Sicily, the 92nd Infantry Division fighting in Italy, and the 93rd Infantry Division fighting in Bougainville. The *New York Times Magazine* of January 14, 1945, in commenting on the record of Negroes in the armed forces, stated: ". . . they win as many valor citations, proportionately, as their white comrades. Honor doesn't ask about a hero's color."

IV. SOME CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

SPIRITUALS AND OTHER FOLK SONGS

Long before the Civil War, European travelers in the South commented upon the imaginative singing and the distinctive dances of the slave. Burnt-cork singers, calling themselves Negro Minstrels, sang their way up and down the country, but their songs were rarely authentic Negro folk songs in the ante-bellum period. It was not until the Civil War that slave songs were considered worth collecting. Charlotte Fortens in 1864 set down a few of the songs she heard on St. Helena Island, and in 1867 W. F. Allen, C. P. Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison published the first large collection of Negro folk songs. Since that time, there have been many collections published by both white and Negro collectors.

The spirituals, first made popular by the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, are perhaps the best known and best loved of Negro music and folk literature. The spirituals are also generally regarded as the Negro's first important cultural gift to America and America's most original contribution to the world of music. After a lively controversy as to whether the spirituals were more akin to African music than to European patterns, it is now generally thought, as George Herzog of Columbia University points out, that the spirituals represent both Africa and Europe, being neither European nor African, but a new music partaking of the elements of both. Such critics as Samuel Asbury and Carl Engel think the Negro spirituals far superior to the best white spirituals in poetic conception. Engels calls the Negro spirituals amazingly profound and beautiful verse.

The spiritual chorus wails in simplicity:

> "Sometimes I feel like a motherless child
> A long way from home."

or

> "Children, I been rebuked and I been scorned,
> I'se had a hard time, sho's you born."

Frequently these songs are based on Biblical narratives, and all are religious in content and conception.

The secular songs of the Negro have also been appraised for their originality and their vivid imagination. Like the spirituals, they have been collected by both white and Negro students. The blues are second in importance only to the spirituals and, like the spirituals, they have also been called remarkably poetic. The blues are sung by a single person, and

express the moodiness or sorrow of the singer. In the well known "St. Louis Blues," for example, the singer moans:

"I hate to see de evenin' sun go down
'Cause mah baby, he done lef' dis town."

In "Dink's Blues," he declares:

"I'm gwine to de river, set down on de groun'
Ef de blues overtake me, I'll jump overboard
an' drown."

Not all of the Negro's secular songs, however, are blues. There are ballads, work songs, social songs, and songs of protest. Perhaps the best known of the ballads is "John Henry," of which there are many versions of the song telling the story of the powerful "steel-driving man" who dies to make good his boast that he could "beat a steam drill down." The ballad describes the contest:

"John Henry on the right side,
The steam drill on the left.
'Before I'll let your steam drill beat me down,
I'll hammer my fool self to death,
Hammer my fool self to death'."

The Negro work songs are usually simple rhythms timed to the swinging of the pick, the cotton-chopping hoe, or the movement of the row boat. "Standin' on De Corner" is typical of the content and simple melody of the social protest songs:

"Standin' on de corner, weren't doin' no hahm,
Up come a p'liceman an' he grab me by de ahm."

FOLKLORE

The folk tales of the Negro are probably better known and beloved among white readers than among Negro narrators. Since Joel Chandler Harris collected and popularized the Negro fables about Brer Rabbit, Brer Terrapin, Brer Bear, Brer Fox, and other acquaintances of Uncle Remus, these tales of rural Southern Negroes have been children's classics. Besides Harris, such other white collectors of Negro stories have been C. C. Jones, Jr., Elsie Clews Parsons and Virginia Frazer Boyle. William Wells Brown, J. Mason Brewer, Arthur Huff Fausett are among the best known of the Negro collectors. White authors such as Ambrose Gonzales, Julia Peterkin, and E. C. L. Adams have based their fictional writings upon Negro folk tales, and the best known of the Negro writers to make use of the folk literature are perhaps Charles W. Chestnutt and Zora Neale Hurston.

James Weldon Johnson's collection of Negro sermons, *God's Trombones,* is the best known and perhaps most sympathetic treatment of this type of folk literature. Fausett and Hurston have also recreated Negro folk sermons in their fictional writings.

Negro proverbs or aphorisms, long popular among white orators and writers, have not been collected as carefully as have the songs, tales, and sermons. A few, however, are to be found among the printed works of the scholarly collectors and the fiction writers. Typical of the aphorisms commonly attributed to Negroes are such sayings as

Dirt show the quickest on de cleanest cotton.
De cow-bell can't keep a secret.
De noise of de wheels don't measure de load in de wagon.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

Besides the spirituals or religious folk songs, which are often referred

to as America's only original contribution to the realm of music, Negroes have contributed ragtime, jazz, blues, and swing to American music. Negro song writers have also composed shuffles, slow drags, and stomps. J. C. Johnson, composer of the popular "Don't Let Your Love Go Wrong" and "That's How Rhythm Was Born" received five prizes from the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers. W. C. Handy, one of the first Negro musicians to draw heavily upon folk songs, was the composer of the long-popular "St. Louis Blues," Eddie Green, "A Good Man Is Hard to Find," and Spencer Williams of "I Ain't Got Nobody." Among the contributions to current song hits are Bennie Benjeman's "When the Lights Go On Again," and J. C. Johnson's "A Yankee Doodle Dan," a song of the Hit Parade of 1943.

Among Negro bands which have been popular in recent years are those conducted by Count Basie, Jimmie Lunceford, Duke Ellington, and Cab Calloway.

Among the popular Negro song groups appearing on the radio and in Hollywood productions are the Mills Brothers, Hall Johnson Choir, Golden Gate Quartet, the Four Ink Spots, and the Berry Brothers.

With the rapid rise in the popularity of Negro music within the past thirty years, more and more professional Negro singers and composers have come to the attention of the American public. Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes, and Paul Robeson rank among the greatest living singers. Dett, Dawson, Still, and others have gained distinction as composers and conductors of serious music. Furthermore, the Negro's folk music has had a great influence upon such compositions as Dvorak's *Symphony from the New World,* Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess,* and Powell's *Southern Raphsody.*

The Negro has also contributed to the development of American descriptive dances. Negroes are usually credited with originating such dance types as the buck and wing, the cake walk, and the Charleston. The Katherine Dunham Dancers have won acclaim as creative artists, and Katherine Dunham herself was the dance director of the picture "Pardon My Sarong," starring Dorothy Lamour. Willie Covan and Clarence Robinson have also instructed dancing for various Hollywood studios.

LITERATURE

The history of the Negro's contributions to American literature stretches back into the colonial period to the time of Jupiter Hammon and Phillis Wheatley. At the time when American orators and politicians were decrying the Negro's lack of creative ability as a justification for keeping the Southern Negro in slavery, Negroes, even Southern-born Negroes, were already editing newspapers, printing pamphlets, and writing works of prose and poetry. Since Emancipation, the quantity of Negro literature has greatly increased, and since the first World War it has become a veritable flood. Negroes are now numbered among America's most distinguished scholars and authors. They are contributing to every field of literature. Their efforts have won some of America's most coveted literary and achievement awards. Let us survey briefly some of their major contributions.

Poetry

Phillis Wheatley was the first important American Negro poet. As a child of six or seven she was brought from Africa on a slave ship and sold to John Wheatley of Boston whose wife educated her and gave her the family name. In 1773 she published a volume of *Poems on Various Subjects,* which won her wide notice. Another of the early Negro poets was George Moses Horton, a slave employed as janitor at the University of North Carolina. His volume of poems, *The Hope of Liberty* (1829), was published by white friends in the vain hope of raising enough money to buy his freedom.

Among Negro poets Paul Laurence Dunbar's name still ranks first in popularity. He was born of former slave parents in 1872. *Oak and Ivy* his first volume of poems, was published when he was twenty-one. His second volume *Majors and Minors* attracted the attention of the literary world, and his third *Lyrics of Lowly Life* won for the author national recognition. While Dunbar's work in Negro dialect is unexcelled, much of his work is in conventional English. *Ode to Ethiopia* and *Life* are among his best known selections. Dunbar was also an accomplished writer of fiction.

Since Dunbar, numerous Negroes have gained distinction in the field of poetry. The work of W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, Sterling Brown, Countee Cullen, and Langston Hughes is particularly outstanding. Other Negro poets of distinction, past and present, are William Stanley Braithwaite, Joseph S. Cotter, George M. McClellan, John Wesley Holloway, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Alice Dunbar Nelson, Claude McKay, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Anne Spencer, Jonathan H. Brooks, and Margaret Walker.

Fiction

Before the Civil War, Frederick Douglass, the well-known runaway slave who escaped to freedom and leadership in the abolition movement, had written a short story about Madison Washington which he called *The Heroic Slave*. The first Negro short story writer to achieve distinction after the Civil War was Charles W. Chestnutt, whose stories began to appear in the eighties in such a reputable magazine as the *Atlantic Monthly*. From that time until the present, the audience of the Negro short story writer has been limited by the small number of magazines which will accept contributions from Negro writers. Among recent collections of short stories, Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923), Eric Walrond's *Tropic Death* (1926), Langston Hughes' *The Way of White Folks* (1934), and Richard Wright's *Uncle Tom's Children* (1939) are representative not only of Negro life but are examples of the best in American fiction.

The first novel by an American Negro was William Wells Brown's *Clotel, or The President's Daughter,* published in London in 1853. The second novel by a Negro appeared six years later, Martin Delany's *Blake or the Huts of America*. It was not until 1892 that the third Negro novel was published in America, Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy,* or *Shadows Uplifted*.

Dunbar's first novel was published in 1898 and was followed by three others, but Dunbar is best known for his poetry.

It was not until Charles W. Chestnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900) was published that the Negro novelist of stature comparable to the best writers of his time had appeared on the scene. He had the ability to tell a thrilling story that had social validity. The best known novels to be published between the appearance of Chestnutt's works and those of Richard Wright are Du Bois' *The Dark Princess* (1928), James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912), Walter White's *Fire in the Flint* (1925), Jessie Fauset's *There Is Confusion* (1924), Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) and Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem* (1928).

The last twenty years have seen a rapid increase of novels by Negroes. Rudolph Fisher's *Walls of Jericho* (1928) is a novel of Harlem which is both satire and caricature. George Schuyler's *Black No More* (1931) was a "refreshing start at satiric racial self-criticism," and Langston Hughes' *Not Without Laughter* (1930) is a poetic novel in a folk setting. Zora Neale Hurston has probably portrayed Southern rural Negroes better than any other Negro novelist. Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) has been the most widely read and discussed novel by a Negro. It shows a craftsmanship which marks a forward step in creative writing.

Other Literature

It is probably fair to rate Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* as

the best known Negro contribution to American prose. This simply told story of the author's life and work is ranked along with Franklin's autobiography as a great American classic.

Negroes had entered the field of historical writing before the Civil War. One of the first successful historical works was William Wells Brown's *The Rising Son* (1874) an account of the Negro's part in the recent war which sold over 10,000 copies in its first year. History scientifically developed appears first in the writings of American Negroes in W. E. B. Du Bois' *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (1896), the first monograph of the Harvard Historical Studies.

Carter G. Woodson, the dean of American Negro historians, is the author of *The Negro In Our History,* an outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation from Harvard which has gone through many editions, the latest being that of 1940. Dr. Woodson was also instrumental in founding the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the publication of *The Journal of Negro History.*

Among Negro historians who have published significant works in recent years are A. A. Taylor, W. S. Savage, Charles H. Wesley, Lawrence Reddick, John H. Franklin and the late Benjamin G. Brawley.

The bibliography of sociological and economic treatises by Negroes is rapidly increasing. W. H. Thomas presented his analysis of *The American Negro* in 1901 with the expectation that it would be the first sociological study on this subject. He was unable, however, to study his folk with objectivity and failed to evaluate Negro cultural patterns. The honor of being the first scientific scholar of Negro societal relationships belongs to W. E. B. DuBois whose *The Philadelphia Negro* was published in 1899.

Others who have made notable contributions to the field of social science literature are Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Ira DeA. Reid, Monroe N. Work, Horace Mann Bond, Allison Davis, Abraham Harris, Charles H. Thompson, Herman G. Cannady, and Carolyn Bond Day.

ACTORS

To the stage, the cinema, and the radio the Negro has contributed many actors of distinction. Bert Williams, Charles Gilpin, Paul Robeson, Richard Harrison and Canada Lee are among those who have played successfully on the stage. Hattie McDaniel won a coveted "Oscar" award for her acting as Mammy in "Gone With the Wind." Ethel Waters, stage star for more than twenty years, has also played prominent roles in such pictures as "Cabin in the Sky" and "Tales of Manhattan."

Eddie Anderson, better known as "Rochester" on the Jack Benny radio program, was featured in "Tales of Manhattan" and "The Meanest Man in the World." Lena Horne has had a sensational rise as a screen actress. She has played in such pictures as "Panama Hattie," "Cabin in the Sky" and "As Thousands Cheer." Among other Negro stage and screen actors are such well-known names as Bill Robinson, Rex Ingram, Louise Beavers, Mantan Moreland, Dooley Wilson, and Hazel Scott.

ARTISTS

The Negro has also made contributions to American art. Henry O. Tanner is listed among the most gifted of American painters. Other Negro painters who have won distinction are Aaron Douglas, Jacob Lawrence, and Hale Woodruff. Among Negroes who have been recognized for achievement in sculpturing are Meta Warrick Fuller, Richmond Barthé, and Edmonia Lewis.

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

Negroes have made many important inventions and have been granted thousands of patents. Norbert Rilleaux invented the vacuum pan for refining sugar; J. E. Matzeliger, the shoe lasting machine now in general use; Elijah McCoy, the lubricating cup so often seen on machinery; Granville Woods, numerous electrical devices which have been sold to the great telephone and electric companies.

Many other notable achievements might be cited to the credit of the race. Matthew Henson, who accompanied Peary on all his Arctic expeditions, is the only living American who ever set foot on the North Pole. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, of Chicago, was the first American surgeon to operate successfully on the human heart. The late George Washington Carver won lasting fame as an agricultural chemist.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Many people are not aware of the extent of the Negro press. Negroes began publishing newspapers over 100 years ago. According to a survey by the Bureau of the Census, there were at least 339 newspapers, magazines, and bulletins published by Negroes in the United States in 1940. Over 200 of these publications are newspapers, most of which are published weekly. There is one daily newspaper, *The Atlanta World.*

The 155 papers reporting their circulation to the Bureau of the Census had a combined circulation, per issue, of 1,276,000. It is probably safe to assume that the weekly circulation of all Negro newspapers is well over 1,500,000, and that the number of persons who read one or more of the papers each week is more than five million. Although the majority of the Negro newspapers are small, and have only local circulation, there are several which have 20 to 30-page editions and which circulate nationally. Some of the outstanding papers of this sort are: Atlanta *Daily World;* Baltimore *Afro-American;* Chicago *Defender*; Houston *Informer;* New York *Amsterdam News;* Norfolk *Journal and Guide;* and Pittsburgh *Courier.*

Negroes also publish more than 130 periodicals covering almost every field of interest. Among these are 46 religious, 29 educational, 16 fraternal, 12 advertising and trade, 8 general, 6 collegiate, 5 medical and scientific periodicals. The monthly circulation of Negro periodicals is probably about one million. Among the outstanding periodicals are *The Crisis, Opportunity, Negro Digest, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of Negro History,* and *Phylon.*

The Negro press fulfills needs which are not met by the white press. It presents the achievements, activities, problems, grievances, and aspirations of Negro citizens. Circulation of Negro publications among white readers is growing, but is still all too small. White people who want to gain a better understanding of the problems and attitudes of Negro citizens should acquaint themselves with Negro newspapers and magazines.

V. CIVIC AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

THE NEGRO POPULATION

Of 122,775,046 people in the United States in 1930, Negroes numbered 11,891,143, or a little less than one in ten. These were distributed as follows: In thirteen Southern states, 8,805,636; in other sections, 3,085,508.

Net increase of Negro population 1920 to 1930: In thirteen Southern states, 364,529 — or 5 per cent; in other sections, 1,063,483 — or 63 per cent.

The reason: Nearly one million Negroes went North during the prosperous '20s.

The 1940 census showed a total population of 131,669,275, of whom 12,865,518 were Negroes. Of the latter 9,261,792 were in thirteen Southern states (the coast states from Virginia to Texas, plus Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Oklahoma), and 3,603,726 were in other sections. During the decade 1930 to 1940 the net increase of Negro population in the South was 456,157, or five per cent, while in the rest of the country the increase was 518,218, or sixteen per cent. The greater increase North was doubtless due to continued migration, though at a diminishing rate.

One interesting result: The six cities having the largest Negro population are all north of the Potomac River.

Most people think Negroes are increasing faster than white people. Instead, they are not even keeping up. The proportion of Negroes in the total population has been growing steadily less for 150 years. In 1790 (the first census) Negroes made up 19.3 per cent of the population, or practically one in five. In 1940 they comprised only 9.8 per cent of the population, not quite one in ten. The proportion of Negroes in the South also has been decreasing rapidly. In 1880 it was 36 per cent, in 1940 only 23.7 per cent of the total Southern population. The same trend is found in the various Southern states, as shown by the following table:

PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION

	1900	1930	1940		1900	1930	1940
Mississippi	58.5	50.2	49.2	North Carolina	33.0	29.0	27.4
South Carolina	58.3	45.6	42.8	Arkansas	28.0	25.8	24.7
Louisiana	47.1	36.9	35.9	Tennessee	23.8	18.3	17.4
Georgia	46.7	36.8	34.7	Texas	20.4	14.7	14.4
Alabama	45.2	35.7	34.7	Maryland	19.8	16.9	16.5
Florida	43.7	29.4	27.1	Delaware	16.6	13.7	13.4
Virginia	35.6	26.8	24.7	Kentucky	13.3	8.6	7.5

Subjects for thought and discussion: Effects of decreasing proportion of Negroes: Will it make the South's racial problems more serious or less so, as the years go by? Effects of heavy migration to other sections: Economic, political; on the South, on the Nation.

HEALTH

The birth rate of Negroes is higher than that of white people. In 1940, the birth rate for whites was 17.5 per thousand population, and 21.7 per thousand for Negroes. Why then, are they increasing less rapidly? The answer is found in the Negro's high rates of morbidity and mortality (sickness and death). In 1940 the Negro death rate was about 14 per thousand, that of white people 10.4 per thousand. This means that Negroes are dying at a rate nearly 50 per cent higher than white people.

According to U. S. Vital Statistics of 1940, the life expectancy of a white man is 10 years longer than that of a Negro man, and 11 years longer for a white woman than a Negro woman.

Tuberculosis is one of the commonest diseases among Negroes. Their mortality from this cause is two to five times as high as that of white people. Since this disease is largely preventable and curable, it appears that public health agencies have not given proper attention to its prevalence among colored people.

In 1940 Negro infant mortality (the death of babies under one year of age) was 73 per thousand as compared with 43 for white infants. This was due to unsanitary surroundings; poor medical attention at birth and

later (a great number of Negro mothers have no physician at the birth of their children); improper food because of ignorance and poverty; lack of maternal care, since so many Negro mothers have to go out to work. An analysis of the 1940 infant death rates reveals that 50 out of 73 deaths per thousand of Negro infants are due to causes connected with environment, while only 20 out of 47 deaths per thousand of white infants are due to environmental causes.

These facts suggest some interesting problems for discussion and investigation: Effects upon the community of unfavorable Negro health conditions; loss of time involved; reduced efficiency and producing power; expense of caring for the sick and burying the dead. This loss runs to hundreds of millions a year; much of it, due to preventable illness, could be saved by better public health services. Does the loss fall upon the whole community or upon the Negro only?

Other questions, dealing with the principle of social solidarity and interdependence: Disease germs do not respect the color line. Every day more than a million Negro cooks, laundresses, and maids go into the homes of white people to prepare their food, wash their clothes, and care for their children. If these domestic helpers live in unsanitary, disease-breeding slums, what will be the inevitable effect upon the people for whom they work? What does all this suggest to the white community (1) from the standpoint of justice to the Negro, (2) from the standpoint of the welfare of all? What steps might be taken to improve these conditions? (Public health services, clinics, hospitalization, slum clearance, decent homes, sewerage, water, sanitary surroundings, etc.)

What are the health conditions of Negroes in your state, your county, your community? What public health facilities are available to them — medical and nursing service, clinics, hospitals, etc.? What services are available in the Negro schools? How do all these compare with those provided for white people?

Sources of information: Reports of state, county and community departments of health; addresses by nurses, physicians, and health officers. Visits to health offices, clinics, and hospitals. Personal observation of Negro housing and community conditions, the worst and the best.

POVERTY

Though the aggregate wealth of the Negro group is large, the great majority are still poor and dependent. Many own practically nothing. Earnings are uncertain and meager, standards of living low. Low wage scales are largely responsible. What do low wages mean in standards of living? In health? In ambition and efficiency? How do low wages affect purchasing power? What effect does this have upon the business of manufacturers and merchants? What effect upon the demand for farm products? How do the low wages of this group affect the general wage scale? What did Booker T. Washington mean when he said, "You can't hold another man down in the ditch without staying down there with him"? Should equal wages be paid for equal work, irrespective of race? Would this be of advantage to the white worker as well as to the Negro?

AGRICULTURE

In 1940 there were 719,071 non-white operators of farms in the United States, of which 29,742 were Indians. Of these 719,071 non-white operators, 167,576 were full owners and 33,522 were part-owners. This means that more than 480,000 non-white farm operators were tenants. The accompanying table shows the number and average size of farms operated by non-white farmers, most of whom were Negroes, in the southern states over the period of 1900 to 1940.

Negro farm operators represent approximately 21 per cent of all farm operators in the southern states.

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED BY NON-WHITE FARMERS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1900 to 1940

Year	Number	All Lands in Farm (acres)	Average Size of Farm (acres)
1940	680,266	30,924,796	45.5
1930	881,687	37,805,765	42.9
1920	922,914	41,318,496	44.8
1910	890,141	42,609,117	47.9
1900	740,670	38,612,046	52.1

One of the most difficult problems of the Negro in agriculture is tenancy. Among the acute problems growing out of tenancy are short tenure, frequent removal from one farm to another, misuse of the land and improvements, irregular school attendance, lack of interest in the community, economic insecurity, uncertain contractual relationships between tenants and landlords, and careless settlements.

At the Southern Conference on Race Relations, held at Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, a group of Southern Negroes suggested the following measures as means of improving the security of tne Negro farmers of the South and the wartime agricultural production of the region:

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land-grant colleges and for providing agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.
4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy-making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives; to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

RECREATION

Why do cities provide parks and playgrounds? By what group of children are these facilities most needed, those of the poor or those of the well-to-do? In what sections are they most needed, in crowded slums or select residential areas? As between Negro and white children, which group is worse off in the matter of housing, streets, and opportunities for recreation? Which group needs parks and playgrounds most?

Where, as a matter of fact, are most parks and playgrounds found, in the poorer districts or the wealthier ones? For white children, or for Negroes? One example: A Southern city with 100,000 Negroes, making up one-third of its population; for white people 1,300 acres of parks valued at $3,000,000; for Negroes, one park of 14 acres valued at $41,000.

Does this concern Negroes alone, or does it concern the whole com-

munity? Is it a matter of justice only, or one of self-interest as well? To what extent does the community pay for its failure to provide these facilities? (In poor citizenship, disease, inefficiency, indigence, crime.)

Similar problems are found in relation to almost all other public services: Libraries (often inaccessible to Negroes); water mains; sewers (which frequently end where the Negro section begins); street paving and lights; public education. Inquiry at the city hall will be helpful; first-hand observation even more so.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Consideration of this vital subject will help the reader to visualize some of the fundamental principles of Americanism and democracy.

Why do democracy and public education belong together? (Democracy is based on the value of the individual; assumes general participation in the process of government — every man a sovereign citizen; undertakes to provide an equal chance for all; depends upon intelligent citizenship for its effectiveness; hence feels the need to provide universal education.)

Were public schools started in the first place for the children of the well-to-do or the children of the poor? What were the early public schools called in Virginia?

What do the laws of the Southern states say with regard to public school facilities for Negroes? (They shall be "separate but equal.") To what extent are these laws carried out? How do the Negro schools of your state and community compare with the white schools: In buildings and grounds? Equipment? Length of school term? Salaries of teachers? Consolidation? Transportation of pupils? Expenditures per child?

The accompanying table is compiled from official reports. The figures for Mississippi and Virginia are not fairly comparable to those from the other states, for the reason that they exhibit only the per pupil expenditures for "instruction." If all the other items entering into "current expenditures" could be shown by race (such as administration, transportation of pupils, fixed charges, and plant operation and maintenance), the ratio would be considerably more unfavorable to the Negro child, running in Mississippi to about eight to one.

CURRENT PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURES PER CHILD ENROLLED, 1939-40

State	*White*	*Negro*
Alabama	$38.77	$11.67
Arkansas	26.84	10.63
Florida	56.57	22.43
Georgia	43.38	12.47
Louisiana	65.96	15.46
Maryland	72.49	55.28
Mississippi (Instruction only)	25.33	5.14
North Carolina	41.19	24.05
Oklahoma	49.75	51.52
South Carolina	47.34	11.39
Texas	61.00	29.00
Virginia (Instruction only)	30.87	17.27

Kentucky and Tennessee, no separate figures.

As will be seen from the above table, in most of these states the Negro child is at a great disadvantage in the matter of schools. In many counties less is spent on the Negro schools than the amounts the state has sent down

to those counties on account of their Negro school children. In such cases, the white schools get all the school funds raised within the county, their full share of state funds, and also a considerable part of the state funds sent down for the Negro child. One state superintendent reported recently that more than four-fifths of the counties in that state were thus diverting to white schools $1,200,000 of state funds allotted them on account of Negro children. In another state the amount thus diverted in a recent year was more than $600,000. Thus it comes about that in counties with many Negro children their schools are often neglected and the white schools are generously provided for, largely from funds the county received because of its Negro children. For example, in 1939-40 Russell County, Alabama, spent on its white schools $67.62 per child enrolled and on its Negro schools $3.66; Lowndes County $89.03 and $5.12; Dallas County $84.72 and $5.64; St. John Parish, Louisiana, $67.37 and $7.33; De Soto Parish, Louisiana, $87.31 and $8.53.

The accompanying table shows something of the problem of school attendance for Negroes and whites. It reflects grave problems of educational mortality and lack of attendance at all levels, but especially during the age period of 15 to 24.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, NATIVE WHITE AND NEGRO, 1940

Age	Per Cent Attending School	
	Native White	Negro
5-24 Years	58.5	53.1
5 "	18.8	12.2
6 "	70.4	60.8
7- 9 "	95.0	90.1
10-14 "	95.4	91.1
15-17 "	76.6	61.2
18-20 "	24.5	15.8
21-24 "	5.3	2.4

Buildings and equipment for Negro schools are usually inferior; salaries of Negro teachers are usually much lower than those of white teachers of equal grade; shorter school terms for Negro schools are not uncommon; consolidated schools for Negroes are practically unknown in several states. Some counties expend solely on bus transportation of white children more than they expend for all purposes on their Negro schools.

Individuals and study groups will find it interesting to secure and examine the reports of their state, county, and city school boards on the above points. Visits to local schools will be especially enlightening.

If wide differences are found, somebody will offer the explanation that Negroes do not pay as much taxes as white people. This will raise interesting questions, civic and economic: Which is the American way, to distribute tax benefits chiefly to those who pay the most taxes, or equally to all, irrespective of their ability to pay? Many white people pay no taxes. Should the state for that reason discriminate against their children in favor of the well-to-do? If not, why discriminate against Negro children because their parents are poor?

Another civic question, that of indirect taxes: Everybody pays indirect taxes who buys anything at all. Example: Gasoline taxes in Georgia, $20,000,000 a year. Every citizen has rights also in the taxes paid by railroads, public utilities, and other great corporations.

An interesting economic principle: In the last analysis, who pays the taxes on a rented house, the man who owns it or the man who pays the

rent? Who pays the taxes on a plantation, the man who owns the plantation or the man whose labor makes it productive?

Finally, the question of the general welfare. Can people with little or no education be as efficient, as productive, and as law-abiding as if they had received greater advantages? Does not the whole community suffer when those advantages are denied or limited in relation to any group?

OFFICERS OF THE LAW

In some communities a serious race problem is found in the attitude of officers of the law. Negroes, being largely without influence and political power, are sometimes arrested and thrown into jail for insignificant offenses and on the barest suspicion. They may be threatened and tortured to extort confessions or testimony. Then they may be convicted and sentenced to prison or to death solely on evidence thus secured. Usually people are assumed to be innocent till they are proved guilty, but with Negroes it often works the other way.

In the process of arrest Negroes are sometimes beaten, and occasionally shot and killed. In many places they look upon white policemen as their natural enemies and expect no justice at their hands. To improve this condition, many Southern cities have Negro detectives and police to serve in Negro sections. This plan has been found helpful in keeping order and retaining the confidence of the Negro community.

MURDER AT THE HANDS OF THE MOB

A problem peculiar to America ("peculiar" in the sense that it is found in no other part of the world) is that of lynching, the murder of people by mobs. Though nearly everybody condemns lynching, there are still a few who excuse it. These should know such facts as the following revealed by careful investigation of the 118 lynchings for the eleven years 1931 to 1941, inclusive:

1. Thirteen of the persons lynched, or eleven per cent, were not accused of any crime whatever. Two of these were lynched "as examples"; others because of personal grudges.

2. Thirty-eight of the victims were charged with only minor offenses, some of them quite trivial. Among the latter were "speaking disrespectfully," "altercation with bootlegger," "stealing liquor," "drunkenness and disorderly conduct," "striking white man," "drawing a knife." One Negro was lynched because he tried to vote.

3. Twenty-six of the victims were accused of homicide. In the case of four of these there was no evidence of guilt whatever; one had killed by accident, another in self-defense, and a third was admittedly crazy.

4. Only one-third of those lynched were accused or suspected of actual or attempted attacks on women. In a number of these cases there was grave doubt of guilt and at least two of the victims were clearly innocent of the charge.

But even if all mob victims were worthy of death, lynching would still be wrong. It exalts anarchy above law, and thus strikes at the foundations of ordered society. "Every lyncher," said the great Mississippian, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "becomes a law-despiser, and every law-despiser is a betrayer of his country."

It is gratifying to note that distinct progress is being made toward the elimination of this crime. In the five years ending with 1944, there were

only 19 lynchings, against 45 for the previous five-year period. The lynching record for the past five years is as follows: 1940, five; 1941, four; 1942, five; 1943, three; 1944, two.

PEONAGE

Another occasional practice for which there can be no defense is that of "peonage," or debt slavery. This means that Negroes who get in debt to landlords and employers are sometimes held in servitude by force and intimidation, on the pretext of working out their debt. Some years ago a prominent Georgia planter, under suspicion of holding Negroes in peonage, was convicted of killing or causing the death of eleven Negro farm hands to keep them from testifying against him. In November, 1936, a city marshal in Arkansas was fined $3,500 for holding eight Negroes in enforced slavery. About the same time four men were arrested in Florida, charged with holding Negroes in peonage in a turpentine camp. A Louisiana planter convicted recently on a similar charge defended himself by saying that he was only doing what everybody else did. This, of course, was not true, but it indicates that in some sections the practice is not uncommon. It is very difficult for the courts to break it up, because the victims of peonage are usually afraid to testify. In other cases public opinion is such that convictions cannot be secured.

THE BALLOT

No study of this kind would be complete without a consideration of the problem of Negro suffrage. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified March 30, 1870, provides that "the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment does not mean that every person must be allowed to vote, irrespective of his fitness to do so; it leaves each state free to decide what qualifications for suffrage shall be required. It does mean, however, that these qualifications should apply equally to all citizens, and that no one who can meet them should be denied the ballot merely because of his race.

Nevertheless, in many sections Negroes, even when intelligent and well educated, are kept from voting by one means or another. Most of the Southern states, for example, provide that voters must be able to read and "interpret" the constitution of state or nation to the satisfaction of the election officers. If they see fit to do so, these officers can refuse to accept the most intelligent interpretation. Thus the best educated Negro in the community may be denied the ballot.

The existence of the poll tax in some of the states apparently discourages voting of both whites and Negroes, as is revealed by the following data. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting would go a long way toward the fuller participation of both Negroes and whites in elections.

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF VOTING AGE IN THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES VOTING IN 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Eight Poll-Tax States		Five Non-Poll-Tax States	
Tennessee	32	Oklahoma	62
Texas	25	Kentucky	59
Virginia	23	North Carolina	40
Arkansas	22	Florida	38
Georgia	19	Louisiana	28
Alabama	18		
Mississippi	18		
South Carolina	14		

It must be understood, however, that the poll tax is only one handicap in the free participation of Negroes in elections. The "white primary," various registration schemes, the "Grandfather" clause, threats, trafficking in votes, and lack of appreciation on the part of both whites and Negroes of the significance of the ballot are handicaps to effective participation of both races in elections.

In many sections it is sufficient merely to let Negroes understand that they are not supposed to vote and that it may make trouble for them if they try to do so. Actual intimidation and violence are sometimes resorted to. The one-party system, based on the primary in which only white persons may vote, is another means by which Negroes are excluded, particularly in state and local elections. Thus, in some states and in certain sections of others, it comes about that few Negroes have any part whatever in the governments under which they live. Consequently, they have little or no political influence and no power to protect their interests.

A great many people are beginning to wonder whether a wiser way may not be found. Not everybody is competent to exercise the ballot, to be sure. It should probably be protected by suffrage limitations. But should not such limitations be applied equally to both races? Would good government be endangered by such a course, or would it be made stronger and more secure through increased loyalty on the part of the Negro group?

Dr. R. R. Moton, former president of Tuskegee Institute, expressed the Negro's view of this matter in the following words:

"Negroes would like to share in the government only in proportion to their merit, their ability, and their fitness. They have no desire for dominance. There are many Negroes who own property. They have something at stake in every state and county and town in the South. They are as anxious as any other citizen that their property be protected, and they are concerned for the best interests of the community. Therefore, they want to get the best man available to govern the community or the state or the nation. Here in Tennessee you might pick out the best colored man in the state as a candidate for governor and you could not get the Negroes of Tennessee to vote for him. They wouldn't want a Negro as governor. That is not lack of respect for their race, either. They would want as governor the man with the most experience and the best background, the man who is most representative of all the people. So you see after all there is really nothing to fear from the Negro in politics."

This problem of the suffrage is not simple, of course. In some sections it is much more difficult than in others. It cannot be solved overnight. However, it is one of the most important problems of our section, and those who are coming into citizenship must work it out in harmony with the public interest and the best traditions of our democracy.

JURIES AND COURTS

Similar to the question of the ballot is that of jury service for Negroes. In a case that was carried up from the Alabama courts in 1935 the Supreme Court of the United States set aside a verdict against a Negro on the ground that Negroes were systematically excluded from jury service on account of race. Governor Bibb Graves, of Alabama, immediately issued a statement in which he said: "Holdings of the United States Supreme Court are the supreme laws of the land. . . . This decision means that we must put the names of Negroes in jury boxes in every county in the State. Alabama is going to observe the supreme law of America." He then advised the officials of every county to include in the jury rolls the names of Negroes who were qualified for jury service by intelligence and character. In cases involving Negroes, courts in many sections of the South are beginning to call one or more qualified Negroes for jury service. No

unfavorable results have been observed. Negroes naturally feel that in this way their interests in the courts are better protected, and the white people concerned seem to recognize the fairness of this procedure.

As a matter of fact Negroes are often at a disadvantage in the courts. Their guilt is more likely to be taken for granted, and they are sometimes convicted on insufficient evidence, merely because of this presumption of guilt. They are likely to get heavier sentences than white men convicted of similar offenses, and far more likely to be sent to the electric chair.

THE REAL QUESTION

In essence, all these civic problems reduce to just two; (1) That of doing justice to a minority group, and (2) that of serving the best interests of all. The American people would like to do both, of course. Is it possible to do both at the same time, or must they sacrifice one to accomplish the other? That is the real question that future citizens must face.

There are some who think it necessary to deny the rights of the minority, to limit their opportunities, and "keep them down" in order to advance the welfare of the majority.

There are others who feel sure that no good can come from injustice, that in keeping others down people degrade themselves, and that the best interests of all will be served by the highest welfare of each.

The former view is the theory of autocracy against which our Revolutionary forefathers revolted. The latter is the theory of the democracy which they established. Which shall America follow in reference to its 12,000,000 Negro citizens?

VI. SOME COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

Many common interracial attitudes and practices are based on assumptions that are largely or wholly without foundation. Among these, the following are almost certain to emerge in any discussion of this subject:

(1) That Negroes were divinely ordained to be the servants of white people; that God cursed one of Noah's sons, turned him black, and condemned him to perpetual servitude. The best answer is to have inquirers read carefully the Bible story on which this belief is based (Genesis 9, 20 to 27). Thus they will see that God is not mentioned in connection with the so-called curse, that nobody was turned black, that not a word is said about perpetual servitude, and not a word to connect the colored races with Canaan, who was the innocent object of Noah's unreasoning resentment.

(2) That the Negro is a political menace who may some day take over the government. This fear is based on two things: (a) The memory of Reconstruction; (b) the belief that Negroes are increasing faster than white people, and so constitute a growing political threat. Many believe that Negroes already outnumber white people in several states. Facts sufficient to set at rest these false assumptions and groundless fears are found under "Reconstruction," "Negro Population," and "The Ballot."

(3) That the Negro is a potential economic threat as a competitor of the white man; hence he must be "kept down." This is a very superficial and shortsighted view. It is to the obvious advantage of society that every man attain his highest efficiency and productiveness, since to increase the total of goods produced increases the sum of goods available for consumption, and hence lifts the general level of living. It is desirable

that every man live in a good house and have enough of the necessities of life. This tends to make him a better citizen, more productive, more loyal and contented, less liable to be resentful, troublesome, and criminal. Furthermore, is it not true, as suggested before, that to keep any man down somebody must stay down with him?

(4) That Negroes should have very little education. This is a survival of three slave-time assumptions: (a) Negroes cannot take much education. (b) They do not need much education. (c) It would not be safe to give them much education.

Abundant experience has shown that all these assumptions are false: (a) Thousands of Negroes graduate annually from college, many of them with advanced degrees. (b) Twelve million Negroes need great numbers of educated leaders, teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, and business men. (c) The education of Negroes, as of anybody else, makes for better citizenship, better morals, greater efficiency, greater usefulness. Many striking illustrations may be found in the stories of Negroes who have achieved.

(5) That Negroes are inherently (that is, permanently and hopelessly) inferior to white people. Science offers no proof on this point. The race certainly has been retarded; and it is easy to see why. (See section on Africa.) Other races, including the Anglo-Saxon, were greatly retarded in the past, but have largely outgrown their handicaps since opportunity came to them. It is reasonable to assume that the same will be true of Negroes.

But do not Negroes commonly rate lower than white people in intelligence tests? That in general is true, though there is much overlapping. Some white people rate higher than most Negroes, but in turn some Negroes rate higher than most white people. Besides, it is well known that there is no final test for pure intelligence apart from acquired knowledge. Psychologists have never been able to frame one. Hence it is to be expected that most Negro children, having had poorer advantages than most white children, would rank lower.

In the extensive tests of American soldiers in the World War (100,000 white and 19,000 Negro), white soldiers on the average tested higher than Negro soldiers. But it was found also that white soldiers from the North tested higher than white soldiers from the South. Did this mean that the former were inherently more intelligent than the latter, or only that they had had better advantages? Furthermore, to our surprise, we find that the median scores of Negro soldiers from Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Ohio were actually higher than those of white soldiers from several Southern states. Was that a measure of relative intelligence, or a measure rather of relative opportunities? If we make allowance for the latter factor on one side, must we not in fairness make it also on the other?

(6) That no genuine Negro ever showed real intelligence or ability. What about George Carver, the South's foremost agricultural chemist and Fellow of the London Royal Society of Arts? What about Phillis Wheatley, African-born slave, who wrote such good poetry that she was complimented by President Washington and entertained by the nobility of England? What of Robert R. Moton, former head of Tuskegee Institute, a school with 1,500 students and an annual budget of half a million dollars? What of Roland Hayes, world-famous tenor, who sings perfectly in four languages and has been honored by the crowned heads of Europe? What of Mary McLeod Bethune, who has built up a great school at Daytona Beach, Florida, with a plant worth $500,000? These are all black people, with no visible evidences of white blood. What about hundreds of other

pure-blooded Negroes who have achieved notably in spite of great handicaps?

(7) That Negroes are more criminal than white people. It is true that Negroes do furnish an undue proportion of the prison population; however, there are a number of reasons why this is so, quite apart from inherent criminality: Negroes are more likely to be arrested on suspicion and for slight offenses; they have less money and less influence and so are more likely to be convicted; for a given offense they commonly receive longer sentences; finally they are less likely to be pardoned or paroled.

Besides, Negroes live largely in the worst sections of the cities; they are provided with few parks, playgrounds, and other facilities for normal recreation; their school advantages are almost always inferior, consequently many are ignorant and illiterate. Were Negroes given equal opportunity and complete fairness at the hands of the law, there is no reason to believe that their crime rate would be any higher than that of white people.

(8) That Negroes want social equality—that they wish to invade the social life of white people. This is purely an assumption, with no evidence whatever to support it. Negro leaders deny it emphatically. Negroes want justice, not social intermingling. Education, protection, decent living conditions, the normal rights of citizenship, a chance to develop their best — these are the things they ask. Speaking of intermarriage, Dr. R. R. Moton, former principal of Tuskegee Institute, said at a conference of educators at Peabody College: "Not one Negro in a thousand believes in intermarriage. You don't want it and we don't want it; so let's drop the subject and forget it."

"Social equality," said former Governor Northern of Georgia, "is a delusion set up by the demagogues." "If we could just rout that old bogey out of our imaginations!" wrote a great Georgia woman, Mrs. John D. Hammond. "Nobody," she continues, "can force on anybody associations undesired . . . The higher they (the Negroes) rise, the more the tides of their own race life will fill and satisfy and lift them along their own path."

In any case it seems perfectly clear that the integrity of the two races can best be preserved by giving the Negro every opportunity for self-improvement, full protection of his rights, normal respect and consideration, and a chance to develop wholesome self-respect and pride of race.

(9) The "lumping fallacy" is another that should be guarded against. This is the common habit of forming our opinions concerning the people of any other group on the basis of the most unpleasant experiences we have with any of them. For example: Every week in any Southern community we meet hundreds of Negroes. Most of them are wholly inoffensive in their conduct toward us; many of them are extravagantly respectful. That makes little impression upon us, for that is what we are accustomed to, what we normally expect. But should one of the hundreds for any reason make himself obnoxious, we tend to remember him above the rest and to brand them all with his offense. This of course is wholly unfair. Sometimes it results in the gravest injustice, as in riots and mob violence in which many innocent people are punished because one or a few are suspected of wrong doing.

(10) Occasionally somebody suggests that a sense of obligation to Negroes is contrary to Southern tradition. Nothing could be further from the truth. The best people of the "Old South" had just such a sense of obligation and discharged it, under great difficulties, with a faithfulness that their descendants may well emulate.

In the lovely old Presbyterian Church of Lexington, Virginia, they still exhibit with pride the pew where every Sunday for years Stonewall Jack-

son taught a class of Negro slaves—because he believed that God was no respecter of persons and that these humble black men also were God's children. In the same town, in the years following the Civil War, that knightly Virginia gentleman, Robert E. Lee, then president of Washington and Lee University, twice came down to the courthouse square and dispersed excited mobs bent on lynching suspected offenders against the law.

In the light of traditions like these no Southerner need apologize for taking seriously the nation's obligation to its twelve million Negro citizens, here through no fault of their own, and largely dependent for their chance in life upon the white man's justice and humanity.

PUBLICATIONS

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The Southern Press and the Negro

Southern Regional Council Finds Discriminatory Treatment in News Disappearing

By Henry Lesesne

ATLANTA, Ga. — For measuring the South's social thinking and its progress in racial relations in recent times there could hardly be a better way than a study of its newspapers, large and small daily and weekly. Not only a study of the way the press treats editorially the broad issues affecting the minority race, but the way in which the Negro is treated in the news columns. Obviously the press in the South holds a key position in the whole field of improving racial relations. Changes in attitudes and practices respecting the treatment of the Negro in Southern newspapers have come so gradually, though, they have largely gone unnoticed.

Recently a rather exhaustive study or survey was made and it shows that the segregation principle or discriminatory treatment of the Negro in the news is disappearing. The study was made by the Southern Regional Council, an organization of Southerners of both races in all lines of professional endeavor. Not only were Southern newspapers carefully examined but many working newspaper men were interviewed with a view toward evaluating the newspaper's role in improving racial relations. Results of the survey, with recommendations for better practices, were published in a little booklet, "Race in the News."

It is hardly unreasonable to assume that Southern editors and newspaper men as a group are more advanced in their thinking on the racial issue than the average reader or the majority of their readers. Naturally, however, the editor or newspaper man leans toward the precept of giving the readers what he thinks they want—or, in this instance, what he thinks they will accept without protest. And, of course, many an editor has been cautious because he sincerely felt that too rapid progress, if forced, might accomplish more harm than good.

Nevertheless, more than one Southern editor in recent years has discovered that he could get by with a lot more than he ever suspected, without having his telephone ring all night or a flood of letters of indignation in the mail. This happened a few years ago when two daily newspapers in Georgia printed editorials advocating Negro suffrage — considerably before Negro suffrage became a political issue. Now some of the time-honored practices of discriminating against the Negro in the news are being discarded—sometimes, but not always, without any protest from the readers.

"THE past ten years," the council says in its study, "have seen a marked improvement in the coverage of racial news by Southern newspapers. The people of the region, through the news and editorial columns of their home town papers, have been made immensely more concerned with all aspects of the so-called 'Negro problem.' Ten years ago it could be charged with some justification that most newspapers ignored the Negro, except for his crimes."

"Most Southern newspapers," it summarizes, "have reported the big events, the larger issues, in a fashion reasonably consistent with the best traditions of American journalism. News stories have been played straight. Editorials have been increasingly honest and calm in tone, if not always well-reasoned.

"When the newspapers have failed to give the readers the truth, it has been more often through omission than commission. It is a rare thing today to find among conventional newspapers of general circulation the kind of inflammatory writing that editors once thought to be in order at every moment of crisis between the races."

The council in its booklet enumerates the ways in which the Negro is discriminated against in the news. These practices are beginning to disappear here and there, but generally they still persist. There is, for instance, the simple matter of courtesy titles before the names of Negro women. A few years ago this was unheard of in the South, or at least in that part of the South commonly referred to as the "Deep South." But one day a Georgia daily newspaper began to use "Mrs." before the names of Negro married women.

Either the change went unnoticed by white readers or was quietly accepted; so far as the editor could tell, there was no reaction at all. But on the other hand, a country weekly published a story of the death of a "highly respected colored woman" in the same column with the white obituaries. One person wrote an angry letter and, according to the editor, "in this undemonstrative community that was equivalent to 75 per cent objection."

THE S. R. C., in publishing its findings and recommendations, acknowledged that some of its suggestions might be considered impractical by some editors, but dug up a great number of case histories as a convincing argument that "it would be unwise for any editor to assume that the reaction from his readers might be hostile." And it makes the point that while attitudes and practices are beginning to change, "newspapers have done no better at providing 'separate but equal' treatment of Negroes than any of the other Southern institutions."

It points out that Negroes in the news are almost always identified by race, while whites are not. Human interest stories about the Negro usually present him as a comic figure without dignity. A Negro is considered bigger news when he commits a crime than when a crime is committed against him. The council, while acknowledging that there are some "notable and laudable exceptions," concludes that Southern newspapers constitute the greatest single force in "perpetuating the popular stereotype of the Negro."

A few newspapers in the South, the S. R. C. finds, have all but liberated themselves from "the compulsion to regard Negro news by discriminatory standards." It mentions as among the foremost of these the Richmond, Va., "Times-Dispatch" and the Chattanooga, Tenn., "Times." It points out they do not headline Negroes in crime stories and that, except where identification by color is necessary to an understanding of the story, race is rarely introduced at all. Courtesy titles are used with Negro names when appropriate. They run photographs and achievement background stories on Negro institutions and interviews with prominent Negro personalities.

IN JUST about every Southern state at least one newspaper can be found, the S. R. C. survey says, which goes beyond what conservative newspaper men "might think their readers would stand for." In general, it says, most daily newspapers in the South have been "refreshingly uninhibited" about the consequences of Negro enfranchisement and have reported objectively the facts on Negro voting. Yet it finds that newspapers as a general thing have shown a curious reluctance to "interview Negroes themselves about what they want from government or how they mean to go about getting it."

In this respect, the council admits that there are difficulties. Few Negro organizations at the local level have discovered the utility of the prepared release or "handout." As individuals Negroes are not accustomed even to phoning in tips to the newspapers. One or two large newspapers in the South in recent times have hired Negro reporters. And among the smaller daily newspapers, more and more of them are running weekly columns of Negro news written by Negro correspondents. Beyond the heading, "News of Interest to Negroes," there is no further mention of race. Several newspapers in North Carolina have weekly Negro pages which carry no label whatsoever.

This practice could, of course, be deplored as one more extension of segregation, but the Negro readers apparently like it. Otherwise, in the absence of a local Negro daily paper, their activities would go largely unnoticed. In small towns the matter of finding a competent Negro correspondent is sometimes a problem. A weekly newspaper in Texas recently found it necessary to suspend its weekly column of Negro news for this very reason. The editor reported: Surprisingly enough, we received more protests about leaving the column out from the white readers than from the colored." He said an effort would be made to resume the column.

THE S. R. C.'s monthly publication, "New South," reports that particularly in recent months has there been a "remarkable" growth of practices which make for fairer handling of news involving the minority race. The number of newspapers putting the "N" in Negro in lower case is steadily decreasing. The old rule flatly forbidding publication of Negro pictures has been greatly relaxed. More and more, Southern newspapers are beginning to use courtesy titles before the names of Negroes, though the majority still shy from this practice.'

The following incident is reported by "New South" as happening only recently: A committee of church women of both races called on the editors of the two daily papers in a Georgia city. The women pointed out those practices which they felt fell short of fairness: failure of the dailies to cover important events in the Negro community, failure to use the same courtesy titles for Negroes as for whites, a complete ban on pictures of Negroes in the news, undue emphasis on crime news involving Negroes.

Both editors were co-operative. Now, the S. R. C. reports, both papers frequently use pictures of Negroes, courtesy titles are used, headline references to race in crime news has been sharply reduced and newsworthy and constructive events are being reported as they happen in the Negro communities of the city.

"Neither paper could (or probably would want to) lay claim to perfection in its handling of racial news," the council comments. "Eventually, one may hope, some of the remaining problems will be solved by the employment of full-time Negro reporters. But the notable thing is the conscientious spirit in which improvement has been undertaken and the way it has been accepted by the community at large."

The South of the Future

A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council December 12, 1951

EIGHT years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of internationa[illegible]sion, we are faced with a renewed [illegible] to provide leadership and directio[illegible] a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels — national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

THE ROLE APPROPRIATE to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern

thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the

action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

THE DECLARED PURPOSE of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race — problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive

to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Monday, November 4, 1957

Ministers Provide Guide for Thinking

Yesterday 80 Atlantans, each one a minister of the Gospel, spoke out frankly on the critical problem in human relationships which confronts our generation.

Those 80 ministers represent major Protestant denominations. But they did not speak for their denominations nor for their congregations. They spoke for themselves, as ministers, as Georgians and as Americans.

They began with a recognition of an obligation to speak their convictions on questions which are moral and spiritual as well as political.

Together they wrote a six-point guide for Christian thinking and behavior on segregation-integration.

But before they did, they deplored extremists on either side. They deplored, too, the insistence by many that integration means amalgamation. They confirmed their own belief in preserving the integrity of each race.

At the same time they expressed a firm belief in the right of all Americans to first-class citizenship.

Their code for Christian conduct includes: (1) Freedom of speech, without reprisal, (2) an obiligation to obey the law, as well as a right to try to change laws by legal means, but never by violence and economic reprisal, (3) preservation of the public schools, (4) a condemnation of hate and scorn as never justified, (5) maintenance of communications between responsible leaders of the races, (6) consistent prayer for God's guidance.

The 80 Atlanta ministers have addressed their words to all men of good will. We commend it, especially to those men whose public utterances have been to the contrary. We commend it for its defense of the individual and of free speech without reprisal from those in positions of political or economic power who have opposing views.

The statement comes from men of disciplined minds and disciplined emotions. It is characterized by those virtues on which Georgia was founded—wisdom, justice, moderation.

Eighty of Atlanta's ministers have responded to an obligation and a challenge.

A Southland and a nation will listen with respect.

Ministers' Statement

THESE ARE DAYS OF TREMENDOUS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TENSION THROUGHOUT OUR ENTIRE WORLD, BUT PARTICULARLY IN OUR NATION AND BELOVED SOUTHLAND. The issues which we face are not simple, nor can they be resolved over night. Because the questions which confront us are in so many respects moral and spiritual as well as political, it appropriate and necessary that men who occupy places of responsibility in the churches should not be silent concerning their convictions.

The signers of this statement are all ministers of the Gospel, but we speak also as citizens of Georgia and of the United States of America. We are all Southerners, either by birth or by choice, and speak as men who love the South, who seek to understand its problems, and who are vitally concerned for its welfare. In preparing this statement we have acted as individuals, and represent no one but ourselves. At the same time we believe that the sentiments which we express are shared by a multitude of our fellow-citizens, who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems, but who have been without a voice and have found no way to make their influence effective.

In presenting our views for the consideration of others we can only speak in a spirit of deep humility and of penitence for our own failures. We can not claim that the problem of racial relationships has been solved even in the churches which we serve, and we are conscious that our own example in the matter of brotherhood and neighborliness has been all too imperfect. We do not pretend to know all the answers. We are of one mind, however, in believing that Christian people have an especial responsibility for the solution of our racial problems and that if, as Christians, we sincerely seek to understand and apply the teachings of our Lord and Master we shall assuredly find the answer.

We do not believe that the South is more to blame for the difficulties which we face than are other areas of our nation. The presence of the Negro in America is the result of the infamous slave traffic - an evil for which the North was as much responsible, as the South. We are also conscious that racial injustice and violence are not confined to our section and that racial problems have by no means been solved anywhere in our nation. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right. The failures of others are not a justification for our own shortcomings, nor can their unjust criticisms excuse us for a failure to do our duty in the sight of God. Our one concern must be to know and to do that which is right.

We believe that the difficulties before us have been greatly increased by extreme attitudes and statements on both sides. The use of the word "Integration" in connection with our schools and other areas of life has been unfortunate, since to many that term has become synonymous with amalgamation. We do not believe in the amalgamation of the races, nor do we feel that it is favored by right thinking members of either race. We do believe that all Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first class citizenship. To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the White race as upon the Negro race. Believing as we do in the desirability of preserving the integrity of both races through the free choice of both, we would emphasize the following principles which we hold to be of basic importance for our thought and conduct:

1 FREEDOM OF SPEECH MUST AT ALL COSTS BE PRESERVED.

"Truth is mighty and will prevail." No minister, editor, teacher, state employee, business man or other citizen should be penalized for expressing himself freely, so long as he does so with due regard to the rights of others. Any position which can not stand upon its own merits and which can only be maintained by silencing all who hold contrary convictions, is a position which can not permanently endure.

2 AS AMERICANS AND AS CHRISTIANS WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OBEY THE LAW.

This does not mean that all loyal citizens need approve the 1954 decision of of the Supreme Court with reference to segregation in the public schools. Those who feel that this decision was in error have every right to work for an alteration in the decree, either through a further change in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, or through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does mean that we have no right to defy the constituted authority in the government of our nation. Assuredly also it means that resorts to violence and to economic reprisals as a means to avoid the granting of legal rights to other citizens are never justified.

3 THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MUST NOT BE DESTROYED.

It is an institution essential to the preservation and development of our democracy. To sacrifice that system in order to avoid obedience to the decree of the Supreme Court would be to inflict tremendous loss upon multitudes of children whose whole lives would be impoverished as a result of such action. It would also mean the economic, intellectual and cultural impoverishment of our section, and would be a blow to the welfare of our nation as a whole.

4 HATRED AND SCORN FOR THOSE OF ANOTHER RACE, OR FOR THOSE WHO HOLD A POSITION DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN, CAN NEVER BE JUSTIFIED.

It is only as we approach our problems in a spirit of mutual respect, of charity, and of good will that we can hope to understand one another, and to find the way to a cooperative solution of our problems. God is no respecter of persons. Every human personality is precious in His sight. No policy which seeks to keep any man from developing fully every capacity of body, mind, and of spirit can be justified in the light of Scripture. This is the message of the Hebrew prophets as it is of Christ and His disciples. We shall solve our difficulties when we learn to walk in ovedience to the Golden Rule: "Therefore, all things, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

5 COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE RACES MUST BE MAINTAINED.

One of the tragedies of our present situation is found in the fact that there is so little real discussion of the issues except within the separate racial groups. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that misunderstandings will continue and that suspicion and distrust will be encouraged. One of the reasons that extreme measures have been so often proposed or adopted by groups within both races is found in the fact that those who are most concerned have seldom faced the

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6 OUR DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE SOLVED IN OUR OWN STRENGTH OR IN HUMAN WISDOM.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we approach our task in a spirit of humility, of penitence, and of prayer. It is necessary that we pray earnestly and consistently that God will give us wisdom to understand His will; that He will grant us the courage and faith to follow the guidance of His Spirit.

To such prayer and obedience we would dedicate ourselves and summon all men of good will.

SIGNED BY:

Wallace M. Alston
Charles L. Allen
Thomas Anderson
Raymond J. Ball
Wade H. Boggs
Jack Bozeman
Lee Branham
W. C. Budd
A. L. Burgreen
Robert W. Burns
C. W. Carpenter
Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr.
Lamar Clements
Samuel T. Cobb
E. Dudley Colhoun
Vance Daniel
Eugene Drinkard
Edward Driscoll
L. B. Ellington
D. J. Evans
Harry Fifield
Emmett Floyd
Austin Ford
J. T. Ford
Thomas A. Fry, Jr.
John Garber
Arthur Vann Gibson
Victor A. Greene
Joseph L. Griggs
Thomas Hagood
Alfred Hardman
Dick H. Hall, Jr.
Claud M. Haynes
W. I. Howell
Herbert Hyde
Bevel Jones
Dow Kirkpatrick
Robert E. Kribbs
Edward Lantz
Robert E. Lee
Fitzhugh M. Legerton
John Blix Lind
Nat G. Long
James D. Matthews
Roy O. McClain
Harrison McMains
W. Robert Mill
Harold W. Minor, Jr.
Harry L. Mitcham
Walter Murphy
William E. Newton
Stuart Oglesby
Robert Ozment
Roy Pettway
J. Davison Phillips
Paul Renz
J. McDowell Richards
Frank M. Ross
E. D. Rudisill
Lester Rumble
Hugh Saussy, Jr.
Charles F. Schwab
O. Norman Shands
Rembert Sisson
W. Thomas Smith
Wilson Sneed
R. H. Stewart
Monroe F. Swilley, Jr.
James W. Sosebee
W. Earl Strickland
Harry Tisdale
Herman L. Turner
L. F. VanLandingham
Wendell Wellman
Albert Wells
Charles L. Widney
Allison Williams
Eugene T. Wilson
John Womack
Milton L. Wood

in the hearts of men . . .

Like the prophets of old, who forcefully spoke concerning the crucial problems of their day, eighty Atlanta ministers issued a forthright statement giving their views on race relations. We are deeply grateful for the moral and spiritual leadership which they have furnished.

Feeling that their statement will be helpful to others who believe we must solve the race situation in love and on our knees, we are making it available to some of the people whom we think would welcome spiritual guidance.

Officers of the United Churchwomen of Atlanta and the Executive Committee of the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

The Negro Press

Its Character, Development, and Function

Robert Durr

Mississippi Division
Southern Regional Council
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

In the course of the 1947 membership meeting of the Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Robert Durr, Editor of the Birmingham Weekly Review, read to the meeting this material on the Negro Press. The meeting thought the information and points of view so usefully expressed that it wished the excerpts printed for wider distribution.

The Negro Press

ON THE occasion of the first Wendell L. Willkie Negro Journalism Awards dinner in Washington, D. C., the speaker for the Negro press — Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* — said:

"The Negro press in the United States this year celebrated its 121st anniversary. The institution of slavery was abolished 86 years ago. A goodly number of us have been in the habit of viewing the social evolution of Negroes in this country in terms of what has happened since emancipation.

"Many years before that emancipation, people outside the region in which slavery was legalized were striving in the noblest of causes — making this nation free as a whole. In 1827 there was established in New York City a small paper which bore the significant title of *Freedom's Journal*. It was the first newspaper dedicated to the Abolitionist cause and antedated Garrison's *Liberator* by four years. *Freedom's Journal* was a protest organ dedicated to the proposition of manufacturing public opinion against slavery.

"Negro journalism has gained in scope, intensity, and diplomacy as literacy has increased among Negroes. But the influence of the early newspapers is not to be ignored. James Weldon Johnson testifies as follows:

" 'It is astounding on glancing backward to see how well written and edited were the majority of these periodicals. They stated and pleaded their cause with a logic and eloquence which seldom fell below the highest level of the journalism of the period. And yet it is not, after all, astounding — there was the great cause, the auspicious time; and by some curiously propitious means there were, too, the men able to measure up to the cause and the time. There were among the editors of these papers, men of ability and men of learning.'

Growth of the Negro Press

"From that small beginning the Negro press has grown to considerable dimensions. There are now more than two hundred standard weeklies, ranging in circulation from a few thousand in some cases, to a quarter million in at least two others, with a substantial group able to show through the Audit Bureau of Circulations subscribers or regular buyers in numbers ranging from 10,000 to 150,000. There is a standard daily, founded by a family who once lived in this city, published in a Southern city, that has circulation close to 25,000. Six or seven of the weeklies publish from four to a dozen separate editions for different geographical locations, and their operations approximate those of a daily newspaper.

"There are more than twenty religious periodicals, weeklies and monthlies, some of which are national in circulation. We have a dozen or more journals devoted to education, one of which is recognized as an authority on education in the United States. It compares in size, content, and circulation with the leading educational journals in America. There are about twenty trade pub-

lications, representing different phases of labor, industry, and business. We have a large group of magazines, some of which are organs of organizations with nationwide memberships, and their circulations run into large figures. At least one of these magazines of general character has a circulation of more than 250,000. We have a Journal of Negro History, devoted chiefly to historical research, and this is also recognized as an authority in its field.

"As has been pointed out the Negro press is diversified, covering nearly all phases of human activity. Estimating the circulation of the entire Negro press on the basis of four readers to the literate family it is safe to say that eight million Negroes read these publications weekly. That furnishes an idea of the possibilities of this agency as an educational medium.

"The standard Negro news-weekly is ahead of the average weekly newspaper in the United States in size, content, and circulation, because of the necessity of filling that void occasioned by the policy of numerous members of the other segment of the American press of ignoring anything except crime news relating to Negroes. Thus, to the editorial and news pages of our papers, have been added the magazine page, the page of special commentators, the roving editor, the picture page, in addition to profuse illustrations of news activities and other features.

Advances of White Press

"One of the most significant advances in social action made in the United States during the past two decades is the improvement clearly apparent in the writing of editorial opinion and in the handling of news relating to Negroes by the white press.

"This advance has been especially noticeable in the South.

"In some cases, the new attitude of the newspapers has been so far ahead of the thinking of their constituents that they have been compelled to make a strategic retreat.

"The situation as a whole is highly complimentary to the white press, and I am glad to acknowledge it with thanks.

"Who, you may inquire, besides Negroes, reads the Negro press, and what influence does it exert upon race relations, or upon the whole American way of life?

"It is difficult to answer that question except to say that almost every Negro newspaper of merit has a substantial list of white subscribers, and this includes many college, university, and public libraries. Occasional studies have shown that even in the South white people buy our newspapers and magazines in considerable quantities from the news stands.

"Occasionally we receive from white readers letters of approval, just as we frequently receive letters of disapproval. We have this experience also with our own people. Some of our papers are anathema to colored readers because of what is considered radicalism or sensationalism, and others are anathema because of what is considered conservatism.

"In the early stages of the war it was discovered that one of the most

assiduous patrons of the Negro press was the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It was a rare day that one of our papers did not receive a new subscription or a visit from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The education of this agency in the techniques of legal protest against injustices heaped upon an American minority solely on account of color must have been extensive and unprecedented. The fact that years of watching and distilling of every line, every word printed in the Negro press that could by any process of reasoning have been classified as treasonable brought not one single arrest, nor one single act of suppression, constituted irrefutable proof of the undiminished patriotism of the American Negro at a time when efforts to sabotage our war effort were quite general in other circles.

"In 1943 a widely read and very influential columnist wrote a terrific indictment of the whole Negro press. He did not exclude anybody. In his estimation the whole structure was subversive and rotten to the core. He admitted having read two of the more than two hundred of our papers. But he seriously indicted the whole group.

Indictment and Retraction

"Later on, this gentleman, who had spread the virus of his appraisal of our press through the columns of newspapers with many millions of readers, had occasion to meet a fatherless and friendless Southern Negro boy of eighteen years, who had made his way to New York in an effort to join the United States armed forces as a volunteer and, after talking with this youth, the influential commentator who had found nothing in the Negro press to commend, recanted, in the following words:

" 'Although my recent venture with the Negro Press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject, because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans.

" 'The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition than of conscious cruelty on the part of white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights. We welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than snobbery, and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro, who has been among us and who fights for the United States when war is up, is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

" 'If I were a Negro I would live in a constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American and a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspirations to be a man; to work, to progress, and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought me in the wars.'

"Negro editors do not 'live in a state of constant fury,' nor have any of them 'battered themselves to death against the bars enclosing them.' Neither have they advised their readers to do these things. They will continue to follow a course dictated by common sense, tolerance, patience, and faith in

the ultimate intelligence and sense of justice residing in the American people.

"We make no claims to perfection. The Negro press is made up of human beings, whose emotional reactions are similar to those of people whose skins are of different pigmentation. Among us are Republicans, Democrats, Protestants and Catholics, Baha'is, conservatives and radicals. Different members of our press hold different views on methods and techniques for extricating the race from the network of discriminatory devices designed to keep us in a permanent status of second-class citizenship. But there is no difference of opinion on the part of any of the members of the Negro press as to the necessity for rising above second-class citizenship, and the determination to do so."

Myrdal says: "The importance of the Negro press for the formation of Negro opinion, for the functioning of all other Negro institutions, for Negro leadership and concerted action generally, is enormous. The Negro press is an educational agency and a power agency. Together with the church and the school — and in the field of interracial and civic opinions, more than those two institutions — it determines the special direction of the process through which the Negroes are becoming acculturated. The Negro press causes, on the one hand, an intense realization on the part of the Negroes of American ideals. On the other hand, it makes them realize to how small a degree white Americans live up to them."

A Promising Future

Mr. Young, our speaker at the Willkie dinner, held that:

"As the educational level of the Negro masses rises, as those masses become less dissimilar in culture from other Americans, as the isolation between the two groups increases under voluntary withdrawal on the part of the Negroes, as race consciousness and race solidarity are intensified, as the Negro protest is strengthened, and disseminated even among the lower classes — as all these closely interrelated processes are proceeding, partly under the influence of the Negro press itself, the Negro press will continue to grow.

"With larger circulation, there will be increased possibilities of getting advertising. With a fortified economic basis the Negro press will be able not only to buy better equipment but also to engage better-trained journalists and to organize a better national news service. When the Negro press can produce a better product than now, it will sell even better. The Negro newspaper will probably remain a weekly, though perhaps in some regions it will become possible to launch Negro dailies. This is the prospect we see for the Negro press. It will flourish and become more conspicuous when the foreign language papers die out. We are assuming that American society will not rapidly become so thoroughly reformed that it will be of no importance whether a man is black or white. We believe that there is a trend in America away from racial discrimination. But there is a long way to go before the Negro will be secure in enjoying his full constitutional rights. It will probably not happen in this generation and, perhaps, not in the next. Meanwhile, gradual improvements will only strengthen Negro concerted action as they will seem to prove that the Negro protest is effective. All improvements will give the Negro press more big news and important issues to discuss.

"In the South the white press has been undergoing a great change in its treatment of the Negro problem. Most liberal white newspapers are today

more generous in reporting favorable news from the Negro world than white newspapers in the North and often open their columns for Negro letters to the editor. Northern newspapers are frequently more liberal in their editorials, especially since the outbreak of World War II, but give only scant space to Negro news. This process of change in the white press is continuing. The war emergency seems only to have speeded it up. But — aside from the Southern 'black star' editions — this change does not mean serious competition for the Negro press since the latter serves to give 'additional' news on the Negro. No feasible widening of the reporting of Negro activities in the white press will substitute for the Negro press. What happens to Negroes will continue to have a relatively low 'news value' to white people, and even the most well-meaning editor will have to stop far short of what Negroes demand if he wants to satisfy his white public. It is likely also that with increased race consciousness among Southern Negroes, the 'black star' editions will lose in popularity.

"Whether or not this forecast of an increasing circulation for Negro papers comes true, the Negro press is of tremendous importance. It is in my opinion the greatest exponent of pure democracy in the world today.

Function of the Negro Press

"The main task of the Negro press in this changing world is to disseminate the truth as to the status of race relations in America; as to the extent that democracy includes, or touches, America's minority groups; to point out the injustices in the administration of law, and to decry all efforts to perpetuate a system in America under which our minorities are denied equality of opportunity in the lawful pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

"There is a woeful lack of information in this country concerning Negroes. To millions and millions of Americans the sources of information are closed — voluntarily in some cases — involuntarily in others. But they are closed. And the information that is permitted to get out is distorted, diluted, and often misleading.

"In the United States Senate not long ago, a Senator of one of the more enlightened Southern States made the statement that 'the South makes the same provisions per capita for the improvement of white and black people.' Then he asked the Senate, and the world, in apparent earnestness, 'Why change this?' This Senator was an intelligent, experienced man, and must have known that his statement was erroneous and misleading. But millions of American people read, and believed, that what this Southern statesman said was true. No other Senator in the august body refuted what he said. We have seen in no American newspaper, other than Negro newspapers, any refutation of what he said. But it is in the record for all Americans and for all the world to see and to believe that in the South there is no discrimination against Negroes in matters of education, health, housing, employment, and other fundamental necessities of life.

"The fact is that in the Senator's own State the per capita expenditure for the education of children in the public schools is $38.77 per white child and $11.67 per colored child. And in this Senator's State the conditions are much better than they are in some other States. Is not there a place for the Negro press?

"In this atomic age in which the moral responsibility of one people to another, and of one nation to another, has been made vastly more acute by scientific advances in communication, by nearness and interdependence, and the very development of scientific means of making war totally disastrous, the nations of the world are re-examining their governmental and national policies on questions that flow from differences of race, color, and creed.

"There are no longer any purely local questions of this kind. The problems of the thirteen million Negroes in America are linked with those of the peoples of India and China. Likewise, the political, economic, and social problems of England and France and Russia are linked closely with those of America. We have come face to face with the prophetic vision of the late Wendell Willkie."

The Work for Freedom

The Negro press looks out upon the world as one country and mankind its citizens. It strives to remind us that as men everywhere seek freedom, there must be a growing realization that as long as men are not free everywhere, men are not free anywhere; therefore it seeks to impress upon the Negro people the importance of wanting and seeking integration and participation in the making and administration of the laws under which they must live on all levels. And that without such integration and participation, they are not free.

The average Negro newspaper editor is somewhat of a public relations expert and a social scientist who gets facts, presents them to key people and tries to get something done.

Here in the South the Negro press holds that the race problem can be solved by Godly whites and blacks of light, and believes in leading audaciously and courageously cooperating in getting done in the field of human relations the things which ought to be done, ever keeping us all aware that it is later than we think.

On the occasion of the presentation this year of the Wendell Willkie Awards for Negro Journalism, President Truman, speaking of the Negro press, said:

"These Awards are in recognition of journalistic endeavor of a high order. The idea of a free press is fundamental to the freedoms that we cherish as Americans. While there are limitations on all our freedoms, including the freedom of the press, we can say without fear of challenge that we have a press that is freer than any other in the world today.

"Our press in general has outgrown the provincialism, the narrow isolationism, of another era. It has accepted as its province Wendell Willkie's 'One World.'

"The more than sixty Negro newspapers show an understandable concern with the problems of relationship between the races. From the columns of the Negro press example after example can be cited of reporting and editorial writing which deal with these problems in the courageous and constructive manner that we expect of the best of our journalism.

"One of the newspapers given an award tonight prepared the way for a much needed improvement in the Negro schools of its community. Still another accepted the challenge of equal rights in citizenship and urged Negro citizens

to assume their responsibilities. A third exposed an example of intolerable discrimination. The entries considered by the awards committee covered a wide range, including reporting both at home and overseas. They maintained, I am told by the committee, a high standard.

"We are living in a time of profound and swiftly moving change. We see colonial peoples moving toward their independence. It is a process that we, as Americans, can understand and sympathize with, since it parallels our own struggle for independence. We, as Americans, will want to supply guidance and help wherever we can.

"One way in which we can help is to set an example of a Nation in which people of different origins work peacefully and successfully alongside one another. That is one meaning of this meeting here tonight, and I congratulate those of you who are responsible for our coming together on this occasion.

"More and more we are learning, and in no small measure through the medium of the press, how closely our democracy is under observation. We are learning what loud echoes both our successes and our failures have in every corner of the world. That is one of the pressing reasons why we cannot afford failures When we fail to live together in peace, the failure touches not us, as Americans, alone, but the cause of democracy itself. That, we must never forget."

Credo of the Negro Press

For the future a large segment of the Negro press in the United States has accepted as its guide this Credo:

"I shall be a Crusader . . .

"I shall be an Advocate . . .

"I shall be a Herald . . .

"I shall be a Mirror and a Record . . .

"I shall crusade for all things that are right and just and I will, with equal fervor, expose and condemn all things that are unjust. I shall be a Crusader but will not permit my fervor nor the rightness of my cause to provoke abandonment of the cardinals of journalism, accuracy, fairness, and objectivity.

"I shall be an Advocate of the full practice of the principles implicit in 'Life, Liberty, and Justice for All.' I shall be an Advocate for these human and civil rights on behalf of those to whom they are denied, and I shall turn the pitiless light of publicity upon all men who would deny these rights to others. I shall Advocate for my country, my state, my city, and my race, but I shall ever be on guard that I will not forget the greatest good for the greatest number while seeking any deserved benefits for those small segments who are disadvantaged by details of them.

"I shall be a Herald, a bearer of good news, wherever I may, but of all news, whether it be good or bad, if its heralding is in the public interest. I shall Herald these tidings, good and bad, in the faith that the people are free only if the truth is known by them. I shall Herald those things that others

would suppress out of bias or for any and all other reasons.

"I shall be a Mirror and a Record — A Mirror of our existence as it is and a Record of our strivings to better that lot. I cannot deny or overlook my people's vices and shortcomings. Neither will I permit their virtues and good attributes to be hidden or denied.

"I shall have integrity and I will not be bought. I shall be beholden to no man or class, because I am the voice of all my people.

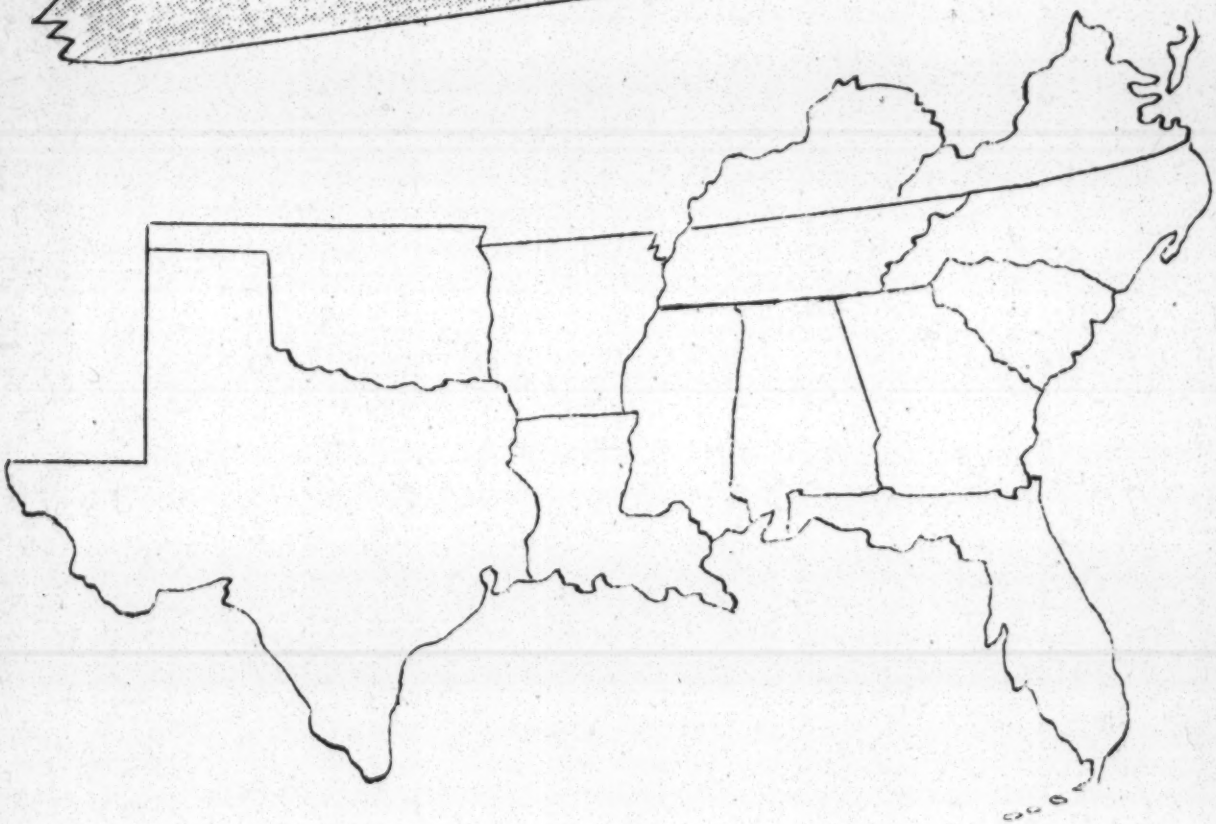
"I will knowingly print nothing with malice nor permit the exploitation of my columns by self-seekers and narrow special interests.

"I shall mold public opinion in the interest of all things constructive. I shall seem impatient at times. I will be abused and misunderstood, but I shall try always to be right and ignore the abuse, knowing that the wages of advocates and prophets ever have been, in the beginning, abuse and misunderstanding.

"I shall be a crusader and an advocate, a mirror and a record, a herald and a spotlight, and I shall not falter.

"So help me God."

WHAT KIND OF SOUTH



do YOU want?

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943

and decided . . .

IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WAS BORN

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is not, however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life - white and Negro - city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men and and plain everyday citizens.

SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, free of poverty, prejudice and fear . . .

It believes in the ideal of democracy for which this Nation was founded.

It believes - in the name of democracy, Christianity and common decency - that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

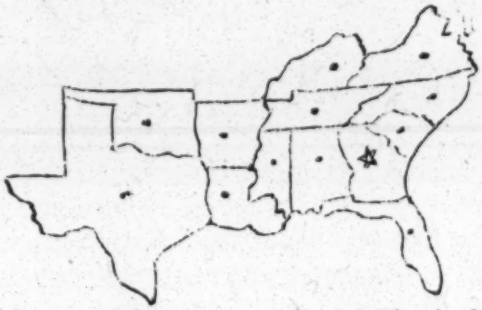
SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS THROUGH . . .

Its local groups — SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern states and smaller groups in communities over the South.

Its Regional Office — SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications. . .



A monthly bulletin — NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress.

Special pamphlets — These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

Public opinion — SRC helps to create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

Cooperating groups — SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements. . .

Home Town Self-Surveys — SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities and to follow through with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS FOR. . .

BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE RACES. SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and Negro, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .

EQUAL JUSTICE SRC watches the courts ... points out injustices ... works for fair police practices ... has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South ...

EQUAL PUBLIC SERVICES. SRC works to get a square break for ALL people in

HOSPITALS AND
MEDICAL CARE

SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES
VETERANS SERVICES

HOUSING

FULL CITIZENSHIP for everyone in VOTING - JURY SERVICE
REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

STATE GOVERNMENT for ALL people. SRC works for the day when out States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL:

* Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway, S.C. and other cities . . .

* Helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program.

* Has encouraged and aided bi-racial committees in Southern towns and cities to make community self-surveys. These have brought striking improvements in Negro communities - most notably in Jacksonville, Florida and Greenville, S. C.

* Has worked for Negro representation on school boards, and other official bodies, elective and appointive.

* Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

* Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

* Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

* Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

* Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in formerly all white institutions.

T O D O T H E S E T H I N G S

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1. Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community.

2. CONTRIBUTE to SRC's operating funds.

3. GET YOUR FRIENDS to work with you and SRC.

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronounciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's - - or from the nation's concern."
- Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes ... progress possible and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
- Richmond Times Dispatch

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."
- Asheville Times

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests." - New York Times

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."
- Christian Science Monitor

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section." - Chattanooga Times

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S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L, I N C.

63 Auburn Avenue, NE - Atlanta, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check square)

☐ A Sustaining Member. (A main support of the Council)
Dues - $10.00

☐ A Member - (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC)
Dues- $3.00

☐ A member jointly with husband or wife. (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of SRC publications and reports.)
Joint dues - $4.00

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate (non-voting)members)

☐ A Contributor to SRC's operating funds

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . $_____

Contribution in amount of . . . . . $_____

Subscription to NEW SOUTH (non-member) $_____

Total enclosed . . . $_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

OCCUPATION_____

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE

CONCERNED

Concern

But they are not heart-sick for the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they shall soon go into exile, at the head of the exiles.

Amos 6:6, 7a

Conviction

The spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Isaiah 61:1

Courage

Be strong and of good courage; fear not, nor be affrightened; for Jehovah thy God, he it is that doth go with thee.

Deuteronomy 61:3

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Who? Church women of all faiths and denominations have long furnished valuable moral leadership in the South. Now as never before their active leadership is needed—to help bring our practices in closer accord with the ideals of Christianity and Judaism, to strengthen and broaden democracy, to build a society in which every person can be confident of security and justice. By their determination to see these aims achieved, thousands of Southern church women are joined together in a fellowship that knows no boundaries of race or creed — the Fellowship of the Concerned.

When? In September 1949, 150 leaders of church women's groups came together for a two-day conference on the spiritual approach to social issues. They gathered at the call of the Southern Regional Council, the National Board of the YWCA, and church women's organizations. The conference had as its guests Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Southern authorities on civic and religious life.

Where? The conference took place at the Wesley Memorial Church in Atlanta, Georgia. But the delegates represented every Southern State and dozens of communities. They pledged themselves to report the results of the meeting to, and to enlist the cooperation of, church women in their areas.

Why? There are still serious inequalities in our courts and law enforcement. Negro citizens frequently suffer from the discrimination of judges and juries. The measure of justice to white persons is too often influenced by social or economic status. The most defenseless of our citizens are not always safe from brutality at the hands of police officers, many of whom are poorly chosen, poorly paid, and poorly trained. These failures of our democracy must be remedied if we are to supply the moral leadership demanded of us by our religious convictions and our world position. The remedy lies with us, in our own communities.

What? The conference earnestly examined the problems of our region; weighed our day-to-day practices against our democratic and spiritual ideals. The result? A program around which all conscientious Southern women can rally —a simple, workable plan of action for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

—And You? **If you are willing to join with others to translate your religious convictions into everyday realities—**

If you are concerned about injustice and inequality—

If you want to play your part in the building of a greater respect for the individual—

The program of action presented here needs your support, your energy, your determination to make it work. The responsibility is ours—yours and mine.

WHAT WE CAN DO IN OUR COMMUNITIES . . .

About the Law

√ Inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and work for corrective action.

√ Visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice for all.

√ Encourage better selection and training of policemen.

√ Work for appointment of Negro policemen.

√ Commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.

√ Call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.

√ Get in touch with the Southern Regional Council—63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia—when tension arises, and take all possible local action to prevent violence.

About the Vote

√ Do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.

√ Oppose state re-registration measures that threaten the security of any voters.

√ Urge our county Democratic executive committees to train poll workers in the proper performance of their duties.

About Public Opinion

√ Offer our services as election managers and clerks.

√ Affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.

√ Support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.

√ Affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.

√ Discuss problems with our newspaper editors; commend their good works; and urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).

√ Urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.

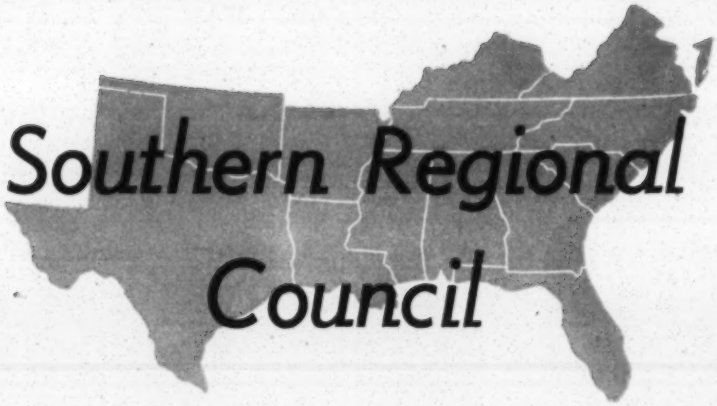
√ Begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.

√ Endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action.

For more information about the Fellowship of the Concerned, write to—

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia



Southern Regional Council

THE Southern Regional Council was organized in February, 1944, to determine the facts about the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization.

The Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners of both races who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a cooperative effort to overcome them. There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found.

The South as a whole lags far behind the rest of the nation in wealth, education, health, and political democracy. Yet the South has an abundance of land and people — enough to make it one of the most prosperous regions in the country. The Council is devoted to the task of closing up this gap between the actual and the potential South. If the roots of the social and economic evils that have burdened the South with poverty, ignorance, and prejudice can be exposed — and destroyed — not only will the South benefit, but the entire nation and the cause of democracy as well.

Of fundamental importance in achieving this goal is the enjoyment of full citizenship by all our people. The South cannot move far forward until all its people take part in the democratic process and share both the rights and responsibilities of productive members of society. Most Negroes and many impoverished white Southerners have not had this opportunity; the result has been an exploited and underdeveloped South. The Council has been a bi-racial organization from the start, and its staff is made up of people of both races. It has thus been able to draw on deep resources of interracial understanding in coping with the problems that are shared by white and Negro Southerners alike.

The Council is not exclusively a "race-relations" organization. It believes that it is a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely in terms of race. Friction between the races can best be combated by bringing the entire population of the South abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens is to work for equal opportunity for members of all races.

How SRC Began

IN THE troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early 'twenties. Their influence became Southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The Commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of state and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the Commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its twenty-five years of operation, the Commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of Southern churchwomen in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the Southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

In 1939 the leaders of the Commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader attack on the prolems of the South. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever

steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive Southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, to set forth "just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation," and to enlist the aid of interested white Southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and Civil Rights, Industry and Labor, Service Occupations, Education, Agriculture, Military Service, and Social Welfare and Health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April, 1943, a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum," and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June, 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. As a result of these efforts, the Southern Regional Council was chartered as a corporation by the State of Georgia in January, 1944. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council. A strong and democratic Council had been established "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region."

How SRC Is Organized

THE Southern Regional Council belongs to its members. The members meet annually to elect officers and plan the program and policies of the Council for the coming year. At present there are 3,000 members. Any person may become a member if he believes in the purposes of the Council, if he resides in the Council area, and if his membership is confirmed by the members or Board of Directors. The Council area, as defined in the by-laws, includes the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Voting members must be residents of this area.

Persons who live elsewhere may become associate (non-voting) members. Associates, as well as regular members, receive all publications and reports of the Council.

Financial support for the Council comes from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, the former Julius Rosenwald Fund, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S., and the Protestant Episcopal Church Province of Sewanee. Individuals support the Council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

The membership of the Council includes all sorts and conditions of men, all faiths, all races. Its officers, executive committee, and board of directors are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions. It is hoped that as membership grows the Council will draw most of its support from active members who join and pay their dues because they believe in the South and in the work the Council has set itself to do.

Members of the Board of Directors are elected by the members of the Council for a term of four years. The Board at present consists of 75 members, representing both races and all of the thirteen States within the Council area. Officers are elected annually, and, with the exception of the administrative staff, serve without pay.

What SRC Does

THE Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies concerned with Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts about the region as a basis for sound action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) specific programs of action through the staff and membership.

The Council unites in programs of study and action persons of widely differing backgrounds. It helps to bridge the gaps between rural and town people, Negroes and whites, men and women, residents of mill villages and of adjoining towns, and persons of different faiths and denominations.

Since its formation in 1944, the Council has maintained close touch with the State Interracial Committees, six of which — those in Kentucky, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee — have become full S. R. C. divisions. Committees in other Southern States are affiliated or closely associated with the work of the Council.

These state groups provide a network of informed and interested persons who make possible a truly Southwide program. They work in their communities for the civic reforms that are fundamental to Southern progress — better housing, health services, schools, and other public services for *all* citizens on an equal basis.

The members are alert to signs of interracial trouble and know how to head off violence. They frequently serve as spokesmen for the community conscience — pointing out injustices in the courts and in police administration, and pressing for wholesome correction.

For the past several years, the Council has urged the use of Negro policemen in Southern cities. The regional office has made available the facts about the value of colored police officers, and the local groups have used these facts in enlisting the support of civic groups and city officials in their communities. These efforts have done much to help bring about the growing employment of Negroes on Southern police forces.

The Council and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it have long been active in the job of securing the basic rights of all citizens. Accomplishing this job requires a three-fold effort — legislative, educational, and economic. As one method of attacking this broad problem at the local level, the Council is currently stressing wide use of the home town self-survey. It offers help — in the form of a comprehensive manual and technical service — to local groups wishing to learn the facts about their own communities and to follow through with constructive action. Thus, through local initiative and local effort, the Council hopes to bring about progress toward its aim of "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Supplementing these programs of local action, the staff carries on an information program designed to make widely known the facts about our region. *New South*, a monthly bulletin, gives members and friends of the Council timely information about Southern problems and progress. Leaders in Southern life prepare articles for *New South* on such subjects as suffrage, education, agriculture, health, law enforcement, and race relations. In addition, simple illustrated pamphlets are issued, which treat particular problems in more detail.

Extensive newspaper coverage of the Council's publications helps get these results of careful study and research into the stream of public thought.

To mention a few of its other activities, the Council has helped individuals secure their legal rights; has made its files available to the press and public and private agencies; has aided Southern veterans, white and Negro, to readjust to civilian life and obtain the benefits to which they are entitled; has made public the results of thorough investigation of incidents involving mob violence; and has helped make known the healthy effects of the growing Negro vote.

In short, the activities of the Council have been as many and varied as the available staff and resources would permit.

To accomplish these and similar objectives, the Council needs the help of every person who believes in the South and would like to help in the work for a better future. Southerners are known everywhere

for their pride in their region. In the past, this pride has too often been wasted in resentment of "outside criticism" and in efforts to rationalize the region's problems. Resentment and recrimination serve no useful purpose, for the problems *do* exist. The time has long since come when we must prove our loyalty to the South, not by words, but by constructive action. The extent of what may be accomplished is no greater and no less than the willingness of Southerners to work together in the building of a better South in a better nation.

In this belief, the Southern Regional Council devotes itself to doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy*

The following statement on civil rights was unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at its meeting of September 15 in Atlanta. Members of the Executive Committee are: Dr. Charles Johnson, Nashville, Tenn., president of Fisk University; Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Va., publisher and president of SRC; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, professor of economics, Virginia Union University; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga., Rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist; Dr. Rufus B. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina; Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney; P. B. Young, Sr., publisher of the Norfolk JOURNAL AND GUIDE; *Charles Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia Director of CIO; Dr. Harold Trigg, Raleigh, N. C., president of St. Augustine's College; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia; Carter Wesley, editor, the Houston* INFORMER.

ANYONE with a feeling for history must view today's controversy over civil rights with a bitter sense of familiarity. One can hardly help comparing it with the violent rift in the nation during the 1850's. There are important differences, to be sure. Today, both sides proclaim their loyalty to democratic ideals. Human slavery is no longer a debatable issue. Secession can hardly be considered seriously, and the possibility of another Civil War is happily absurd.

But there are striking similarities, too, between this controversy and that of a century ago. Then, as now, the rest of the nation demanded abrupt and sweeping changes in the social and economic structure of the South, in the name of human freedom. Then, as now, the South hotly defended its customs and laws, in the name of States' rights. Then, as now, the issue was wielded as a political cudgel by both sides. Then, as now, the argument was shot through with fierce emotions — sectional patriotism, resentment of "outside interference," charges of hypocrisy — with each side angrily pointing to the beam in the other fellow's eye.

Saddest of all, then as now there was too little evidence of true statesmanship. In both cases, the quarrel was pitched on the plane of absolute morality, and there it remained. A hundred years ago, a few voices were heard saying that the question at bottom was economic; that the issue could be settled in peace by public measures which would buy the slaves and, if necessary, help them with land and skill and learning to achieve freedom in reality. Nobody listened, and we plunged on to disaster. Today the old issue is back, in new guise, and we are performing in the same old way.

Let us look at some of the chief arguments that are offered.

The rest of the country charges that the South holds a third of its population in semi-slavery; that segregation is an instrument for perpetuating discrimination; that the South has proved its unwillingness to grant, on its own, the basic human freedoms. The rest of the country argues that

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the world situation makes it imperative that complete democracy be guaranteed in every section of the United States. Finally, the rest of the country declares that, in view of the South's poor performance in the past, the only way to secure this democracy is by federal law.

The South has answers, in abundance. Some of the more responsible spokesmen for the South have said: "The South has been poor, and that poverty has necessarily led to inequalities — not only for the Negro, but also for the poor white. But we have made much progress, and are rapidly making more. This is our problem, and we demand to be left alone to solve it in our own way, as we are now doing. Federal civil rights laws are both unconstitutional and unwise. They violate the time-honored principle of States' rights; for the United States Constitution has left to the States the job of regulating the rights of their citizens and administering police powers. Moreover, federal laws will solve nothing. They cannot change people's attitudes, but will only serve to evoke bitterness and bad feeling between the races."

Nor has the South neglected to point out abuses in other parts of the country. The Negro ghettos, race riots, and economic discrimination against Negroes in non-Southern cities have all had their share of attention. "At least we are honest about segregation," say Southerners. "We believe that separation is best for both races, and we practice it openly and honestly. We do not say one thing and do another."

"Political Motivation"

Last, but far from least, is the charge of political motivation. The whole civil rights agitation, it is argued, is no more than an effort by the national political parties to garner the votes of Negroes and other minority groups in the big urban centers.

These are the arguments, and one hears them over and over again, until one wishes desperately for some new idea to break the monotony. The chief virtue of a sensible discussion is that it progresses as each side takes into account the arguments of the opposition. This has not happened in the dispute over civil rights, and therein lies the tragedy. Neither side has made a sufficient effort to appreciate the opposing point of view and to work toward a solution that would embrace them both. That is not to say that there is any easy solution; but certainly a more mature disagreement is possible.

Let us examine the arguments in reverse order. The South maintains, and with much truth, that progress has been made. There have been significant advances in the past twenty-five years toward more equal justice before the law, better educational opportunities for Negroes, increased economic opportunities, and so on. But this argument cannot be dwelt on too long without raising certain valid questions. For example, how much of this progress has been the result of changed attitudes among white Southerners? Not all of it, by any means. Many steps forward have come only with the intervention of the federal courts, after long and expensive legal battles fought by Negro citizens and their organizations. Some Southern States are even now seeking to evade their responsibility to allow colored citizens the right to vote. Nor can it be said that progress has come uniformly. Some localities — mostly urban, industrial areas — have made amazing strides; while others — including many rural areas — have changed hardly at all.

A Question of Time

There is another aspect of the "let-us-do-it-ourselves" argument that many Southern spokesmen do not face honestly. That is the question of time. It is not only the rest of the nation, but also the rest of the world which is impatient with the undemocratic practices found in many parts of the South. Whether one maintains that the South has progressed quickly or slowly in the past eighty years, no one can deny that the world situation demands more rapid change now, for the United States is in grim competition for the support of the people of the world — three-fourths of whom are colored. The time is past when we can wait for slow, evolutionary improvement to right our wrongs. The South may defend its right to do the job in its own way, but the South cannot insist on doing it in its own good time.

As for the claim that proposed federal legislation is unconstitutional, that is a matter that can only be decided finally by the U. S. Supreme Court. There is little profit in prolonged debate on that subject.

"States' rights" has been a much abused term, and here again probably the courts must be the final authority. But one thing is clear. "States' rights" must not be used to defend indefensible violations of human rights, as has sometimes happened in the past. States' rights mean nothing without States' responsibilities, and it is on this score that the rest of the nation is unconvinced. Every honest Southerner must admit that the Southern States have often been less than scrupulous in meeting their responsibilities to all citizens — and some of the States where the cry of "States' rights" has been the loudest have been the most at fault. Unfortunately, in the present controversy there has been almost no official public statement of the determination of Southern States to meet their responsibilities squarely.

There would no doubt be disagreement as to just what "States' responsibilities" include. Without attempting the heroic task of defining the term completely, we might consider one of its more obvious aspects. The state government, like any government, is designed to be the servant of the people. Through it, the people can justifiably expect certain of their rights to be protected and certain public services and facilities to be provided. The duty of the State is to serve not merely a segment of the population but the entire population. This duty is not met when the government represents only the interests of the dominant group. In many of the Southern States today, we see the spectacle of officials deciding matters affecting the colored population without making the slightest effort to determine the wishes or opinions of the group concerned. All too often, responsible Negro opinion is neither sought nor seriously considered when it is volunteered.

Toward True Responsibility

Assumption of true responsibility means the shift from this sort of paternalism to a more democratic attitude. It means abandoning the notion that "we know best what is good for our Negroes." It means granting the same respect and consideration for the needs and aspirations of colored people as for those of other citizens. It means admitting Negroes to full and fair counsel at the level of government. It means allowing Negroes adequate representation on appointive bodies which make decisions affecting their welfare. Tentative steps in this direction have been taken in a few Southern and border States; significantly, race relations in those places are superior to those found elsewhere in the region. Any State which sincerely means to assume its responsibility to its colored citizens can do no less.

The people of the South are bound together by a common pride. We boast of our ability to deal justly with our fellow citizens and to manage our public affairs with integrity. Yet we continue to wait, impassive or resistant, while the nation's machinery of justice goads us step by step into conceding what is right. This is neither statesmanship nor common sense. How much more dignified and sensible it would be if we did, ourselves, with good grace, the things humanity has a right to expect of us.

Poverty and Inequality

That the South has been poor is an undeniable fact. And that fact is of value in explaining inequalities. It is not, however, a justification of unequal treatment of the colored population. However small the pittance of public funds available, every citizen deserves to share in just proportion. While many a white Southerner has suffered from the region's poverty, the Southern Negro has borne the brunt. No matter how low he may sink economically, a white Southerner still has good reason to be glad he is white.

The remaining objections most often raised by the South are not, properly speaking, arguments; they are recriminations. The South certainly has no monopoly on prejudice and discrimination. As the President's Committee on Civil Rights pointed out, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Jews and Japanese-Americans in other parts of the country have had their share of discrimination. But this fact plays a peculiar role in Southern logic. It is used not as an argument for reform in the rest of the nation, but in extenuation of the South's shortcomings. The refrain runs: "You are as guilty as we are; therefore, leave us alone in our guilt."

Similarly with the cry of "Politics!" An issue as important in public life as civil rights is bound to become political, with all that implies. So have all urgent, con-

troversial issues. If we would have it otherwise, we must change the whole working pattern of our democracy. It is sheer rationalization to argue that the pressure for stronger civil rights is "nothing but politics." Those who say so are closing their ears to a demand for greater human freedom that now echoes in all the corners of the earth. That mighty roar will not be stilled by the feeble cry of "Politics!"

The civil rights legislative program has been little understood in the South, largely because it has been grossly misrepresented by public figures. Many, perhaps most, Southerners think of the proposed civil rights laws as providing for an overnight end to segregation. Professional politicians have aroused their followers with dire accounts of what will result if these laws are enacted — "mixed" swimming pools and eating places, white and Negro children in the same schools, racial quotas for employment in offices and factories. Some of these matters, involving segregation in its most entrenched form, have indeed been raised by the rest of the nation — but they have not been proposed by the President or introduced into Congress as legislation. Until they are, it is patently dishonest to raise them as scarecrows, in order to stir up the deep-seated fears and prejudices associated with nonsegregation in the Southern mind.

Basic Human Rights

Contrary to common Southern belief, the civil rights laws that have been proposed deal with basic human rights that are required by even the most elementary sense of decency. Few Southerners would publicly deny that the Negro should have legal protection of his person and property, the right to vote, and the opportunity of employment and pay according to his ability. These are the much maligned "civil rights" which have split Congress and the nation; and they have nothing to do with swimming pools and eating places. The Southern people need to know this. They also need to know how far short the South has fallen in guaranteeing these fundamental rights to its Negro population. They need to meditate on the ultimatum implied by the proposed laws: "You are a part of this nation; if you will not clean house of your own accord, then the rest of the nation will compel you to do it." This is a bitter dose. But much of the blame for it lies squarely on the South itself.

Most of those who have spoken for the South have not spoken wisely. They have blinded themselves to a changing world that will no longer be content with old ways. They have not faced the problem fully nor fairly.

What of the position sometimes termed "anti-Southern?"

In general, the rest of the nation has taken its stand on democratic ideals. The Constitution of the United States is based firmly on the concepts of individual liberty and equal rights for all citizens. Inequality in the treatment of any group of citizens — because of race, religion, economic status, or what not — is clearly illegal. Thus laws should be invoked to end such inequality.

A Complex Society

This position — like that of the 19th century Abolitionists — is irreproachable in spirit. The trouble with it is its exclusiveness. Out of the intricate workings of our society it selects the legal mechanism and ignores all the rest. A society such as ours is a complex affair, and laws are only one of the levers by which it is regulated. Laws which in themselves are excellent may prove useless, or even damaging, if other necessary adjustments are not made at the operating level of society. By all means let us have laws — strengthened as much as need be — to protect the rights of disadvantaged minorities. But let us also realize that laws cannot do the job alone; let us see our society for what it is — a complicated interaction of social, economic, and legal institutions. If we are to make fundamental and lasting changes, we must treat the organism as a whole.

Akin to this legal over-simplification is the notion that the South is all of a piece, that Southern attitudes and practices are uniform throughout the region. It is a common mistake in the rest of the nation to equate the whole South with its most backward areas. Rural Mississippi and Georgia are too often taken as typical of the entire region. Actually, of course, there are tremendous variations — between such States, for example, as North Carolina and Alabama, and between dif-

ferent parts of the same State, as in upper and lower South Carolina. The degree of political participation by Negroes is one useful index of these divergences. In some parts of the South one can find instances of Negroes elected to public office, often with considerable white support; in others, one can find counties where not a single Negro is permitted to vote.

Reasonable reform is not accomplished merely by good intentions or a "holier-than-thou" attitude. Knowledge of the situation is indispensable; for it is out of understanding that working solutions evolve.

An objective look at the shadings of human rights found in the South can be most rewarding. It can open up an additional approach to the civil rights controversy which up to now has had far too few advocates. The approach is not a new one — it deals with economic reform — but it is seldom given its proper value in the present emotional wrangling.

Democracy and Economics

The United States has come to realize that if we would assure human liberty in Western Europe we must pave the way for economic democracy in those countries. It is a curious fact that this principle has not been more often applied to the South. For, as any student of the South knows, the denial of human rights in the region goes hand in hand with poverty and backwardness. This is strikingly illustrated in two of the South's sub-regions. In the long sweep of cotton country known as the "plantation belt," the old dependencies of share-cropping and tenant farming are most common. A vast proportion of the population, including most Negroes and many whites, live marginal lives. Their housing is the poorest in the country, their income level the lowest, their health the poorest, their educational opportunities the slightest. Here, too, we find democracy at its lowest ebb. There is little political participation on the part of Negroes and poor whites; police brutality and private intimidation flourish; peonage is not unknown. In short, the basic rights of citizenship are widely denied, and laws frequently mean little or nothing.

In comparison with this dismal picture, the Piedmont region, where most of the South's industry is located, shows much more progress toward a basic equality. Though still far below national standards, income levels are higher, there is more farm ownership, health facilities and educational opportunities are better. Trade unions have made much headway among the workers of the region, and more and more unions include both Negroes and whites. Resistance to Negro voting is much less marked, and one finds less prejudice in its extreme forms. Of course, conditions in the Piedmont section are only relatively better, and there is no lack of either poverty or discrimination. But we are justified in concluding that a higher standard of living has made for something more nearly approaching equality.

It is not hard to see why this is true. A person, black or white, who can stand on his own feet economically, who can make his own way without fear or favor, is in a much better position to assert his individual rights. Moreover, when men see in their fellow citizens people who are doing about the same kind of work as they, who have pretty much the same education, live in the same kind of houses, and have the same kind of self-respect — then they more cheerfully accord equal rights to all.

Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health — these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all of these basic needs, the South is below the level of the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro population is below the white population. The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country. The South has made much progress in this direction, partly through its own efforts and partly through investment from outside the region. Still it is clear that without a conscious and costly national effort general conditions in many parts of the South will remain backward for years to come. We cannot afford the luxury of waiting for slow, unaided growth in those areas.

Plain People's Needs

Cooperative state and federal programs of slum clearance and rural housing will help spread human and legal rights. So will new schools, and new factories. So will credit, training, and opportunity for farm ownership. So will doctors and public health nurses and hospitals. Whoever

is sincere and statesmanlike in trying to get full democracy for the plain people of the South must work for these things.

The first step in the present impasse would seem to lie with the South. Let us review the situation. The South has been guilty of inequalities in its treatment of its Negro citizens. The rest of the nation is seeking to invoke federal laws to end such discrimination. But there is more than an abstract moral question involved; there is also an economic question. The South's relatively low per capita income, inadequate housing, schools, and health facilities breed poverty, ignorance, and prejudice. Until the South enjoys a standard of living comparable to that in the rest of the nation, it appears likely that political democracy will also lag behind. Though the South has made much headway toward a higher level of welfare for its people, it must have assistance to speed up the pace of that progress. This assistance could be forthcoming — if certain conditions were met. If the South would demonstrate convincingly its determination to accept the Negro as a full citizen, and to expend public funds in an equitable manner, then the rest of the nation would willingly help with federal aid. Only thus can the deep-seated economic ills of the South find an early cure, to the benefit of both this region and the United States as a whole.

Three-Way Remedy

None of this is to say that legal reform is undesirable, or that changes in the law must be dammed back until we can get houses, farms, jobs, and the rest. Nor is it to decry efforts to create a better climate of opinion by changing public attitudes. The three approaches — legal, educational, and economic — are not antagonistic but complementary. All are necessary, and one without the others is not likely to do the job within any reasonable time. Unless the way is prepared by strengthening the South's economy, laws are dangerously likely to remain merely dead black print on a page. On the other hand, without necessary legislation, resistance to change may hold progress in human relations to a creeping pace. And, finally, without earnest effort by people of good will to create more democratic attitudes, progress will be seriously retarded.

There is no magic formula. No program, however enlightened, is likely to meet with the approval of the whole South, any more than it will satisfy all those who are demanding immediate, overwhelming change. But an honest over-all approach can at least bring us closer to truly intelligent disagreement, reasonable compromise, and a fruitful working solution.

Round-Up of Editorial Comment

The Asheville Times

September 25, 1948

No Magic Plan Can Solve South's Racial Problems

For some months now this nation has been bombarded with all manner of verbal fireworks on various sides and angles of the civil rights controversy, the particular target, of course, being the racial problem in the South. Most of these crusading attacks have been from paid propagandists, professional agitators and scheming politicians with selfish axes to grind. What we have needed all along has been an honest, fair, and intelligent report on the basic facts of this complicated situation by a qualified interracial group of Southern leaders. We have this now.

After several weeks of discussion with outstanding representatives of both white and colored races in the South, the 12-member executive committee of the Southern Regional Council has made public a 2,500-word statement on the problems and issues involved as they exist today. The Southern Regional Council is generally considered to be the most widely respected interracial group in the South . . .

A workable, lasting solution of the civil rights controversy, as the committee's excellent report makes clear, is going to take

a lot of time, patience, and understanding. The liberal people of good will in both races, who are constructive leaders in the North and in the South, must reason together along the lines proposed by this Southern interracial group . . .

The Birmingham News

September 26, 1948

Justice in the South

* * * If educational and economic advantages can be substantially and generally improved, the whole prospect will be brighter, the Council pleads. If the South presses its own efforts, it believes, the rest of the nation will give assistance . . .

Surely the people of the South do want to speed this progress. There is danger that our own efforts in this field will be impeded by too great a concentration on resistance to proposals we regard as highly dangerous . . . In these efforts careful consideration should be given to the views of all responsible, thoughtful Southerners.

Though there may be dissent from some of the emphases and many of the points made by the Council, there should be no disagreement on the basic objectives of justice and greater opportunity for all which it sets forth . . .

The Dallas Morning News

September 20, 1948

Southern Negro Is Southern Problem

* * * The Council and self-espoused apostles for Negro betterment can more quickly achieve their goal by recognizing that the Southern Negro problem is a Southern problem. It is not one to be solved by professional agitators, or by the Federal Government whose motives are more political than humanitarian.

If the Council is sincere in declaring that States' Rights imply state responsibilities, then let it apply that premise to the Negro problem. Let it fight outside dictation. Let it exert every effort to cooperate with sincere and conscionable Southerners who want improvement to come in the practical and constitutional way . . .

The Christian Science Monitor

September 22, 1948

Voices of Reason

* * * Here is a voice from the informed and moderate South . . .

Basically, the Council points out, the issue of civil rights in the South is inextricably joined with "jobs and farms and homes and schools and health." Political democracy can be achieved only along with economic well-being — for whites and Negroes alike.

It is one of the tragedies and failures of communication that thoughtful statements such as this, which deal with solutions, find it difficult to command the attention rendered flamboyant speeches and violent events, which reflect only the difficulties, the stresses and strains, the heat rather than the light.

The New York Times

September 20, 1948

"No Magic Formula"

The liberal Southerner's approach to civil rights has rarely been better described than in a statement made public yesterday by twelve members of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, after a meeting in Atlanta. This document belongs on the same shelf with the monumental report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, published last October. The civil rights planks in both the major party platforms might have been more usefully phrased if some of the considerations here brought forward had been included.

The argument over the position of the Southern Negro, now as in the Eighteen Fifties, has been, as the committee says, "shot through with fierce emotions — sectional patriotism, resentment of 'outside interference,' charges of hypocrisy — with each side angrily pointing to the beam in the other fellow's eye." The committee introduces the soothing element of cool reasoning . . .

It is much easier to pass a law than to build up an economy. It is much easier for a Northern politician to propose "an overnight end to segregation" or for a South-

ern politician to dramatize the results of such a step than for them to join in a calm discussion of ways to secure the Negro his simple basic rights and opportunities. There is, as the committee says, "no magic formula." Yet progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests.

The Gulfport, Miss., Herald

September 22, 1948

Censors — Without and Within

* * * This high and mighty committee and its [2]700-word study said that the "squabble gave birth to the States' Rights uprising," and that "States' Rights has been a much abused term" . . .

According to the Superior Ones —from both outside and inside the South, the Pluperfect Paragons have loved to say that the Southern people are lazy, inert, shiftless, thriftless and unprogressive; illiterate, if not wholly unlettered; criminally disregardful of "human rights" — which their critics confuse with civil rights and refuse to consider States' Rights which are clearly imbedded and reserved in the Constitution, the Federal Constitution, which the States made as a federal treaty. Yet this Atlanta Executive Committee undertakes to say that the South has used States' Rights to defend "the indefensible violations of human rights!" It declares that we would better get right — and fast!

The Chattanooga Times

September 22, 1948

Straight Talking

The Southern Regional Council, in its well-reasoned and timely report on the civil rights controversy, openly admits the one fact upon which all can agree: There is no "easy solution" to the problem.

The Council recognizes the difficulties which must accompany a solution, but it is not appalled by them. Instead, it advocates a course of action which combines good sense, moral as well as intellectual, with moderation . . .

That is straight talking to the South, something for which the section is not usually amenable. However, the words come, not from "outsiders," but from Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section.

It is the kind of talking-to which the South needs occasionally . . .

Albert L. Hinton, in The Norfolk Journal and Guide

September 25, 1948

The Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, is a going concern . . . The Council has fully justified its existence with the release this week of a formal statement by its executive committee in which, among other things, the liberal southerner's approach to the civil rights issue is set forth . . . To its everlasting credit, the council's statement introduces the soothing element of cool reasoning into the civil rights controversy, while at the same time paying its respects to the adamant and unreconstructed "States' Rights happy" cohorts of that spurious and time-worn doctrine . . .

Men and women of good will could hardly ask for more.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

September 21, 1948

Prod to Racial Progress

It may be impatient of the Southern Regional Council to say to its fellow-Southerners that the time is past for "slow, evolutionary improvement" of racial relations. The question is how much speed the Council wants — for the problem will not be solved in a day — and how slowly the less progressive Southerner wants to act, because it will not wait forever.

But as a goad to do-nothingism the Council's pronouncement undoubtedly has value. Coming from Southerners themselves, it is more effective than if it came from outside the region. There are also good signs that such seeds fall on more fertile ground than usual these days — that many Southerners, however reluctantly, are realizing that a policy of drift is no longer feasible, and that genuine headway is the demand of the times.

The Negro In Our Economy

By W. Hardin Hughes

Published by
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The Negro in Our Economy

THE Negro has long been an important factor in the economic life of America. As a slave, he made possible the development of the Southern plantation, the wealth and ease of the "Southern gentleman," and, indirectly, contributed to the material prosperity of the entire nation. As a freedman, the Negro continued to render an abundance of cheap labor — a commodity much needed for the rehabilitation of a conquered South.

It should be noted, however, that the very cheapness of the Negro's labor and the conditions under which it was rendered had retarding as well as advancing effects on Southern economy. The old-time aristocracy, stripped of its power and influence by the Civil War and holding persistently to a master-slave ideology, found it convenient and comparatively easy to continue its traditional practices. The old type of economic life was not suddenly changed by the emancipation of the slaves. There were still masses of needy people possessing little more than their ability to render physical labor. There was still a dominant, land-owning class inexperienced in the work of material production. There were still the middle and the lower classes of whites and the problems of interracial competition at the lowest economic levels.

It was natural under these circumstances for the Negro to cast his lot with his former master, under whatever conditions imposed, and to join with him in an effort to restore economic stability. Each, in a very practical sense, was necessary to the other. Even now, were the Negro's physical services suddenly removed from the South and the colored people "sent back" to some remote or mythical region designated by race-baiting politicians, wide areas of our country would be seriously embarrassed. Tens of thousands of the white population, confronted with the necessity of physical toil, would throw up their hands in despair. The belief that physical labor is a disgrace to be avoided, while not so generally held as formerly, is still a retarding hangover from the days of slavery.

Long before the abolition of slavery in the United States, however, free Negroes despite natural and artificial obstacles were moving forward economically. At an early date the right of the free Negro to own property was generally conceded. As early as 1818 only one state of the Union, Georgia, had statutes forbidding free Negroes to own real estate or slaves. The following year, the law in that state was repealed, except for the cities of Augusta, Darien, and Savannah. When Texas became a member of the Union in 1845, the right of free Negroes to own

real estate had become at least partially recognized.

While the majority of free Negroes in ante-bellum days were unable to achieve any semblance of economic security and status, a considerable number, especially in the artisan class, attained some degree of material independence. Almost everywhere in the South, the artisan class of free Negroes encountered obstacles both as to individual movement and as to occupational mobility. Whites in many states sought legislation barring them from certain trades. Intimidation and violence were frequently resorted to by those who looked with disfavor on occupational competition with free Negroes. Making conditions even more difficult, slave-holding states had a peculiar way of showing their sympathy for the welfare of free Negroes. Many legislators, for example, insisted that, since the economic life of free Negroes was especially hard and unhappy, they should be given an opportunity to choose their masters and to re-enslave themselves.

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, six Southern states — Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, and Arkansas — enacted laws to facilitate "voluntary" re-enslavement. The Arkansas law, enacted for this purpose, was most extreme in its provisions. An act passed by the legislature in 1859 was designed to remove free Negroes and mulattoes by compelling those remaining in the state at the end of a year to choose masters "who must give bond not to allow such Negroes to act as free."

Despite all this, many free Negroes in the South accumulated considerable property. On good authority,* we have the following: "In Maryland they paid taxes on more than one million dollars of real property in 1860, and twelve owned property valued in excess of $5,000 each. . . In Virginia free Negroes in 1860 owned more than sixty thousand acres of farm land and their city real estate was valued at $463,000. In North Carolina they owned $480,000 worth of real property and $564,000 worth of personal property in 1860. In Charleston 352 free Negroes paid taxes in 1859 on property valued in excess of $778,000. Tennessee's free Negroes owned about $750,000 worth of real and personal property in 1860. The affluence of a large number of free Negroes of New Orleans is well known. They owned more than $15,000,000 worth of property in 1860. Small wonder that in the preceding year the *Daily Picayune* was moved to describe them as 'a sober, industrious, and moral class, far advanced in education and civilization.' "

It will be surprising to many that Negroes have distinguished themselves with several thousand inventions ranging from electrical devices to traps for apprehending bandits. There was Henry Blair, a "colored man" of Baltimore, who in 1835 patented a mechanical corn husker; James Forten of Philadelphia who invented an instrument for hand-

* John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947.

ling sails mechanically; and Robert Rillieux, a New Orleans engineer, who invented a vacuum pan which revolutionized sugar refining. By 1900 more than five hundred useful inventions had been patented by Negro Americans and the number has been constantly increasing. The records in the United States Patent Office at Washington now show approximately five thousand patents credited to Negroes.

The "third rail" used at first in the electrification of New York City's transportation was the invention of Granville T. Woods, a Negro of free parentage, of Columbus, Ohio. This invention was brought to the attention of the public by a race riot in 1880 instigated by steam locomotive engineers who had lost their jobs as a result of Woods' achievement. Woods, however, had only begun his inventive career. Soon after the riot he invented a system, technically known as induction telegraphy, which made telegraphic communication possible between moving trains. Subsequently he perfected twenty-five other inventions, some of which have added greatly to the mechanical development of our country. One of these, an electrical telephone transmitter, was bought by the American Bell Telephone Company. His extraordinary inventive genius secured for him a position in Thomas Edison's laboratory at a salary of $10,000 yearly.

In this connection should be mentioned the inventive achievement of another Negro, Howard Latimer, who made the original drawings for Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone. He too was one of the "Edison Pioneers." Among many useful inventions credited to Latimer was a carbon filament for the Maxim Electric Lamp. Soon after this achievement, he became chief draftsman for the General Electric Company and later held a similar position with the Westinghouse Company. Latimer directed the installation of the electric light systems of New York, Philadelphia, and London.

To describe, however briefly, the many useful inventions credited to Negro Americans would require volumes. It would seem that the Negro's contributions to our society have been sufficient to disprove serious belief in his inherent inferiority. Given opportunity, the Negro tends to be like others in worthwhile accomplishment, whatever their color, nationality, or religion. There are no grounds for assuming that the Negro, merely because of his race, is destined to menial occupations. Despite the obstacles, natural and artificial, which the Negro has had to encounter, he is now found in every major occupation of our society — not, however, in proportion to the number of Negroes in our population. In the learned professions, for example, such as law and medicine, as well as in business and industry, the Negro constitutes far less than ten per cent of the whole. But, as all studies of the subject show, this proportion is constantly increasing and will, no doubt, continue to increase until differences in racial opportunities will have disappeared from our society.

— USDA Photograph by Forsythe

The Negro in Farming

DESPITE the migration of Negroes to the North in the first quarter of the present century, two-thirds of the Negro population of the United States were still living south of the Mason and Dixon Line in 1940. A large majority of this number are scattered over the farms and in the rural villages and towns of the South. Approximately 95 per cent of the Negro farmers of the nation now live and produce in sixteen Southern and border states. As farm laborer, share-cropper, tenant, and farm owner, the Negro is an integral part of the agricultural South.

As an agricultural producer, the Negro contributes largely to our economic welfare. Of the 30,000,000 acres of farm land in the United States, 3,300,000 are operated by Negroes. In normal times, the agricultural regions of the South are so dependent on Negro labor that any excessive migration of the Negro population to industrial centers would bring disastrous results. This was true even before the Second World War, when the Negroes of the South were producing crops valued at $700,000,000 annually. Were it not for the Negro farmers, hundreds of thousands of farm acres would be idle.

Specialized farming is now engaged in by thousands of Negroes in the South and in the states bordering the South. In Delaware and Maryland, for example, hundreds are developing poultry farms. It is not uncommon in those states for the specialized Negro poultryman to have as many as 30,000 broilers a year. Some of these poultrymen collect eggs from 5,000 or 6,000 layers daily. Furthermore, scattered

throughout several areas of the South, there are hundreds of Negro commercial truck farmers who, through their own cooperatives, are shipping carloads of vegetables to market and to recently developed processing plants. In the Black Belt and in some other parts of the Southern states, Negro farmers are taking increasingly to dairying and live-stock raising. In a recent year, Negro farmers — most of them in the South — produced 30,000,000 chickens, 100,000,000 dozen eggs, and 1,000,000 tons of milk.

In 1945 the thirteen Southern states had a little short of 2,100,000 white farm operators and about 660,000 Negro farm operators. Of the white farmers, a little better than 1,396,000 were owners or part owners, and of the Negro farmers, 186,000 were owners or part owners. Thus in 1945 roughly three-fourths of the farm operators of the South were white and one-fourth were Negro. White owners were 63 per cent of all white farmers and Negro owners were 28 per cent of all Negro farmers. It is significant that between 1930 and 1945 white farm owners increased 23.1 per cent, as compared with an increase of only 4.2 per cent in Negro farm owners. These figures clearly reveal the extent to which the Negro occupies the lowest rungs on the agricultural ladder.

It must be pointed out in this connection, however, that while Negro farm owners are proportionally few as compared with white farm owners, farm ownership by Negroes has constantly increased since the days of slavery. Mortgage foreclosurers during periods of depression have caused declines in the number of Negro farm owners, but the long time trend has been constantly upward.

Thousands of Negro farmers and their families are now availing themselves of opportunities for improvement provided through the United States Extension Service. Negro County Agents are important factors in this connection. During the year 1940, over 700,000 Negro farm operators were encouraged through these services to adopt better methods of production and marketing. In sixteen Southern states at the outbreak of the Second World War, there were 548 Negro Extension Agents. Of this number, 293 were farm agents; 246, home demonstration agents; and 9 were club agents. The farm and home demonstration agents are extension teachers of the land-grant colleges.

During the five year period ending with 1947, the allotment for Agricultural Extension Work among Negro farmers was more than doubled. A comparison of the funds appropriated for white and Negro extension services for the last year of this period shows that the former received $16,158,117 and the latter, $2,218,209. The enlarged allotment has made it possible for the Extension Service in the Southern states to employ 278 more Negro workers than were on the staff at the beginning of the war. The total number of Negro agents and supervisors in these states in 1947 was 817.

In a special report of the United States Department of Agriculture issued in January, 1947, it was shown that in the appointment of new agents, North Carolina was leading with 44; Georgia, second with 34; Mississippi, third with 30. In the total number of workers, Mississippi came first with 107 farm agents and home demonstration supervisors; Texas second with 106 agents and supervisors; and North Carolina third with 99 agents and supervisors. In expenditures, however, North Carolina was leading the other Southern States. It had alloted for Extension Work among Negro farmers in 1947, a total of $417,506, or 23.5 per cent of all funds to be spent for extension services in the state. Texas was second with an allotment of $256,343, or 10.3 per cent of its Extension funds; Alabama third with an allotment of $239,133; and Mississippi was fourth with an allotment of $226,069.

While the Negro farmer in most of the Southern states is receiving less than his proportional share of Extension Services, he is gaining rapidly. For the five-year period ending with 1947, the Negro's share of the Extension Funds increased 114 per cent while that of the white farmer increased only 56 per cent. It should be pointed out, however, that after all the improvement in this respect the Negro farmer's allotment of these funds was only 12 per cent of the total. This must be considered small, proportionally, since approximately 30 per cent of all farm workers in the Southern states are Negro.

Thousands of Negro families have benefited from the Farm Security Administration. While this is a federal, rather than a regional program, it has been of special service to the rural South. Purchasing and marketing associations stimulated through this program have done much to unite the two races in a common effort to improve agricultural conditions. The general plan of these organizations is as follows: A dozen or more families are formed into a local neighborhood action group, the membership of which is of a single race. Each local group elects representatives to a county board, which includes both white and Negro members. The board becomes responsible for the purchase of necessary supplies and equipment as well as for marketing the farm products of its members. In this board the farmers meet not as whites and Negroes but as men interested in the cooperative solution of problems.

More and more the thinking leaders of the South are concerned with cooperative effort. They are coming to see as never before that the problem of economic backwardness must be solved, if at all, for all the people. Negro progress and white progress must go hand in hand; just as Negro poverty and white poverty are inseparable. Prosperity can best be insured when a maximum number of the population — white and black — enjoy maximum opportunities for achievement. This principle holds in the agricultural South as well as in the industrial North. It is, in fact, a universal principle.

— Photo by Scott, De Motte & Perry

The Negro and Mechanization

WHILE the industrial revolution has tardily reached the South, a number of recent inventions are hastening the movement toward mechanization. The cotton-picking robots, for example, each doing the work of fifty or more human harvesters, have already demonstrated their worth. While the number of these machines installed at present is small and relatively insignificant, there is the probability of increasingly large numbers ahead. Already three of the largest manufacturers of farm machinery — International Harvester, Allis Chalmers, and John Deere — are in the race to supply the market. Mass production of these cotton harvesters is definitely in the plans for the future.

Complementing the extraordinary efficiency of these machines, the Graham Page fire spitting cultivator and the McLemore "Sizz Weeder" will reduce to a minimum the human labor formerly required to keep the cotton fields free from weeds. This type of cultivator will render the fields practically weedless for a considerable period of time. Tests with the "Sizz Weeder" at the Stoneville, Mississippi, Experiment Sta-

tion have disclosed an overall cost of 48 cents an acre. This is small expense, indeed, when compared with $4 to $12 an acre usually paid hand laborers to chop out weeds with a hoe. Also, it is estimated that a laborer with a hoe can "chop" only a half acre in a ten-hour day; while a two-row "Sizz" can cover 25 acres in a day. A four-row cultivator can cover 46 acres in the same length of time. Furthermore, squirting a band of intense heat just above the ground, the flame cultivator has another value. It not only sears the weeds and weed seeds, but it kills insects as they are knocked to the ground by the moving machine. The cotton plants are unscathed because of the toughness of their stalks.

In the careful judgment of those who have studied these developments, the weed destroyer and other improved implements will eventually bring about complete mechanization of thousands of farms which produce cotton, corn, sugar cane, vegetables, and other crops. The chief reason why the cotton robot has not been more extensively used in the past is because the farmer, even when possessing a tractor-cultivator and cotton picker, still had to retain a sizable force of laborers just to hoe the crops.

All are agreed, however, that the human effects of complete mechanization of the cotton industry will upset the equilibrium of production and of economic life far and wide. About 10,000,000 human beings in the South will be directly affected. Probably 2,000,000, it is estimated, would be occupationally displaced. Of this number, perhaps 1,200,000 will be white and at least 800,000 Negro. Whether these displacements will create serious economic and social problems depends largely upon the period of time consumed in the changes. Some experts in the field of Southern economics believe the changes will be sudden and chaotic; others, that the changes will be distributed over a considerable period of time. Up to this time, the changes have been gradual.

There is, moreover, the possibility that the effects of displacement may not all be bad, since women and children would no longer be needed in the fields. Colonel McLemore, outstanding Alabama leader in modern farming methods, has made a pertinent remark on this aspect of the situation. "The majority of hired pickers," he said, "are Negroes. They include all members of the family. When mechanized cotton farming comes into its own, it will not be necessary for women to be hoeing and picking cotton. The women can stay in the home where they are needed more, and the children will have more time for their schooling."

Mechanization of farming, however, will disturb the equilibrium of life in the South. This has been the history of inventional progress everywhere. While occupational displacement is an inevitable result,

the total effect on our society can be beneficial. The South, largely because of out-dated modes of production, has been at a disadvantage in competition with the rest of the country. The major problems of the Southern region have been largely due to the lack of modern machinery. The man with a mule cannot survive happily when most of his competitors use labor-saving machines. The real problem involved in inventional progress is that of securing an equitable distribution of the resulting benefits.

— Photos Courtesy International Harvester

The Negro in Skilled Jobs

FORTUNATELY, some of the changes brought about by the war have increased the economic opportunities of the Negro. As a result, large numbers of Negroes had their first chance to demonstrate abilities in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations of industry. From April 1940 to April 1944, the movement of Negroes from farms and villages to industrial areas, especially to those engaged in the production of war equipment, was most pronounced. During these four years the number of Negroes employed as skilled craftsmen and foremen doubled, as did the number engaged in the basic semi-skilled operations. The number of Negroes in both categories — the skilled and the unskilled — rose during the period covered by the national defense program from 500,000 to 1,000,000.

More interesting by far than this increase in numbers is the fact that Negroes in these new and more difficult occupations made good. A survey of 300 war plants, carried on by the National Urban League, revealed facts enlightening to those who had doubted the Negroes' capacities for certain skilled occupations. In 215 of the 300 plants studied it was found that officials were satisfied with the performance of Negro workers. In only 9 plants did management report that Negro workers were less efficient than white workers on the same types of job. Given like training and occupational experience, no differences between racial groups were reported.

A second survey of these war plants, begun in 1944, was correspond-

ingly revealing. Complete information on the questions of the survey were obtained from 252 plants employing approximately 100,000 Negroes. Of this total 18,435 were classified as skilled workers, 30,500 as semi-skilled, and 49,389 as unskilled. Nearly 100 of the 250 plants reported the employment of Negroes in technical, professional, supervisory, and clerical jobs. Approximately 50 per cent of all Negroes employed in these plants, as will be noted, were skilled and semi-skilled workers. All of this was in sharp contrast with the occupational placement in pre-war industry when the Negro's concentration in heavy, hot, and low-paid assignments and their relatively small participation in light manufacturing was taken more or less for granted. Before the war less than 15,000 Negroes were on the payrolls of this entire group of industries and only 28 of these plants reported the use of Negroes in jobs other than unskilled labor.

A report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in January, 1945, showed that almost 1,000,000 Negroes were added to the work force between 1940 and 1944. The number of Negro men increased from 2,900,000 to 3,200,000 while the number of Negro women increased from 1,500,000 to 2,100,000. During the same period, 700,000 Negroes were inducted into the armed forces of the nation. By the middle of 1945, the number of Negro men in the service had reached a total of 1,000,000.

Significant in this connection are the changed and changing occupational characteristics of the Negro veteran. The very requirements of mechanized warfare had transforming effects. Thousands of Negro men in the armed services were necessarily trained in many of the semi-skilled, skilled, and technical occupations. They were introduced into new and specialized fields of activity, such as operation and maintenance of motorized units, road construction, electrical work, aviation maintenance, refrigeration, radar, and a score of other activities requiring technical knowledge.

From the Great Lakes Training Center alone, between 5,000 and 6,000 Negroes were graduated from the several specialized schools. More than 10 per cent of all Negroes in the Army received training in the Air Corps where they learned much that can be of practical use in the many related occupations of civilian life. Still larger numbers of Negro soldiers with the Engineers received a variety of skilled and scientific training useful in peacetime pursuits.

Not only have several thousands of Negroes in the armed services of our country received technical training which may be carried over into the skilled and professional activities of civilian life; but hundreds of scientifically trained Negroes have for some time been engaged in practical research in major industrial organizations of the North. Even before World War II, there were approximately 125 Negro scientists holding responsible positions in this important work. Since the pre-war period, this number of scientists trained as chemists, engineers,

bacteriologists, and the like, has more than doubled. Merely to name some Negro scientists who have made significant contributions in the field of industrial research and invention would require more space than is here permitted. Of the 550 Negroes who now hold doctors' degrees in scientific and other scholarly research, 300 have received their degrees within the past ten years.

While thousands of Negroes have changed occupationally, the economic life of the South has been altered in its occupational requirements. Technological transformations, especially in the more progressive parts of the South, have been almost as revolutionary as the changing characteristics of the Negro worker. Industrial plants costing millions of dollars must, if the South is to prosper, be used to meet peacetime production. Returning service men and defense plant workers, especially those who have discovered their capacities for the more skilled activities of modern life, have not been attracted to the farms and plantations from which they enlisted. Even if they were inclined to do so, there is no corresponding need. It is estimated, for example, that in spite of the losses of young men from the farm population of the South, there is still a sufficient number of persons between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-nine to meet the normal requirements of farm work.

We must also take into account the fact that the farm regions of the South are the "population seed-bed of the nation." Even before the technological improvements of recent years, the rural South had a population which was constantly migrating to the industrial centers of the North. Incident to the mechanization of farm work now in progress and to the much heralded invasion of the cotton robot now seen on the horizon, the South will become less and less dependent upon the muscles of domesticated animals and the arms, legs, and backs of human beings.

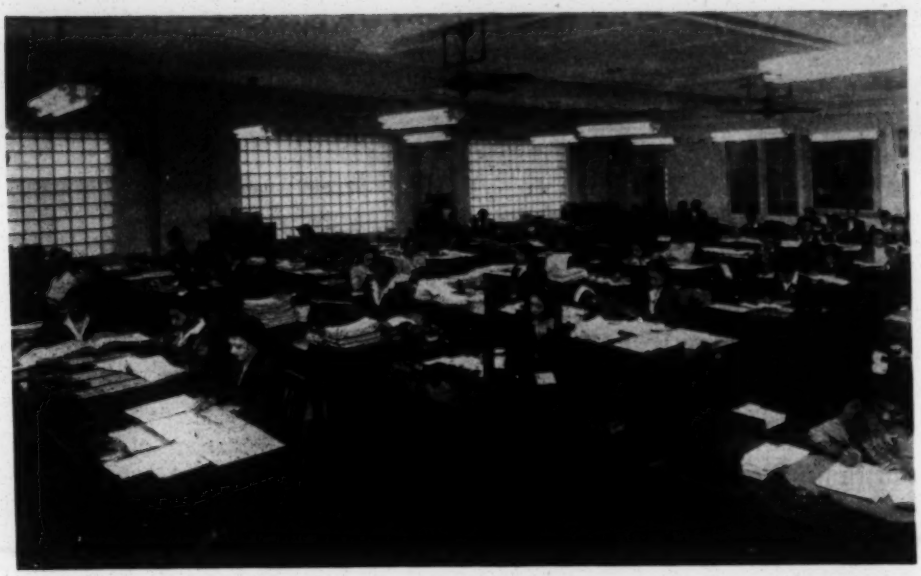
Why should a region like this continue in a state of "colonial economy," extracting its raw materials from its wealth of soils, minerals, and forests; exporting these raw materials to other regions, some of which are less favored by nature, for fabrication; and finding itself unable to repossess the very things it could have had from the beginning? No region in colonial status, as has been pointed out by our economists, can possibly buy back in full. Extractive economy carried on, as it has been in the South, by unskilled and low-wage labor tends to reduce the purchasing power of the people to a minimum. It is skilled and therefore more costly labor that puts greater value into products.

Traditional restrictions on the occupational freedom of the Negro have been, and still are, too prevalent. The Negro has found himself excluded from many kinds of employment in numerous industries and businesses of both North and South. Opportunities for the Negro in the

white-collar and skilled occupations of the white man's America have, until recently, been exceedingly few. On the whole, the Negro has been none too welcome in the ranks of organized labor and has, consequently, experienced the disadvantages resulting from lack of organization. It took a man-power problem created by war to open many of the doors of organized labor to the Negro American.

If the Negro trains himself for a business or a profession, he must, in general, serve his own people, most of whom, because of their low economic status, are unable to support him adequately. This same Negro, from the time when he becomes ambitious to enter a business or profession, finds it difficult if not impossible to secure even a second-rate training in the South. If, perchance, he succeeds in acquiring the requisite training, there are still innumerable obstacles, artificial and traditional, to defeat his purpose. Not only must his services be limited, in the main, to his own people, but the very localities in which he is permitted to set up his enterprise are pre-determined by the majority race.

The South would do well to consider its human resources, both white and Negro, in relation to this economic problem. Irrespective of race, the inherent capacities of the Southern people are second to none. Through suitable training and environment, skilled efficiency may become as common among Negroes as among any other segment of our population. The South need not, if it will only provide opportunity for all its people, be classed as "economic problem number one." It is quite possible that the South may become the nation's "economic opportunity number one."



— Photo Courtesy Supreme Liberty Life Ins. Co.

The Negro in Business

SLOWLY but surely the Negro is making a place for himself in the business enterprises of the nation. His progress in this respect during the past eighty years, while less conspicuous than that of the whites, has been truly remarkable. In 1866, for example, Negroes of the United States owned approximately 12,000 homes; today they own more than 900,000. In 1866, the wealth of Negroes in our country was about $20,000,000; today their total wealth is estimated at nearly $4,000,000,000.

The causes of their comparative backwardness in business, however, are not difficult to find. Living as the majority of Negroes did, at first in a state of slavery and, subsequently, under conditions little better than serfdom, the Negro had little opportunity either to observe or to participate in the business life of his community. This was especially true in the South where business enterprises, even of the majority race, have been backward in their development. The Southern region, impoverished by the Civil War, has long had difficulty in raising capital requisite for more than small-scale enterprises.

For the Negro in the South, the obstacles to business enterprise have been, and still are, very difficult. Even now, in the most rural South, a large percentage of the Negroes rely on landlords and on credit stores for their necessary purchases. The landlords either "furnish" them from their own commissaries or make arrangements with local white merchants to supply their needs. Under these conditions,

on the plantations and in the rural villages of the South, the Negro cannot take a very active part in the business of exchange and its related activities.

In the larger towns and cities of both North and South, the Negro's opportunities in business life have been abnormally limited. Everywhere, but in varying degrees, the retarding influences have been similar. The fields in which the Negro is most nearly free to develop business relate to personal service, and to some extent, to food, eating, and drinking establishments.

These and similar facts have been brought out in detail in a two years' study* of the Negro in business carried on under the supervision of Atlanta University and directed by Dr. Joseph A. Pierce of that institution. The findings based on a survey of 3,866 different business enterprises in twelve cities — most of them in the South — show something of the Negro's limitations in business. It is shown, for example, that the Negro's greatest concentration of business enterprise is in the fields where he does not meet the full competition of business operated by whites. "Restaurants, beauty shops, shoe repair shops, barber shops, undertaking establishments, confectionaries, taverns, and filling stations," according to this study, "account for 71 per cent of all the Negro businesses in the twelve cities."**

The distribution of retail businesses, according to rank, carried on by Negroes in these cities is as follows: (a) eating places, 38.2 per cent; (b) food stores, 29.9 per cent; (c) drinking places, 5.3 per cent; (d) drug stores, 4.1 per cent; (e) apparel stores, 3.8 per cent; (f) general merchandise, 1.5; leaving for all other retail businesses, 17.2 per cent.

A sampling study of Negro consumers, in the twelve cities mentioned above, together with types of goods purchased and the race of store owners from whom these goods are usually bought, is revealing. Approximately 72 per cent of the Negroes included in the study buy their goods and services in stores owned and operated by whites. Only about 28 per cent of the Negro consumers trade regularly with Negro concerns.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that many types of goods and services are purchased almost entirely in the stores of white owners. Men's, women's and children's clothing for example, are bought almost exclusively in white stores. It was found that more than 95 per cent of Negroes buy their furniture and hardware from white merchants. Household supplies came next, to the extent of 84 per cent. In the purchase of only a few goods and services — gasoline and oil, shoe repairs, cleaning and pressing, and tailoring — does the Negro give more than half his patronage to Negro concerns.

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* *Negro Business and Business Education*, by Joseph A. Pierce, Harper and Brothers, 1947.
** Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Durham, Houston, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, St. Louis, Savannah, and Washington, D. C.

Still further revealing is the fact that 16.8 per cent of the policy holders included in this sampling survey carry insurance only with white companies; 61.8 per cent carry policies with both Negro and white companies; and only 21.4 per cent carry all of their insurance with Negro companies.

The growth and development of Negro insurance as a business enterprise is an interesting story in itself. There are approximately 200 Negro companies in the United States engaged in the insurance business. Of these 23 are legal reserve companies; 39 miscellaneous — assessment, life, health, accident, and industrial — companies; 91 burial organizations; and 51 fraternal benefit societies. Forty-six of these companies are members of the National Negro Insurance Association operating in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia.

In 1944, the two largest of these insurance companies, together with their total amounts of insurance in force, were as follows: Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Atlanta, Georgia, $101,182,383; and North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, North Carolina, $89,-665,841. Since 1944, the annual increase in each of these figures has been approximately $10,000,000. The forty odd member companies of the National Negro Insurance Association, as reported at the end of 1946, showed combined totals of $79,935,197 in admitted assets; $843,-999,120 of insurance in force; 4,261,219 policy holders; and total reserves $52,888,068.

Life insurance companies owned and operated by Negroes represent the "big business" of Negroes in this country. Even during the war period, Negro life insurance companies prospered and generously shared their prosperity with the government by purchasing through the Seventh War Loan a total of $21,156,198 in war bonds. Negro insurance executives, through their national association, encouraged Negroes everywhere to purchase insurance while their wages and incomes were high. In this way public attention was focused on the value of insurance as well as on the character and stability of Negro insurance companies.

Along with the Negro life insurance companies should be mentioned the banks owned and operated by Negroes. There are now twelve banks of this class carrying on successfully in the United States — eleven of them in the South. During the war years, these Negro institutions did much to encourage thrift among the colored people. According to a report of the United States Treasury Department in 1945, eleven of these banks were holding nearly $13,000,000 in war securities. The major purchasers of these securities were: Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, with $2,662,905; Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., $2,537,041; Consolidated Bank and Trust Company of Richmond, Virginia, $1,749,000; and the Citizens

and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia, $1,442,284. Other Negro banks were mentioned in the report as having made considerable bond purchases.

From Bulletin No. 850 entitled, *Activities of Credit Unions in* 1944, published by the United States Department of Labor, we have the following facts concerning Negro credit unions: By the end of 1944, a total of 91 credit unions had been organized under the Federal Act among Negroes. Of these, 74 or 81 per cent were in active operation at the end of the year, and the remainder were inoperative or had their charters canceled. For the entire number of Federal credit unions — both white and Negro — 74 per cent were active. From this report it will be seen that the Negro associations were maintaining themselves more successfully than the associations conducted by whites. It should be pointed out, however, that the Negro institutions were smaller than the others.

Considering the obstacles which Negro business has had to encounter, we must evaluate the successes mentioned above as extraordinary. Scarcely ever have Negro businesses been free to become integral parts of our national economy. The Negro business man, while disapproving segregation of races, finds himself with a vested interest in segregation because it creates a convenient market for his goods and services. Whether he desires it or not, his patronage in general is limited racially — in lines of business open to him as well as in location. White businesses, so restricted, would find it difficult to succeed. Any business, if it is to succeed in the greatest degree, must have the freedom peculiar to American business in general.

"An integrated economy," writes Dr. Joseph A. Pierce, "is vital not only to the future progress of Negro business; but also to a higher standard of living of Negroes, in general, because there can be no adequate provision for the economic life of these thirteen million Americans except as they share in the general economic life of the country." While full integration cannot immediately be realized, steps in that direction can be multiplied. Here and there, Negro businesses are entering into cooperation with white businesses in such forms as partnerships, buying cooperatives, and the like. Not only is it possible for Negroes to work in white businesses as salesmen and managers, but this is actually being done in several places to the benefit of all concerned. An integrated economy should prove beneficial not only to Negroes but to our entire society.

— Photo by Hughes

The Negro As Consumer

NOT only the South but the nation as a whole benefits from the Negro's contribution to our economic life. Thirteen million people, one-tenth of our entire population, supplying as they do their proportional share of productive labor and consuming a large — though somewhat under proportional — share of our total production, must be considered an economic asset. The purchasing power of the Negro population, in spite of low standards of living, is considerable. As long ago as 1920, the Negro purchasing power in this country, as estimated by the United States Department of Commerce, was at least $2,000,000,000. For the year 1947 it is conservatively estimated that the Negro's expenditures for consumers' goods in this country had risen to $6,000,000,000. Unfortunately for the Negro, however, several hundred millions of these dollars had to be spent for slum buildings and shacks which should have been condemned at least a generation ago.

Were the city markets in the South not partially supported by Ne-

gro purchases, the profits enjoyed by the owners, managers, and share holders would be much smaller than they are. This is especially true in the larger cities in which the Negro population is expressed in terms of six digits. In New Orleans, for example, the 150,000 colored people residing there spend annually the major portion of their incomes, conservatively estimated at $40,000,000. In Memphis, Tennessee, a Negro population of 120,000 spend a correspondingly large part of their $45,000,000 income. Similar facts are available for the other large cities of the South. In the cities of the border and Northern states, where discrimination against colored people is a bit less severe, the incomes of Negroes and their expenditures for consumer goods and services are somewhat larger. The expenditures of Negroes, as of people in general, are directly proportional to their incomes. The more they spend, the greater are the profits for business and industry.

In the period immediately preceding the Second World War, business men were pointing out the general importance of the Negro market. Discussions relative to this matter, especially in conferences on Negro business, took place in many parts of the country. White business men were beginning to see the wisdom of encouraging a market at home that even then compared favorably in size with the sum total of our foreign trade. Late in 1940, for example, Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council, in an address to the Hampton Association, said: "Big business ought to know more about the Negro market and its possibilities." He pointed out that in seventeen of our largest Southern cities, Negroes were consuming $2,000,000,000 worth of our goods and services annually — an amount two and a half times as large as the value of our exports to Great Britain, France, Germany, Poland, and Finland in 1938.

Continuing, Mr. Morris declared: "Our foreign trade, long suffering from tariff-barriers, continues unstabilized. Yet within our borders lies one of the greatest markets undeveloped. This consumer outlet represented by our Negro population would expand in enormous proportion with the advancement of their standards of living. Equip our largest minority group with the means of increasing their purchasing power and we create a better prosperity for the nation as a whole."

The purchasing power of any people is measured directly in terms of income. The larger the number of low-income people — whether white or colored — the smaller is the purchasing power of our population. Poverty, inadequate incomes, and low standards of living are synonymous; just as prosperity, adequate incomes, and high standards of living are inseparable. General prosperity for any region or nation is dependent on the equalization of economic opportunity.

'To Secure These Rights'

A Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

Prepared by
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Foreword

The Southern Regional Council, at its annual meeting of November 12, 1947, passed the following resolution:

"That the Southern Regional Council commends the President of the United States for appointing the distinguished Committee on Civil Rights and urges that the people of the South and of the Nation give most thoughtful consideration to the Committee's report, reminding ourselves, as the Committee concludes, that 'the future of our Nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. . . ' "

The purpose of this booklet is to present in convenient form the substance of the report of the President's Committee. Every effort has been made to adhere faithfully to the spirit and meaning of the original text. It is our hope that this briefer version may serve as a manual for study and discussion by interested groups and individuals throughout the South.

The South would be short-sighted indeed if because of this or that recommendation of the Committee it dismissed without study the whole report. "To Secure These Rights" is an important pronouncement on behalf of all the people of the Nation. Its consequences will flow "unto the third and fourth generation." The Southern Regional Council thinks that it is the proper part of all Southerners to know and feel the import of a document which puts carefully and urgently the mounting unwillingness of people all over the earth to be patient with discriminations which are so traditional in the South that many of its people accept them without question and without conscience.

This digest is not offered as a substitute for the full text of the report, which is essential to a thorough knowledge of the Committee's findings and recommendations. The complete version can be secured from the following places:

U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. ($1.00 per copy)

Simon & Schuster, New York City — on sale at local bookstores. ($1.00 per copy)

The newspaper PM, Box 81, Times Square Station, New York, has reprinted the full text of the report and made it available at ten cents per single copy.

Assignment from the President

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9808 ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WHEREAS the preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution is essential to domestic tranquility, national security, the general welfare, and the continued existence of our free institutions; and

Whereas the action of individuals who take the law into their own hands and inflict summary punishment and wreak personal vengeance is subversive of our Democratic system of law enforcement and public criminal justice, and gravely threatens our form of government; and

Whereas it is essential that all possible steps be taken to safeguard our civil rights:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby created a committee to be known as the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which shall be composed of the following-named members, who shall serve without compensation:

Mr. C. E. Wilson, chairman; Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, Mr. James B. Carey, Mr. John S. Dickey, Mr. Morris L. Ernst, Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, Dr. Frank P. Graham, The Most Reverend Francis J. Haas, Mr. Charles Luckman, Mr. Francis P. Matthews, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., The Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, Mr. Boris Shishkin, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Mr. Channing H. Tobias.

2. The Committee is authorized on behalf of the President to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law-enforcement measures may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people.

3. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Committee in its work, and to furnish the Committee such information or the services of such persons as the Committee may require in the performance of its duties.

4. When requested by the Committee to do so, persons employed in any of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal

Government shall testify before the Committee and shall make available for the use of the Committee such documents and other information as the Committee may require.

5. The Committee shall make a report of its studies to the President in writing, and shall in particular make recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States.

6. Upon rendition of its report to the President, the Committee shall cease to exist, unless otherwise determined by further Executive Order.

The White House, December 5, 1946. HARRY S. TRUMAN

The American Heritage

WE HAVE a great heritage of freedom and equality for all men, which we call "the American way." This is an ideal which Americans have always believed in and of which they have always been proud. Much could be said about the progress of the United States in enlarging the range of human liberties and rights. Yet we cannot avoid the knowledge that we are still a long way from making the ideal of freedom and equality a reality. That is why the Committee on Civil Rights was appointed — to discover the ways in which we are failing to live up to that ideal. And that is why the Committee has given its attention almost completely to the bad side of the record — our failures and mistakes in the field of civil rights.

What is our American heritage? Its central theme is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. We know that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself each man must be willing to respect the rights of others. Everyone who wants equal opportunity himself must be willing to grant equal opportunity to everyone else. Thus the only kind of aristocracy that the free way of life permits is an aristocracy of talent and achievement. We can tolerate no restrictions upon the individual because of such irrelevant factors as his race, his color, his religion, or the social position to which he is born.

The men who founded our Republic recognized this truth. They knew that, though the majority must rule in a democracy, there are valued personal liberties which must be beyond the reach of popular majorities. For this reason, they added to our Constitution the Bill of Rights, which permanently denies the federal government power to interfere with certain personal rights and freedoms. But freedom, as we now use the term, means more than the traditional "freedoms" listed in our Bill of Rights — important as they are. Freedom has come to mean the right of a man to manage his own affairs as he sees fit, up to the point where what he does interferes with the equal rights of others in the community; or up to the point where he begins to injure the welfare of the whole group. The Committee is convinced that the term "civil rights" itself has with great wisdom been used flexibly in American history. The Committee has found it appropriate to consolidate some individual freedoms under a single heading, to omit others altogether, and to stress still others which have in the past not been given prominence.

The Condition of Our Rights

FOUR basic rights have seemed important to the Committee and have influenced its labors. They are the right to safety and security of the person, the right to citizenship and its privileges, the right to freedom of conscience and expression, and the right to equality of opportunity. Let us examine these rights and the condition in which we find them today.

1. THE RIGHT TO SAFETY AND SECURITY OF THE PERSON.

Freedom exists only where the citizen knows that he is safe from bondage, lawless violence, and arbitrary arrest and punishment. No society can allow human beings to be imprisoned or killed without due process of law and continue to regard itself as free. Most Americans enjoy safety of the person, but it is not yet secure for all. Too many of our people still live under the fear of violence or death at the hands of a mob or of brutal treatment by police officers. In some areas there are attempts to hold workers in peonage, endangering the fundamental right to move about and choose one's job at will.

The Crime of Lynching

Though lynchings have decreased, decade by decade, the Committee found that in 1947 lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans. It is still possible for a mob to abduct and murder a person in some sections of the country with almost certain assurance of escaping punishment for the crime. The decade from 1936 through 1946 saw at least 48 lynchings. No person who took part received the death penalty, and the majority of the guilty persons were not even brought to trial.

The communities in which lynchings occur tend to condone the crime. Punishment of lynchers is not always accepted as the responsibility of state or local governments in these communities. Frequently, state officials participate in the crime, actively or passively. Federal efforts to punish the crime are resisted. Some local law enforcement officers fail to make adequate efforts to break up a mob, and frequently fail to make any real effort to apprehend or try those guilty. If the federal government enters a case, local officials sometimes actively resist the federal investigation. Local citizens often withhold essential information by convenient "loss of memory"; grand juries refuse to indict; trial juries acquit in spite of irrefutable proof of guilt.

The effects of lynchings go far beyond what is shown by counting the victims. Every time lynchers go unpunished, Negroes have

learned to expect other forms of violence at the hands of private citizens or public officials. Their knowledge that a misinterpreted word or action can lead to their death is a dreadful burden.

Police Brutality

In addition to failure to protect persons against mob violence, some public officials are guilty of even more widespread forms of official misconduct. These include violent physical attacks by police officers on members of minority groups, the use of third degree methods to extort confessions, and brutality against prisoners. Where police brutality exists, the civil rights of any citizen may be in danger, but unpopular, weak, or defenseless groups are most apt to suffer.

Administration of Justice

It is these same weak and friendless persons who sometimes find that they cannot expect full and equal justice in the courts. Often they are subjected to unfair and perfunctory trials, or to fines and prison sentences that are heavier than those imposed on other members of the community guilty of the same offenses. It is particularly unfortunate that the jury system has not always served to protect the right of minority members to a fair trial. All too frequently, trial by a jury of one's peers has no meaning for these persons because of the complete absence of people of their own kind from jury lists.

Minority groups are sometimes convinced that they cannot expect fair treatment from the legal machinery. Because of this belief they may harbor and protect any of their members accused of crime. Their experience does not lead them to look upon the courts as "havens of refuge" for the victims of prejudice and public excitement.

Involuntary Servitude

Slavery was abolished in this country nearly a century ago, and in its traditional form has disappeared. But the temptation still exists to force poor and defenceless persons, by one device or another, into a condition of virtual slavery. Where large numbers of people are frightened, uneducated, and underprivileged, the dangers of involuntary servitude remain.

The most striking mass interference with the right to physical freedom since slavery was the evacuation and exclusion of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast during the past war. 110,000 men, women, and children — two-thirds of them American citizens— were evacuated without a trial or any sort of hearing. These people were ordered out of a large section of the country and detained in "relocation centers," at the direction of the Commanding General of the West Coast Command. Yet no single individual among them was charged with disloyalty, espionage, or sedition. The evacuation, in short, was not a criminal proceeding against individuals, but a sort of mass quarantine measure. Admittedly, in time of modern total war-

fare much discretion must be given to the military to act in situations where civilian rights are concerned. But the Committee believes that means can be found to safeguard people against mass accusation and discrimination.

2. THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP AND ITS PRIVILEGES.

Because the right to participate in the political process is limited to citizens, there should be no denial of citizenship based upon race, color, creed, or national origin. Similarly, under the principle of freedom and equality, no qualified citizen should be denied the right to vote or the right to perform full military service in time of war.

Citizenship and Race

In granting citizenship by naturalization, a democracy may establish reasonable tests of the individual alien's eligibility for citizenship. But some of the standards of eligibility in our naturalization laws have nothing to do with a person's fitness to become a citizen. These standards are based solely on race or national origin. The largest group of American residents subject to this discrimination are those born in Japan, Korea, and certain other Asiatic countries and Pacific island areas. Though many of these people have lived in this country for many years, will probably remain here until they die, have raised families of native-born American citizens, and are devoted to American principles, they are forbidden the opportunity to enjoy the status of citizenship to which their children are born.

The Right to Vote

The right of all qualified citizens to vote is today taken for granted by most Americans. But the franchise is barred to some citizens because of race; to others by procedures which prevent free access to the polls; and to still others by corrupt practices which distort the intended purpose of their votes. Some citizens — permanent residents of the District of Columbia — are excluded from political representation and the right to vote by outmoded national traditions.

The denial of suffrage on account of race is at present the most serious interference with the right to vote. Until very recently, American Negro citizens in most Southern states found it difficult to vote. Efforts are still continuing in some states to deprive them of the ballot. The "white primary," by which participation in the Democratic primary is limited to white citizens, has practically lost its effectiveness, owing to a series of court decisions. Alabama has sought to continue disfranchisement by establishing "qualifications" standards under which Negroes could be barred by administrative action. The poll tax — which limits white as well as Negro suffrage — is still in effect in seven Southern states. Both the poll tax and qualifications standards are usually applied in such a way as to discriminate against Negroes.

In addition to these legal, or formal, methods of disfranchisement, there are long-standing techniques of terror and intimidation, in the face of which great courage is required of the Negro who tries to vote. In those regions where violence against Negroes is common, little more than "advice" is often necessary to frighten them away from the polls.

In past years, American Indians have also been denied the right to vote, as well as other political rights, in a number of states. Protests against these bans on Indian suffrage in the Southwest have gained force with the return of Indian veterans.

The Right to Bear Arms

The record shows that the members of several minorities, fighting and dying for the survival of the nation in which they met bitter prejudice, found that there was discrimination against them even as they fell in battle. All of the armed forces have recently adopted policies designed to assure equality of opportunity. But, in spite of this, the records of our military forces disclose many areas in which there is a great need for further improvement. During the last war, we and our allies found that the military services can be used to educate citizens on a broad range of social and political problems. We discovered a laboratory in which we may prove that the majority and minorities of our population can train and work and fight side by side in cooperation and harmony. We should not hesitate to take full advantage of this opportunity.

3. THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND EXPRESSION.

Americans worship as they choose. Our press is freer from government restraint than any the world has seen. Our citizens are normally free to exercise their right to speak and assemble without fear. There are still, however, communities in which occasional interference with the rights of unpopular religious, political, and economic groups takes place.

At the present time, the most immediate threat to the right to freedom of opinion and expression comes from efforts to deal with those few people in our midst who would destroy democracy—the Communists and the Fascists. Public excitement about "Communists" has gone far beyond the dictates of good judgment and calmness. A state of near-hysteria now threatens to curtail the freedom of genuine democrats. Also, efforts to protect the government against disloyal employees may lead to dangerous "Red hunting." Certainly the government should have in its employ only citizens of unquestioned loyalty. But our whole civil liberties history gives us clear warning against the possible misuse of loyalty checks to inhibit freedom of opinion and expression.

4. THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

Every individual is entitled to employment on the basis of his qualifications, and to access to services in the fields of education, housing, health, recreation, and transportation — whether available free or at a price. Without this equality of opportunity, the individual is deprived of the chance to develop fully and to share the fruits of society. The group also suffers through the loss of the contributions which might have been made by persons excluded from the main channels of social and economic activity.

The Right to Employment

Many minorities have suffered from unfair employment practices. Discrimination is most acutely felt by minority group members in their inability to get a job suited to their qualifications. Exclusion of Negroes, Jews, or Mexicans in the process of hiring is effected in various ways — by newspaper advertisements requesting only whites or gentiles to apply, by application blanks on which a space is reserved for "race" or "religion," by discriminatory job orders placed with employment agencies, or by the arbitrary policy of a company official in charge of hiring. This discrimination has forced many minority workers, regardless of their qualifications, into low-paying and often menial jobs, such as common laborer and domestic servant. And once he gets himself hired, the minority worker often finds that he is being paid less than other workers of the same level of education and ability.

The Right to Education

Two inadequacies are extremely serious in our educational system. The first is the failure to give Negroes equal educational opportunities in our public institutions. This failure is naturally most acute in the South, where approximately 10 million Negroes live. The South is one of the poorer sections of the country and has at best only limited funds to spend on its schools. Yet even of these limited funds Negro education receives far less than its share.

But it is the South's segregated school system which most directly discriminates against the Negro. With respect to education, as well as to other public services, the Committee believes that the "separate but equal" rule has not been obeyed in practice. Whatever test is used — expenditure per pupil, teachers' salaries, number of pupils per teacher, transportation of students, adequacy of school buildings and equipment, length of school term, extent of curriculum — Negro students are invariably at a disadvantage. Opportunities for Negroes in public institutions of higher education in the South — particularly at the professional graduate school level — are also severely limited.

In the North, the existence of residential restrictions in many cities has had a discriminatory effect on Negro education. In Chicago, for example, the schools which are most crowded and employ

double shift schedules are practically all in Negro neighborhoods. Indian children attending public schools in the western states are assigned to separate classrooms. Many Texas schools segregate Mexican-American children in separate schools.

The second inadequacy in our present educational practices in America is the religious and racial discrimination that exists in the operation of some private educational institutions. In many of our modern educational institutions enrollment of Jewish students never exceeds certain fixed points and there is never more than a token enrollment of Negroes. Certainly the public cannot long tolerate practices by private educational institutions which are in serious conflict with patterns of democratic life sanctioned by the overwhelming majority of our people.

The Right to Housing

Equality of opportunity to rent or buy a home should exist for every American. Today many of our citizens are confronted not only with a general housing shortage, but also prejudice and discrimination that puts them at a disadvantage in competing for the limited housing that is available. The fact that many of these people are veterans only underlines our bad housing record.

The restrictive covenant has become the most effective modern method of segregating housing on racial or religious bases. These usually take the form of agreements written into deeds of sale by which property owners mutually bind themselves not to sell or lease to an "undesirable." Where old ghettos are surrounded by restrictions, and new subdivisions are covered by them, there is practically no place for the restricted people to go. Since they have been crowded into slums and must eventually have access to larger living areas, the restrictive covenant is providing our democracy with one of its most challenging problems.

The Right to Health Service

Owing to discrimination, many segments of our population do not measure up to the standards of health which have been attained by our people as a whole. Low economic status frequently makes it impossible for our minorities to afford even the minimum of medical care or a diet adequate to build up resistance to disease. Restrictive covenants, combined with poverty, tend to keep them in unsanitary, disease-ridden environments.

A more direct cause of unequal opportunity in the field of health is biased practices with respect to medical facilities and personnel. Many hospitals, for example, will not admit Negro patients, nor will they allow Negro doctors and internes to make use of their facilities. The severe shortage of doctors among minorities is also due, in part, to discriminatory admission policies in our medical schools.

The Right to Public Services and Accommodations

Many public services, supplied by both government and private business, do not reach all persons on an equal basis. Discrimination is often found in services supplied by the federal government, either because of weaknesses in legislation or prejudice among local administrators. Where state or local facilities are allocated to Negroes, either because of segregation or the geographical concentration of the colored population, the services are almost always inferior to those provided whites.

Most pronounced of all, however, is discrimination in the services offered by private enterprise. Because of their race or their color or their creed many Americans are barred from access to some places and given unequal service in others. This is sometimes the result of state legislation and sometimes merely of private policy. Eighteen states have statutes prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation, but even there practice does not necessarily conform to the law.

Segregation Reconsidered

LEGALLY-ENFORCED segregation has been largely limited to the South. But segregation is also widely prevalent in the North, particularly in housing and in hotel and restaurant accommodations. Segregation has not been enforced by states alone. The federal government has tolerated it even where it has full authority to eliminate it. We have already noted the situation in the armed forces. Another prominent example is the record in the Panama Canal Zone.

Segregation has become the cornerstone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against some American citizens. Theoretically, this system simply provides "separate but equal" facilities for the two races. In actual practice, these facilities, while indeed separate, are far from equal. Throughout segregated public institutions, Negroes have been denied an equal share of tax-supported services and facilities. So far as private institutions go, the obstacles to Negroes developing equal institutions of their own are staggering.

Moreover, recent experiences demonstrate that segregation prevents the development of harmonious relationships among groups. We have found that wherever artificial barriers which divide people and groups from one another are broken, tension and conflict begin to be replaced by cooperative effort and an environment in which civil rights can thrive. One such experience was recorded by the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, in the European Theater of Operations of the Army. The conclusion can be stated simply: the closer white infantrymen had been to the actual

experience of working with Negroes in combat units the more willing they were to accept integrated Negro platoons in white companies. This was as true of white infantrymen from the South as for those from other parts of the country.

The Committee is not convinced that an end to segregation in education or in the enjoyment of public services essential to people in a modern society would mean an intrusion upon the private life of the individual. In a democracy, each individual must have freedom to choose his friends and to control the pattern of his personal and family life. But there is nothing inconsistent between this freedom and a recognition of the truth that democracy also means that in going to school, working, participating in the political process, serving in the armed forces, enjoying government services in such fields as health and recreation, making use of transportation and other public facilities, and living in specific communities and neighborhoods, distinctions of race, color, and creed have no place.

Civil Rights in the Nation's Capital

THE District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of a democracy. The origin of the pattern of discrimination in Washington is partly explained by its location in a border area where many Southern customs prevail. All the inequalities the committee has noted in the South's "separate and unequal" pattern are suffered by the one-third of Washington that is Negro. Except where the federal government has made a few independent advances, as in federal employment and the use of federal recreational facilities, segregation is rigid, and it extends to ludicrous extremes. Gross discrimination exists in education, housing, employment, health services, and in places of public accommodation.

The shamefulness of Washington's treatment of Negro Americans is highlighted by the presence of many dark-skinned foreign visitors. Capital custom not only humiliates colored citizens, but is a source of considerable embarrassment to these visitors. White residents, because they are the dominant group, share in both the humiliation and embarrassment. Foreign officials are often mistaken for American Negroes and refused food, lodging, and entertainment. However, once it is established that they are not Americans, they are accommodated.

This is the situation that exists in the District of Columbia. The Committee feels most deeply that it is intolerable.

Government's Responsibility: Securing the Rights

THE National Government of the United States must take the lead in safeguarding the civil rights of all Americans. There are several reasons why this is true. First, many of the most serious wrongs against individual rights are committed by private persons or by local public officers. The very fact that these outrages continue to occur, coupled with the fact that the states have been unable to eliminate them, points clearly to a strong need for federal safeguards. Second, it is a sound policy to use the idealism and prestige of our whole people to check the wayward tendencies of a part of them. We cannot afford to delay until the most backward community has learned to prize civil liberty. Third, our civil rights record has growing international implications. These cannot be safely disregarded by the government at the national level which is responsible for our relations with the world. Fourth, the steadily growing tendency of the American people to look to the national government for the protection of their civil rights is highly significant. It is a demand rooted in the folkways of the people, sound in instinct and reason, and impossible to ignore. Finally, the national government should assume leadership in our American civil rights program because there is much in the field of civil rights that it is squarely responsible for in its own direct dealings with millions of persons.

Leadership by the federal government in safeguarding civil rights does not mean exclusive action by that government. There is much that the states and local communities can do in this field, and much that they alone can do. Parallel state and local action supporting the national program is highly desirable.

The argument is sometimes made that because prejudice and intolerance cannot be eliminated through legislation and government control, we should abandon that action in favor of the long, slow, evolutionary effects of education and voluntary private efforts. In the opinion of the Committee, both approaches to the goal are valid, and are, moreover, essential to each other. It may be impossible to overcome prejudice by law, but many of the evil practices which are the visible manifestations of prejudice can be brought to an end through proper government controls. At the same time, it is essential that efforts be made to understand more fully the causes of prejudice and to stamp them out.

Constitutional Traditions

THE Committee believes that national leadership in this field is entirely consistent with our American constitutional traditions. Our Constitution has long been recognized by the Supreme Court as a flexible document, subject to varying interpretations and capable of being adapted to the different needs of changing times.

The several specific constitutional bases for federal action in the civil rights field follow. Those numbered from one through eight have either been specifically approved by the Supreme Court or seem to be clearly valid. Those numbered from nine through eleven are more controversial.

1. *Power to Protect the Right to Vote.*

Article I, Section 4 of the Constitution permits federal protection of the procedure for voting in federal elections against interference from any source. The Fourteenth Amendment supports protection against state interference with equal opportunity to vote in any election. The Fifteenth Amendment supports action against interference with the right to vote in any election because of race or color. The Nineteenth Amendment supports action against state interference based on sex with the right to vote in any election.

2. *Power to Protect the Right to Freedom from Slavery and Involuntary Servitude.*

This power derives from the Thirteenth Amendment: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

3. *Power to Protect Rights to Fair Legal Process, to Free Speech and Assembly, and to Equal Protection of the Laws.*

This power, derived from the Fourteenth Amendment, protects only against interference by agencies of state or local government.

4. *The War Power.*

Under Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, Congress may legislate with respect to treatment of minority groups in the services.

5. *Power to Regulate Activities Which Relate to Interstate Commerce.*

Under Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, the commerce power could be the basis for fair employment legislation relating to activities affecting interstate commerce, and for laws prohibiting discriminatory practices by interstate carriers.

6. *The Taxing and Spending Powers.*

Also derived from Article I, Section 8, these extensive Congressional powers have been repeatedly used in carrying out federal programs. Federal grants-in-aid have almost always been conditioned on compliance with standards established by Congress, as have exemptions from taxation.

7. *The Postal Power.*

Under Article I, Section 8, Congress has acted to protect use of the mails against certain undesirable purposes. Within constitutional limits on Congressional power, there may be room for certain legislation, such as the exclusion of anonymous hate group literature from the mails.

8. *Power Over the District of Columbia and the Territories.*

Under Article I, Section 8, and Article IV, Section 3, Congress has full power of government over the District of Columbia and the various territories. It may thus pass any legislation proper for complete protection of the civil rights of all persons residing in those areas.

9. *Power Derived from the Constitution as a Whole to Protect the Rights Essential to National Citizens in a Democratic Nation.*

It is impossible to say how far the courts may be willing to go in recognizing the existence of specific rights at the national level, or in approving the power of Congress to protect these rights as necessary to a democratic nation. But the basis seems to be a valid one, and it might support national civil rights legislation of considerable significance.

10. *Power Derived from the Treaty Clause in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution to Protect Civil Rights Which Acquire a Treaty Status.*

As ruled by the Supreme Court, Congress may enact statutes to carry out treaty obligations, even where it has no other power to pass such a statute. This doctrine has an obvious importance as a possible basis for civil rights legislation. Any international bill of rights adopted by the United Nations, and accepted by the United States as a member state, could be the basis for congressional action under the treaty power.

11. *Power Derived from the "Republican Form of Government" Clause in Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution, to Protect Rights Essential to State and Local Citizens in a Democracy.*

This clause reads: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government. . . " It is possible that guaranteeing a "Republican form of government" in-

cludes the power to protect essential civil rights against interference by public officers or private persons.

The Role of the Supreme Court

Throughout its entire history, one of the great responsibilities of the Supreme Court has been to protect the civil rights of the American people against encroachment. However, it rendered few decisions on civil rights cases before 1870. Even after passage of the three Civil War Amendments, the Court interpreted these Amendments so narrowly that it greatly restricted its jurisdiction over civil rights matters. But the protection provided by the Court has gradually increased through the years. Since 1925, this protection has become extremely important as a result of more liberal interpretations of the scope and intention of the various constitutional Amendments. It is not too much to say that during the last ten years, the disposition of cases involving individual liberties has been as important as any work performed by the Court. As an agency of the federal government, it is now actively engaged in the broad effort to safeguard civil rights.

The Civil Rights Section Experiment

In order to encourage more vigorous use of civil rights laws and to centralize responsibility for their enforcement, in 1939 Attorney General Frank Murphy established a Civil Rights Section in the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. The Section's record in the past eight years is a remarkable one, yet the record is by no means perfect. The time has come to evaluate the experiment, to note criticisms of the program, and to suggest ways of improving it.

The Civil Rights Section has been severely handicapped by weak civil rights laws which do not adequately define the specific rights which they are supposed to protect. The courts have been inclined to interpret these laws narrowly, and in some cases have been unwilling to apply them at all, because of the vagueness of their terms. A second difficulty has been the insufficient personnel assigned to the Civil Rights Section. Owing to its small staff, and the fact that it must depend on the FBI for all investigative work, only a relatively small number of cases have been pushed through to a desirable conclusion. A third weakness is that all such cases must be processed through the office of the United States Attorney in the district where the prosecution is to be brought. It should be remembered that these men are local lawyers, appointed by the President and entrusted with the task of initiating proceedings where there has been a civil

rights violation. There have been outstanding examples of United States Attorneys, whatever their personal beliefs, courageously and vigorously carrying out this duty; others have been less willing to set themselves up against local public opinion. The Department of Justice should make more vigorous use of its authority to stimulate, educate, prod, and even overrule United States Attorneys in the handling of cases in this area.

The FBI handles virtually all of the investigative work in federal civil rights cases. There is evidence that the Bureau has sometimes felt that it was burdensome and difficult to undertake as many specific civil rights investigations as are requested. Moreover, the average FBI agent is not always prepared to cope with the elusive and difficult aspects of a civil rights case. It might also be added that the tendency of the Bureau to work in close cooperation with local police officers has sometimes prevented successful investigation of cases of this sort. At times, these local officers are themselves under suspicion or are in sympathy with the guilty persons. Such community prejudice shows itself not only in hostility of local officers, but also in the behavior of witnesses and juries. Local citizens frequently withhold vital information, and juries fail to convict in the face of overwhelming proof.

Finally, the Civil Rights Section is rendered less effective by its subordinate position as a government agency. It is merely a unit in the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and as such does not command the prestige and authority necessary to carry on its operations properly.

The Problem of Sanctions

THE chief means used to secure the enforcement of federal civil rights laws has been the criminal sanction. Admittedly, this has not proved adequate. All too frequently, members of juries in civil rights cases are prejudiced against the victim and sympathetic toward the accused. Where this atmosphere exists, it is not easy for federal prosecutors to obtain a conviction. In many cases, too, the difficulty is increased by the cry of "outside interference." Nevertheless, the criminal sanction is useful. In those instances where convictions have been obtained, the result has been a decided improvement in local attitudes. And even where the federal government has failed to win convictions, the mere attempt to enforce civil rights statutes has had a wholesome effect on community practices.

For example, after the acquittal of the accused in a police brutality case, the United States Attorney General wrote the Attorney

General as follows:

> The defendants are at liberty, but it is my humble opinion that the prosecution will do good for years to come. None of these state officers likes to be hauled into the Federal Court. Of course, I do not think any man should be indicted unless he is guilty; but such prosecutions as this do a lot of good in the case of a guilty defendant even though he is not convicted. It will also have its effect on other state officers.

But, since the criminal sanction has such obvious limitations, the Committee believes that we should make free use of other sanctions as well. Civil sanctions, as for example the writ of injunction and the suit for damages, can be used with great success if the individual victim has the initiative to invoke them. Another legal remedy of fairly recent origin is the declaratory judgment. It permits persons whose rights are threatened, but not yet invaded, to appeal to the courts to declare in advance what one's rights are. Thus an individual can move in defense of his rights before he is deprived of them.

Other government sanctions include the cease-and-desist order, issued by an administrative commission which has power to receive complaints, hold hearings, and settle issues that have been brought to its attention; use of the taxing power to discipline individuals and organizations guilty of discrimination; and making federal grants-in-aid dependent on the elimination of discriminatory practices.

The Climate of Opinion

THE adoption of specific legislation, use of existing laws, and new administrative policies cannot alone bring us all the way to full civil rights. We must make constructive efforts to create an appropriate national outlook — a climate of public opinion which will outlaw individual attacks on personal freedoms, a climate of opinion as free from prejudice as we can make it. Most prejudice cannot survive real understanding of the great variations among people in any one group; or of the scientific findings which establish the equality of all groups and disprove racist nonsense; or of the fact that in a democratic commonwealth prejudice is an immoral, outlaw attitude.

One thing which we can do is to make certain that all Americans are familiar with the fundamental rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another. It is at least possible that this kind of information will ease the task of overcoming deep-rooted prejudices. We must also have education designed to dispel ignorance about our heritage; education to teach the principle that it is stupid to condemn whole groups of people and that each man must be judged by himself, on his own merits and faults. There is no need to choose between legislation and education. Neither one is adequate for the complete securing of our rights; both are indispensable to it.

A Program of Action

TWICE before in American history the Nation has found it necessary to review the state of its civil rights. The first time was during the period between the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and the writing of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The second time was when the Union was temporarily divided over the question of whether it could exist "half-slave" and "half-free." It is the profound conviction of the Committee that we have come to a time for a third re-examination of the situation, and a sustained drive ahead. We have a moral, economic, and international reason for believing that the time for action is now.

The Moral Reason

The pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do is creating a kind of moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs. There are times when the difference between what we preach about civil rights and what we practice is shockingly illustrated by individual outrages. All of us must share in the shame at the growth of hypocrisies. All of us must endure the cynicism about democratic values which our failures breed. The United States can no longer countenance these burdens on its common conscience, these inroads on its moral fiber.

The Economic Reason

One of the principal economic problems facing us and the rest of the world is the problem of achieving maximum production and continued prosperity. The loss of a huge potential market for goods is a direct result of the economic discrimination which is practiced against many of our minority groups. This economic waste is inevitably felt not only by minorities but by our entire population. Discrimination imposes a direct cost upon our economy through the wasteful duplication of many facilities and services required by the "separate but equal" policy. All of us must pay that cost.

Nor can the cost of prejudice be computed in terms of markets, production, and expenditures alone. What we have lost in money, production, invention, citizenship, and leadership, as the price for damaged, thwarted personalities — these are beyond estimate. The United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence.

The International Reason

Our foreign policy is designed to make the United States an enormous positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle.

The people of the United States stem from many lands. Other nations and their citizens are naturally interested in what has happened to their American "relatives." Discrimination against, or mistreatment of, any racial, religious, or national group in the United States is seen not only as our internal problem. The dignity of a country, a continent, or even a major portion of the world's population, may be outraged by it. A relatively few individuals here may be identified with millions of people elsewhere, and the way in which they are treated may have world-wide repercussions. We are convinced that our way of life — the free way of life — holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still greater achievements will do it. The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable, that we can ignore what the world thinks of us and our record.

The Committee's Recommendations

I. *To strengthen the machinery for the protection of civil rights, the President's Committee recommends:*

1. The reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to provide for:

The establishment of regional offices;

A substantial increase in its appropriation and staff to enable it to engage in more extensive research and to act more effectively to prevent civil rights violations;

An increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints;

The greater use of civil sanctions;

Its elevation to the status of a full division in the Department of Justice.

2. The establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work.

3. The establishment by the state governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the federal Civil Rights Section.

There are civil rights problems, unique to certain regions and localities, that can best be treated and solved by the individual states. States which have, or will have, civil rights laws of their own, should buttress them with specially designed enforcement units. These would have the further effect of bringing the whole program closer to the people. They would also facilitate systematic local cooperation with the federal Civil Rights Section, and they would be able to act in areas where it has no authority.

4. The establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President, preferably by Act of Congress;

And the simultaneous creation of a Joint Standing Committee on Civil Rights in Congress.

5. The establishment by the states of permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the federal Commission at the state level.

The states should create permanent civil rights commissions to make continuing studies of prejudice, group tensions, and other local civil rights problems; to publish educational material of a civil rights nature; to evaluate existing legislation; and to recommend new laws. Such commissions, with their fingers on their communities' pulses, would complement at the state level the activities of a permanent federal Commission on Civil Rights.

6. The increased professionalization of state and local police forces.

II. *To strengthen the right to safety and security of the person, the President's Committee recommends:*

1. The enactment by Congress of new legislation to supplement Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code which would impose the same liability

on one person as is now imposed by that statute on two or more conspirators.

2. The amendment of Section 51 to remove the penalty provision which disqualifies persons convicted under the Act from holding public office.
3. The amendment of Section 52 to increase the maximum penalties that may be imposed under it from a $1,000 fine and a one-year prison term to a $5,000 fine and a ten-year prison term, thus bringing its penalty provisions into line with those in Section 51.
4. The enactment by Congress of a new statute, to supplement Section 52, specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes.
5. The enactment by Congress of an anti-lynching act.
6. The enactment by Congress of a new criminal statute on involuntary servitude, supplementing Sections 443 and 444 of Title 18 of the United States Code.
7. A review of our wartime evacuation and detention experience looking toward the development of a policy which will prevent the abridgment of civil rights of any person or groups because of race or ancestry.
8. Enactment by Congress of legislation establishing a procedure by which claims of evacuees for specific property and business losses resulting from the wartime evacuation can be promptly considered and settled.

III. *To strengthen the right to citizenship and its privileges, the President's Committee recommends:*

1. Action by the states or Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite.
2. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right of qualified persons to participate in federal primaries and elections against interference by public officers and private persons.
3. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right to qualify for, or participate in, federal or state primaries or elections against discriminatory action by state officers based on race or color, or depending on any other unreasonable classification of persons for voting purposes.
4. The enactment by Congress of legislation establishing local self-government for the District of Columbia; and the amendment of the Constitution to extend suffrage in presidential elections, and representation in Congress to District residents.
5. The granting of suffrage by the States of New Mexico and Arizona to their Indian citizens.
6. The modification of the federal naturalization laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to the race, color, or national origin of applicants.
7. The repeal by the states of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship because of race, color, or national origin.
8. The enactment by Congress of legislation granting citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa.
9. The enactment by Congress of legislation, followed by appropriate administrative action, to end immediately all discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the organization and activities of all branches of the Armed Services.
10. The enactment by Congress of legislation providing that no member of the armed forces shall be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation, or other service or business.

IV. *To strengthen the right to freedom of conscience and expression the President's Committee recommends:*

1. **The enactment by Congress and the state legislators of legislation requiring all groups which attempt to influence public opinion to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures.**
2. **Action by Congress and the executive branch clarifying the loyalty obligations of federal employees, and establishing standards and procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained.**

V. *To strengthen the right to equality of opportunity, the President's Committee recommends:*

1. **In general:**

The elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed or national origin, from American life.

The separate but equal doctrine has failed in three important respects. First, it is inconsistent with the fundamental equalitarianism of the American way of life in that it marks groups with the brand of inferior status. Secondly, where it has been followed, the results have been separate and unequal facilities for minority peoples. Finally, it has kept people apart despite incontrovertible evidence that an environment favorable to civil rights is fostered whenever groups are permitted to live and work together. There is no adequate defense of segregation.

The conditioning by Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

We believe that federal funds, supplied by taxpayers all over the nation, must not be used to support or perpetuate the pattern of segregation in education, public housing, public health services, or other public services and facilities generally. We recognize that these services are indispensable to individuals in modern society and to further social progress. It would be regrettable if federal aid, conditioned on nonsegregated services, should be rejected by sections most in need of such aid. The Committee believes that a reasonable interval of time may be allowed for adjustment to such a policy. But in the end it believes that segregation is wrong morally and practically and must not receive financial support by the whole people.

A minority of the Committee favors the elimination of segregation as an ultimate goal but opposes the imposition of a federal sanction. It believes that federal aid to the states for education, health, research, and other public benefits should be granted provided that the states do not discriminate in the distribution of the funds. It dissents, however, from the majority's recommendation that the abolition of segregation be made a requirement, until the people of the states involved have themselves abolished the provisions in their state constitutions and laws which now require segregation. Some members are against the non-segregation requirement in educational grants on

the ground that it represents federal control over education. They feel, moreover, that the best way ultimately to end segregation is to raise the educational level of the people in the states affected; and to inculcate both the teachings of religion regarding human brotherhood and the ideals of our democracy regarding freedom and equality as a more solid basis for genuine and lasting acceptance by the peoples of the states.

2. For employment:

The enactment of a federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race color, creed, or national origin.

A federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting discrimination in private employment should provide both educational machinery and legal sanctions for enforcement purposes. The administration of the act should be placed in the hands of a commission with power to receive complaints, hold hearings, issue cease-and-desist orders, and seek court aid in enforcing these orders. The Act should contain definite fines for the violation of its procedural provisions. In order to allow time for voluntary adjustment of employment practices to the new law, and to permit the establishment of effective enforcement machinery, it is recommended that the sanction provisions of the law not become operative until one year after the enactment of the law.

The federal act should apply to labor unions and trade and professional associations, as well as to employers, insofar as the policies and practices of these organizations affect the employment status of workers.

The enactment by the states of similar laws;

The issuance by the President of a mandate against discrimination in government employment and the creation of adequate machinery to enforce this mandate.

3. For education:

Enactment by the state legislatures of fair educational practice laws for public and private educational institutions, prohibiting discrimination in the admission and treatment of students based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

These laws should be enforced by independent administrative commissions. These commissions should consider complaints and hold hearings to review them. Where they are found to be valid, direct negotiation with the offending institution should be undertaken to secure compliance with the law. Wide publicity for the commission's findings would influence many schools and colleges sensitive to public opinion to abandon discrimination. The final sanction for such a body would be the cease-and-desist order enforceable by court action. The Committee believes that educational institutions supported by churches and definitely identified as denominational should be exempted.

There is a substantial division within the Committee on this rec-

ommendation. A majority favors it.

4. For housing:

The enactment by the states of laws outlawing restrictive covenants;

Renewed court attack, with intervention by the Department of Justice, upon restrictive covenants.

5. For health services:

The enactment by the states of fair health practice statutes forbidding discrimination and segregation based on race, creed, color, or national origin, in the operation of public or private health facilities.

Fair health practice statutes, following the pattern of fair employment practice laws, seems desirable to the Committee. They should cover such matters as the training of doctors and nurses, the admission of patients to clinics, hospitals, and other similar institutions, and the right of doctors and nurses to practice in hospitals. The administration of these statutes should be placed in the hands of commissions, with authority to receive complaints, hold hearings, issue cease-and-desist orders and engage in educational efforts to promote the policy of these laws.

6. For public services:

The enactment by Congress of a law stating that discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the rendering of all public services by the national government is contrary to public policy;

The enactment by the states of similar laws;

The elimination of discrimination and segregation depends largely on the leadership of the federal and state governments. They can make a great contribution toward accomplishing this end by affirming in law the principle of equality for all, and declaring that public funds, which belong to the whole people, will be used for the benefit of the entire population.

The establishment by act of Congress or executive order of a unit in the federal Bureau of the Budget to review the execution of all government programs, and the expenditures of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination;

The enactment by Congress of a law prohibiting discrimination or segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in interstate transportation and all the facilities thereof, to apply against both public officers and the employees of private transportation companies.

Legislation is needed to implement and supplement the Supreme Court decision in *Morgan* v. *Virginia.* There is evidence that some state officers are continuing to enforce segregation laws against interstate passengers. Moreover, carriers are still free to segregate such passengers on their own initiative since the *Morgan* decision covered only segregation based on law. Congress has complete power under the Constitution to forbid all forms of segregation in interstate commerce. We believe it should make prompt use of it.

The enactment by the states of laws guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, for persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

Since the Constitution does not guarantee equal access to places of public accommodation, it is left to the states to secure that right. In the eighteen states that have already enacted statutes, we hope that enforcement will make practice more compatible with theory. The civil suit for damages and the misdemeanor penalty have proved to be inadequate sanctions to secure the observance of these laws. Additional means, such as the revocation of licenses, and the issuance of cease-and-desist orders by administrative agencies are needed to bring about wider compliance. We think that all of the states should enact such legislation, using the broadest possible definition of public accommodation.

7. For the District of Columbia:

The enactment by Congress of legislation to accomplish the following purposes in the District;

Prohibition of discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in all public or publicly-supported hospitals, parks, recreational facilities, housing projects, welfare agencies, penal institutions, and concessions on public property;

The prohibition of segregation in the public school system of the District of Columbia;

The establishment of a fair educational practice program directed against discrimination, based on race, color, creed or national origin, in the admission of students to private educational institutions;

The establishment of a fair health practice program forbidding discrimination and segregation by public or private agencies, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, with respect to the training of doctors and nurses, the admission of patients to hospitals, clinics, and similar institutions, and the right of doctors and nurses to practice in hospitals;

The outlawing of restrictive covenants;

Guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, to persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

In accordance with the Committee's division on antidiscrimination laws with respect to private education, the proposal for a District fair education program was not unanimous.

Congress has complete power to enact the legislation necessary for progress toward full freedom and equality in the District of Columbia. Our nation's capital, the city of Washington, should serve as a symbol of democracy to the entire world.

The enactment by Congress of legislation ending the system of segregation in the Panama Canal Zone.

VI. *To rally the American people to the support of a continuing program to strengthen civil rights, the President's Committee recommends:*

A long term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another.

The most important educational task in this field is to give the public living examples of civil rights in operation. This is the purpose of our recommendations which have gone before. But there still remains the job of driving home to the public the nature of our heritage, the justification of civil rights and the need to end prejudice. This is a task which will require the cooperation of the federal, state, and local governments and of private agencies. We believe that the permanent Commission on Civil Rights should take the leadership in serving as the coordinating body. The activities of the permanent Commission in this field should be expressly authorized by Congress and funds specifically appropriated for them.

Aside from the education of the general public, the government has immediate responsibility for an internal civil rights campaign for its more than two million employees. This might well be an indispensable first step in a large campaign. Moreover, in the armed forces, an opportunity exists to educate men while in service. The armed forces should expand efforts, already under way, to develop genuinely democratic attitudes in officers and enlisted men.

As the Committee concludes this Report we would remind ourselves that the future of our nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights — these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the South's people. It is not a political, denominational, or profit-making organization.

HOW DID IT START?

In 1943 a group of leading Southerners got together and decided that a strong regional organization was needed to help work out the South's problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

Through a regional office in Atlanta, through state divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and through individual members in all parts of the region.

WHAT DOES IT DO?

★ Through careful study, gets the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and race relations. Makes the facts widely available through a monthly bulletin, pamphlets, newspapers, radio, and speakers.

★ Advises private and official agencies, through both the regional office and state committees.

★ Works at the community level with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations and others to get wholesome improvements.

WHAT HAS IT DONE?

★ Launched campaigns that have secured the employment of more than two hundred Negro policemen in Southern cities.

★ Carried out a widespread field program to get attention to the needs of Negro veterans in the South.

★ Has worked steadily to secure equal educational opportunity for the two races.

★ At strategic times during the past year, vigorously urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure the civil rights of the Southern people. Advocated the same course for newspapers, church bodies, and other influential groups.

★ Fostered self-surveys in a number of Southern towns which have resulted in many concrete community improvements.

★ Advised state legislatures on the desirability of measures that would make more opportunities available to Negro citizens.

★ Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

★ Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

WHO SUPPORTS IT?

Up to now, the Southern Regional Council has had support from foundations, church groups of various faiths and denominations, and individual contributions. With the termination of some foundation support, the Council now seeks financial aid from new sources.

WHAT ARE ITS NEEDS?

In the coming months the Council hopes to increase its work at the community level, to give more strength and guidance to state and local committees. To carry out this objective and to expand the existing program in the fields of health, education, agriculture, and economic development, the budget committee estimates the Council's annual need at $88,000.

There is a deep and growing conviction among Southerners that they should support the South's own effort to care for its people's needs. The Southern Regional Council, as a body of Southern leaders, works responsibly at this job. The Council and the South ask for your help.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE COUNCIL . . .

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

— RALPH McGILL

"The sort of organization which makes progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

— RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

— NEW YORK TIMES

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

— CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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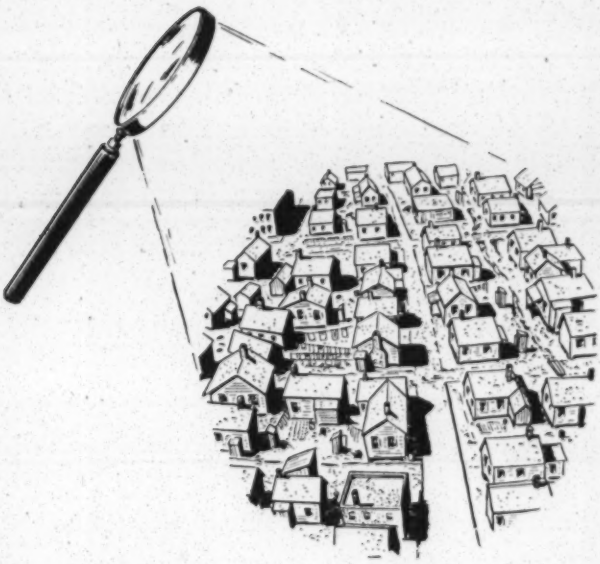
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

GREATEST VENTRILOQUIST ACT OF THE CENTURY

"Yes, but—
what can we do about it?"



THE

HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY

How to get the facts
Then what to do

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FACTS—AND RESULTS

A FEW years ago a new and outstandingly successful kind of community survey — one which got concrete results as well as facts — was carried out by the citizens of Jacksonville, Florida.

The idea of community surveys is not new. During the past few decades, dozens of cities in this country and elsewhere have been minutely examined by all kinds of students and experts. Most such surveys, while of professional interest to social workers and sociologists, lie gathering dust on library shelves, since they were made with too little help and interest from the people living in the communities they studied.

But the Jacksonville survey, in which the Southern Regional Council served as technical adviser, employed a new method of fact-finding. Citizens themselves, rather than outside experts, made first-hand investigations of conditions in their city. They looked into all sides of community life in Jacksonville, ranging from education and welfare to law enforcement and transportation.

Community leaders, both white and Negro, planned the survey, dug out the facts, and made the recommendations. Cooperating with them were all the people who could help, including city officials, leaders of public and private agencies, students, and just plain citizens. As the facts came to light and as public interest mounted, key people in the city began to see the need for changes and were encouraged to take constructive action.

Results in Jacksonville have been remarkable. When the citizens of Jacksonville took an honest look at themselves and decided to do something about what they saw, they started a chain-reaction of community im-

provements which has been gaining momentum ever since. Only 21 months after the survey findings were published, the Jacksonville Committee was able to report some 65 solid community improvements, and they say that these are "just the beginning."

The Jacksonville self-survey set a simple but highly effective pattern for community improvement which can be followed by any interested group of citizens in other towns. Because a self-survey means fact-finding by local citizens themselves, it gives people a concrete program on which to work in their home communities. A self-survey brings together representative leaders in the community who, together with all the citizens participating in the survey, *see for themselves* their town's needs and problems. And citizens who know the facts are almost always ready to act. Thus a home-town self-survey is not mere fact-finding; it is a plan of democratic education and action in which all parts of the community participate.

FOR YOUR HOME TOWN

A self-survey can be a very flexible device for home-town development. It can cover the whole community or only the fields which citizens wish to emphasize. Because it is adaptable, it can meet the needs of different kinds of communities — large, small, industrial, commercial, or rural.

The development of self-surveys in the smaller cities and towns throughout the South is an important part of the program of the Southern Regional Council. These small communities, unlike larger cities, do not have the resources in people and funds with which to provide needed services and improvements. Consequently, these are the places which would benefit the most from surveys of this kind.

To guide local citizens of small communities who want to undertake such a survey, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a Manual on the *Home-Town Self Survey*. Planned for towns ranging from about 2,000 to 30,000 in size, the Manual includes suggestions for getting a survey started, organizing and carrying out the survey, enlisting support, getting the facts, and carrying out the recommendations.

So that local people can use the Manual in surveying either part or all of their town, the Manual is conveniently divided into 15 different sections — each with its explanatory text and appropriate questionnaires — covering all the different parts of community life. The Manual also provides accepted standards against which findings can be measured.

IF YOU NEED HELP

A self-survey should always remain a community undertaking, with citizens themselves doing the planning, surveying, and recommending. However, professional advice from someone trained in the field of community organization is often valuable in the planning of the survey and in the interpretation of the findings. The Southern Regional Council will be glad to consult with groups planning a survey and can make available a trained community relations person to towns which will bear the travel expenses for brief advisory visits. The Council will also help the towns to tie in advice from nearby college or university experts.

The Home-Town Self-Survey Manual is available from the Southern Regional Council (63 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta 3, Georgia) at 25¢ per copy. The Council will be happy to provide further information to people from any town interested in making a self-survey.

Making Democracy Work In South Carolina

By Marion A. Wright

OF COURSE, no system of government will ever work perfectly in all places and at all times. Systems are man-made and, hence, imperfect. No odium arises from the failure of democracy to function perfectly; it may arise from the failure of men to strive at all times and to the limit of their powers to achieve perfection.

It has been 736 years since Magna Carta was signed; 166 years since the Constitution of the United States was adopted; 80 years since the 14th and 15th Amendments were added — all landmarks in the growth of democracy.

The fact that, after all of these years, we in South Carolina have not brought our public policy into accord with those declarations is proof of the slow and feeble operation of reason and religion on the human mind and heart. Truly, the mills of the gods —

We are still far, far away from that equality under law which is presumed and proclaimed to be one of the distinguishing characteristics and glories of a democracy. No citizen has a right to rest or possess his soul in peace until equal opportunity exists in fact as on paper. What may the private

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This article is drawn from a speech delivered recently at the 1951 annual meeting of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Wright, a lawyer by profession, is a native and long-time resident of South Carolina; he now lives in Linville Falls, North Carolina. He is a member of the Executive Committee of SRC.

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citizen — John Smith or Mary Jones — do to help make democracy work?

FIELDS FOR EFFORT

Few of us are governors, are worth a million dollars, or control great newspapers or radios. It is easy to say, "If I were one of those, if I had that power." Granted that power, station, eminence are desirable and do lengthen the reach of the individual, there still remain inexhaustible fields for application of the effort of little men and little women.

One of the great illusions we cherish is that our leaders actually lead. Without indulging in any disparagement, a leader can go no further and no faster than public opinion permits. Democracy, as contrasted with other forms of government, is fertilized with ideas from the bottom, not the top. Public opinion is the result of accretion of opinions of individuals. Hence, to entertain correct opinions and to express them persuasively and without fear upon any appropriate occasion is among the first duties of the citizen. By such a process, generally followed over a sufficient period of time, is leadership educated and emboldened.

LEADERSHIP AND OPINION

At Chapel Hill — seat of one of our great universities — the authorities, out of ingrained habit, seated the recently admitted Negro law students in a grandstand set aside for Negroes. Fourteen organizations — white students — filed immediate and formal protest. The official action was promptly rescinded. The leadership had incorrectly gauged student opinion. It reacted when the true opinion was made manifest.

It is not enough to entertain correct opinions. They do but little good un-

less communicated. They must be tossed into the stream of opinion flowing and seething about us.

It has always seemed to me that those on the wrong side of an issue are much more vocal than those on the right. This may be entirely natural. It may be that you *have* to shout to rouse the rabble. Nevertheless, the still, small voice idea may be overdone.

Inborn gentility may cause one to speak quietly while others shout. Let us be sure it is gentility, not timidity.

Democracy means having opinions, not accepting them ready-made from others.

Years ago this state was served by an extremely able man, William Knox Tate. I think he came from Tennessee and was our first high-school inspector. He said that he noticed this peculiarity about South Carolinians: they sized up a cause or a policy upon the basis of who was for or against it. The correct procedure, as Mr. Tate pointed out, was to size up a man upon the basis of how he stood on the cause or policy. So, for example, our views on segregation should not be arrived at as the result of the positions of Governors Talmadge and Byrnes, but our attitude towards the two governors should be influenced by the positions they have taken on segregation and other issues. To accept the views of the two governors merely because of the source from which such views come is to attribute to the governors a degree of infallibility hardly claimed for any other mortal.

THREE GREAT MOVEMENTS

In college years ago I was taught that the three great movements which have rocked the world were the democratization of government, of re-

ligion, and of education. I thought of them as historical and accomplished facts, occurring in the Middle Ages, or, certainly, in the 18th or 19th centuries. It has taken a long time for me to realize that the process is not complete. It will probably never be complete. All of us still have roles to play in trying to bring these dreams to fruition. The South now, and more particularly South Carolina, is an area in which an effort is being made further to democratize education.

FUNCTION OF THE COURTS

A cardinal feature of democracy is the position occupied by the courts. In the Communist and Fascist view, courts exist to enforce the will of the ruling class. Decisions are dictated by rulers and are designed to preserve the status, to strengthen the stranglehold which the leaders have on the masses. With us, the function of the court is not to register the popular will, to enforce the desires of the majority, or for that matter, of the minority, but to determine what is right and just under the law of the land.

Untrammeled courts are an institution of democracy. We make democracy work by giving allegiance and support to its institutions.

The proponents of the effort to democratize education have turned to the courts, a normal, proper, and inevitable process. The court of last resort has the issue before it — the simple issue of whether or not every citizen shall have the right to use and enjoy all the institutions of the state upon precisely the same terms as every other citizen. Underlying that issue is the deeper one of whether or not a caste system may be maintained in a democracy. Shall the state drive or preserve lines of cleavage among its citizens?

With that issue before the court, the elemental duty of leadership would seem to be to state sincerely that it will abide by the result, not grudgingly but graciously.

To announce in advance, as Governor Talmadge is said to have done, that if the decision is adverse to his views, his state will *flout* the decision, is of course, a form of anarchy. To announce in advance as Governor Byrnes is said to have done, that, if the decision is adverse to his views, his state will *circumvent* the decision, is anarchy in a subtler form. There is a difference in phraseology, in manners, but the two pronouncements spring from the same motive and seek to accomplish the same result. "Circumvent" is a three syllable word meaning flout.

We here are not especially concerned with the plans of Governor Talmadge, but we are critically concerned with how South Carolina is to circumvent the decision if it should be adverse to Governor Byrnes' contention.

I only know what I read in the papers, but I infer that school property worth some hundreds of millions of dollars is to be given or leased for a nominal sum to the churches which will conduct the schools.

The details of this broad and ambitious program have not been revealed. They must be perplexing to its advocates.

SOME QUESTIONS

Surely, on principles of elementary justice, the property would be divided between white and Negro churches. Upon what basis? What ratio? How shall it be divided among Jews, Catholics, and Protestants? And when you

have decided what value or what facilities should go to Protestants, how will you break them down as between Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, A.R.P.'s, Seventh Day Adventists, Holy Rollers, Unitarians and all the other sects? If ability to conduct schools is a factor — and it would seem to be of maximum importance — who is to set up standards of fitness and determine when those standards have been reached? And when relative church membership fluctuates, as it constantly does, or when capacity to conduct a school diminishes or evaporates, what is to become of property conveyed or leased upon assuming a certain membership or a certain capacity?

To use Mr. Churchill's phrase, the whole scheme is a mystery wrapped in an enigma.

The fundamental taint of the scheme is that, for one to have a voice in the conduct of school affairs, in determining the kind of education his children receive, he must be a member of a church. More than that, he must be a member of the particular church conducting the school in his community. As he moves from one community to another he must change his membership to accord with the prevailing sentiment or be disfranchised in so far as school affairs are concerned. Surely, religious convictions are not so lightly held!

The churches have full authority to prescribe qualifications for membership — financial, theological, or otherwise. One's right to a voice in education is subject to his meeting those qualifications. If he fails "to pay his preacher," or if he believes in sprinkling rather than immersion, he may find himself unable to send his chil-

dren to the very school which he and other tax payers have built.

PROPOSED GIFT OF PROPERTY

In larger outline what is it the circumventists propose?

They propose to give away hundreds of millions of dollars of state property — a raid upon the treasury which would have been beyond the wildest dreams of Carpetbaggers. These physical assets occupy precisely the same status as cash or government bonds.

They propose to give this vast property to churches, although since Revolutionary days the state's organic law has forbidden gift of a thin dime to church institutions.

They propose to jettison a public school system developed over decades — with all of its trained personnel and increasingly higher standards, throwing thousands of devoted teachers out of employment unless their religious beliefs happen to appeal to a church board of trustees.

They would bring death, not only to public education, long regarded as a function of every civilized state, but to the ancient democratic principle of separation of church and state.

All of this to escape the possible consequences of a judicial decision!

When a debtor conveys property to escape a judgment, the courts describe his conduct by an ugly word — fraud. Surely no church wishes to be a party to so odorous a procedure.

FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

They propose to do all of this for what purpose? To keep democracy from working in South Carolina. To avoid application of Christian principles to conduct of human affairs.

It is hard to believe that the advocates of this scheme realize what is

transpiring in the world about them. Catholic schools of college and graduate level in the South are now open to Negroes. A thousand Negro students attended white colleges in the South this past year. All Baptist schools of theology are now open to Negroes. The Episcopalians are rapidly moving in the same direction. The Emory University theological student body voted 210 to 13 to admit Negroes. There is little in the church picture to give comfort to advocates of segregation. The churches might be very unsafe custodians of property conveyed for the purpose of perpetuating a caste system. By lending themselves to such a scheme they would incur the contempt of civilized men throughout the world.

The courts speak the secular conscience. Surely it is not flattering to the church to intimate that the Christian lags behind in secular conscience.

It took some years for me to come to the belief that South Carolina made a great mistake when it attempted to secede from the Union. That was a political Union. It will make a vastly graver mistake if it attempts to secede from the union with the moral forces of this country. The moral forces — the conscience — of the country are resolved that the artificial barriers which men have reared between themselves shall be taken down. If we have a decent regard for the opinions of mankind we shall not attempt to obstruct that process.

A MORAL WRONG

If the court should now decide the issue favorably to segregation, the decision would represent a brief and transitory victory for the forces behind Governors Byrnes and Talmadge. The nation is resolved that there shall be no classes or degrees of citizenship,

no special privileges or penalties arising from race. The nation is convinced that segregation is wrong in morals. The question will ultimately be decided on the moral, rather than the legal, issue.

Can South Carolina, if it would, isolate itself from the rest of the country? Can you quarantine against an idea? Can you lay an embargo on thought? Can you insulate against a moral principle?

But it does a great injustice to South Carolina to imply that these same forces are not operative here. It is true that a few misguided bigots sometimes parade in sheets. It is true that sometimes our leaders speak the language of seventy-five years ago. (It is amazing how some of them who have been exposed to so much have absorbed so little.) But no people excel us in church membership and in the sacrifices we make for our churches. And no churches excel our own in condemning the Ghetto — in Germany — and the caste system — in India. They have taught, and generations have come to believe in, the equality of men before the throne. It is but a step downward to believe in equality of men before the law, and from that to equality of men in all of life's relationships. When that belief is held there is no room in the mind for the antagonistic belief that men should be segregated from their brothers.

There exists, then, this factor of no small consequence in making democracy work — a nebulous belief flowing from religious training and conviction. Scattered throughout the state there must be many thousands of men and women who test the latest utterances of our politicians against the Sermon on the Mount.

Anyhow, *some* forces are at work. Student publications in white universities in every Southern state have advocated admission of Negroes to their graduate schools. Student opinion polls favor admission on undergraduate levels also. A young man at the college at Charleston (South Carolina, that is, believe it or not) wins a medal in oratory for a speech advocating abolition of segregation. The walls crumble — at the polls, on the trains, in the dining cars, in the public libraries. Taboos sacred for centuries have been vanquished in stride and without incident.

COURAGE AND SELF-RESPECT

What does it take to make democracy work? Courage. The willingness to stand up and be counted. Writing, talking, speaking on every convenient occasion — even at the risk of being called a do-gooder (as though some stigma attached to doing good!) — or the not negligible risk of being branded a Communist or subversive. It calls for letting our politicians know that the jargon they utter fills us with dismay and disgust.

In exchange for an exhibition of courage what do we get? The prize is large. It is found in the enhancement of our self-respect, in an inner harmony which comes from reconciling our practices with our pretensions, in the sympathetic pride with which we observe a race wage successful struggle for its rights, and in the consciousness of having helped to create conditions which permit us to claim all men as friends and brothers.

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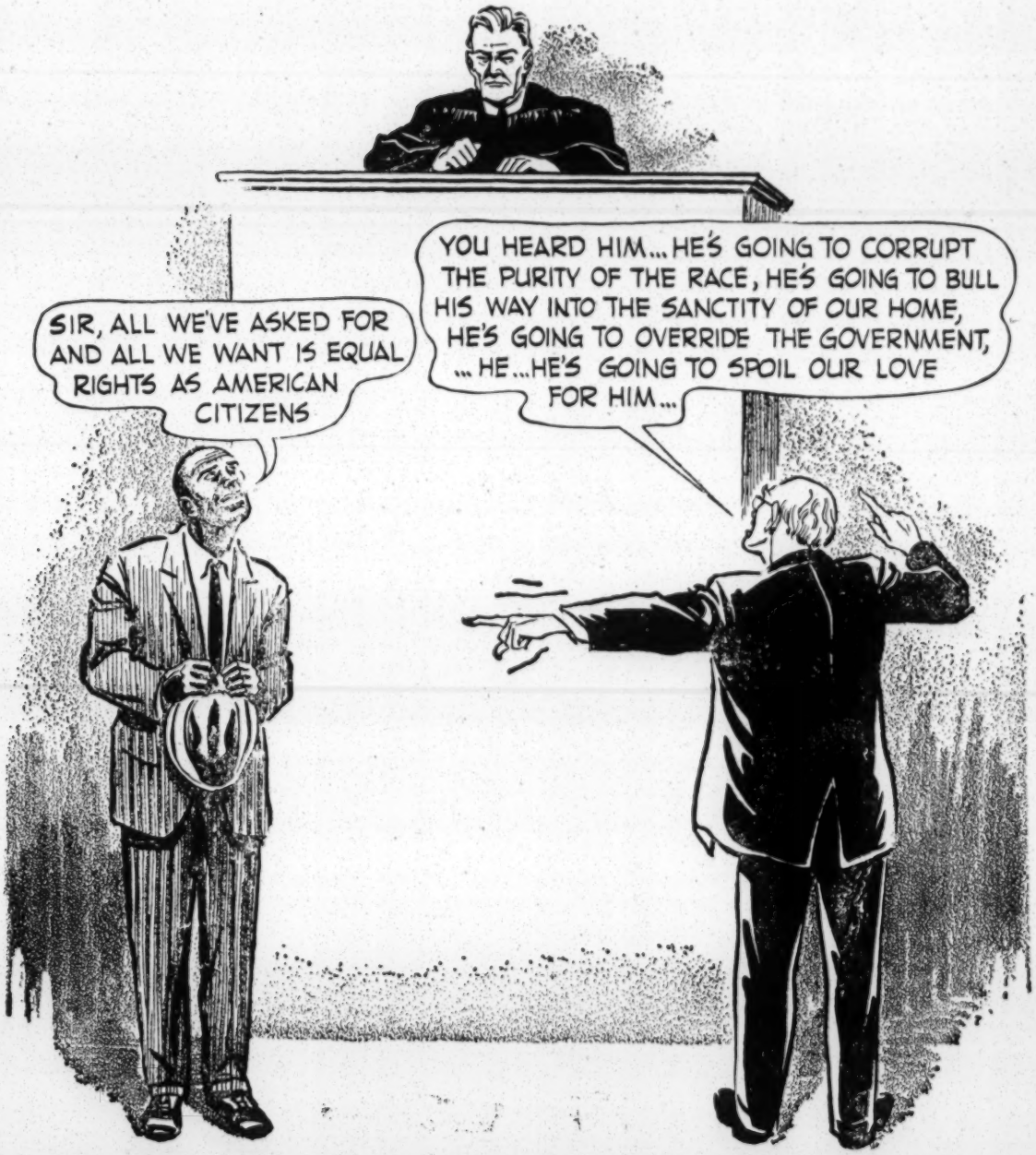
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PLEASE, LET HIM SPEAK FOR HIMSELF



"DO VIOLENCE TO NO MAN; NEITHER ACCUSE ANY FALSELY"— LUKE 3:14

JACKMAN

WHAT KIND

OF SOUTH

do YOU *want?*

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943 . . .

and decided . . .

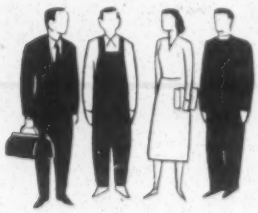
IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is **not,** however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.



SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear . . .

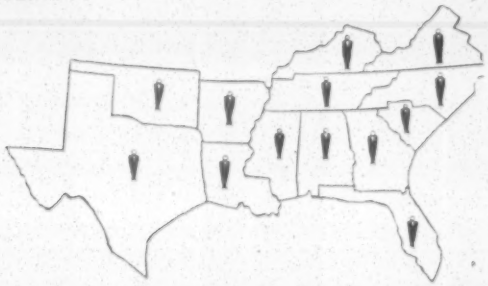
It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded . . .

It believes — in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency — that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *THROUGH* - - -

★ **Its local groups.** SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South . . .



★ **Its Regional Office.** SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications . . .

★ **A monthly bulletin.** NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress . . .

★ **Special pamphlets.** These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

★ **Public opinion.** SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

★ **Cooperating groups.** SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements . . .

★ **Home Town Self-Surveys.** SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities—and to **follow through** with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *FOR* - - -

★ **Better understanding between the races.** SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .

★ **Equal justice.** SRC watches the courts . . . points out injustices . . . works for fair police practices . . . has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South . . .

★ **Equal public services.** SRC works to get a square break for ALL our people in —

HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL CARE

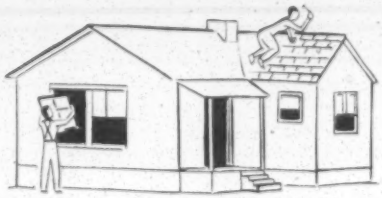
SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES

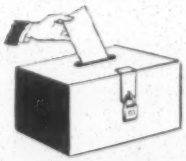
VETERANS SERVICES

HOUSING



★ **Full citizenship** for everyone in

VOTING



JURY SERVICE

REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

★ **State government for ALL the people.** SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - - -

Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and other cities.

During 1945-1947 helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program. Nine World War II veterans — eight of them Negroes — made personal visits to veterans servicing officials in over a third of the counties in the South . . . acquainted them with the needs of Negro veterans . . . taught veterans the full range of services they could get . . . spent $75,000 on this project alone.

Sponsored the 1948 Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights at which four hundred community leaders, representing both races and every Southern State, devised ways to strengthen basic rights at the local level.

★

Has worked for Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies, elective and appointive.

★

Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

★

Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

THROUGH STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES - - -

Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

★

Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

★

Has encouraged and aided bi-racial committees in Southern towns and cities to make community self-surveys. These have brought striking improvements in Negro communities — most notably in Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C.

★

Played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls in Texas.

★

Was largely responsible for the creation of Negro community centers in Macon, Savannah, and other Georgia cities . . . Helped secure a modern, well-equipped Negro Boys' Club for Atlanta.

★

Aided the Florida Citizens Committee on Education in drawing up recommendations to the General Assembly which would provide equal education for ALL children.

★

Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open to white students only.

TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1. **Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community**
2. **Contribute to SRC's operating funds**
3. **Get your friends to work with you and SRC**

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council—

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's — or from the nation's concern."

— Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

— Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."

— Asheville TIMES

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

— NEW YORK TIMES

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

— Ralph McGill

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."

— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

— THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."

— CURRENT EVENTS

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63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Sustaining Member.** (The Council's main support.) Dues $10.00.

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . . . $_____

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of . . . . . $_____

Subscription to New South as non-member . . . . . $_____

Total Enclosed . . . . . $_____

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MISSISSIPPI Division, Southern Regional Council
Rev. John Long, Chairman
Edwards, Mississippi

SOUTH CAROLINA Division, Southern Regional Council
J. M. Dabbs, Chairman
Mayesville, S. C.

TENNESSEE Division, Southern Regional Council
Alfred Mynders, Chairman
Chattanooga, Tennessee

NORTH CAROLINA Division, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Leon Russell, Chairman
Greenville, N. C.

GEORGIA Committee on Interracial Cooperation (Affiliate)
Rev. George E. Clary, Chairman
Savannah, Georgia

TEXAS Commission on Interracial Co-operation (Affiliate)
Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
Houston, Texas

VIRGINIA Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Va. Council of Churches (unaffiliated)
C. Emerson Smith, Director
Richmond, Virginia

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On October 20, 1942, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which, in their opinion, would benefit not only Negroes themselves but the South and the Nation. A committee was instructed to prepare a statement embodying the thinking of the Conference. In December, 1942, the following document was given to the public. It was entitled: "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South; a Statement by Southern Negroes.")

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common-sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of Southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

1. Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

2. Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

3. The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns. We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

4. We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

5. We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

Political and Civil Rights

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting
b. The abolition of the white primary
c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice, we believe, can and should be discontinued now.

3. (a) Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

(b) It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling, to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

Industry and Labor

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed

to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.

2. There should be the same pay for the same work.

3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized, and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers on a fair and equal basis.

4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts and other protective labor legislation.

5. It is the duty of local, State, and Federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.

6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.

7. We regard the wage-and-job freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.

8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

Service Occupations

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.

2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.

4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.

5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure more intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

Education

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes and, indeed, to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education is better schools, which involves expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities; this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us

to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the underprivileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between Southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

Agriculture

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33 per cent of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on Southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group, and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:

a. Written contracts
b. Longer lease terms
c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.

2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.

3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.

4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy-making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

Military Service

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation, and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

Social Welfare and Health

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family, and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts, even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients
b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practicioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals
c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general, as well as a special, group advantage. The Federal Government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

* * * * *

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On April 8, 1943, a group of white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. The results of their deliberations were made public in the following document.)

In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination

between the races in the allocation of school funds, in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel, where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern States. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably, procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self-respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which, unless checked, will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

THE RICHMOND CONFERENCE STATEMENT

(On June 16, 1943, a Collaboration Committee, composed of delegates from the Durham Conference and the Atlanta Conference, met in Richmond, Virginia. The following statement was issued by the Richmond Conference.)

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights, yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a great people often doing little things and good people often doing bad things. And here is the Negro South, caught, as always, between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South, inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly too, and needing sympathy and help as few people have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South; to the white leadership, to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails.

As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights, the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot; jury service; personal security; services in public carriers; the elimination of violence, within and without the law; the elimination of lynching; and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies, both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, State, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects, but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate State and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

THE ATLANTA RESOLUTION

(On August 4, 1943, a Continuation Committee, appointed by the Richmond Conference, met in Atlanta to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the preceding Conferences. The Committee resolved itself into the nucleus of the Southern Regional Council and elected Dr. Howard W. Odum and Dr. Charles S. Johnson as Co-Chairmen. The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee.)

We are gathered together here in solemn assembly, conscious of our heritage and opportunity. In the name and spirit of America and all her resources and institutions we covenant together in harmony and unanimity to make this day, or what this day should bring to pass, epochal in a new purpose, a new understanding, and a new fellowship.

In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

Four ways there are, and perhaps more, of approaching these laudable and attainable ends. First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain features peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appeal to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked out in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of our American democracy.

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life, and especially with a similar national group, when established.

Fourth, since the crisis is not only Southern, but national, not only for whites, but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning, to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token, we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of our democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

To this end, the present membership of the Continuation Committees of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences is hereby constituted the nucleus of the new Council; and the officers are authorized (1) to take immediate steps for the legal incorporation of the Council; (2) to appoint immediately the necessary staff personnel to implement this program; and (3) to enlarge the present membership in order to make it fully representative of all the interests encompassed by this program.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

(On February 16, 1944, just before the opening of the Charter Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta and passed the following resolution merging the Commission with the Council.)

It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation;

It was, upon motion duly made and seconded--Resolved that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.

CHARTER OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia

CHARTER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

January 6, 1944

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.

TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH MCGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON AND DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in

the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporration, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Rd., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Rd., Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee,
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,
North Carolina.

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, Petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

HAAS, LYONS & HURT

Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.